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THE
MODERN PART
OF THE
UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL WRITERS;
BY THE
AUTHORS of the *ANTIENT*.

Which will perfect the WORK, and render it
A Complete Body of HISTORY,
FROM THE
EARLIEST ACCOUNT of Time, to the PRESENT.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ κατανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὐρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν
ἐγκόπως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

V O L. II.



L O N D O N:
Printed for T. OSBORNE, C. HITCH and L. HAWES, A. MILLAR,
J. RIVINGTON, S. CROWDER, P. DAVEY and B. LAW,
T. LONGMAN, C. WARE, and S. BLADON.

M. DCC. LIX.

MODERN HISTORY:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

BOOK I.

CHAP. II.

The HISTORY of the ARABS, to the taking of BAGHDAD by the TARTARS.

SECT. LIV.

- ^a **A**L MOSTADI'S death was no sooner publicly known, than *Dhabîro'ddîn Ebn Al Nâser Ledini'llah Abu'l Abbâs Ahmed Ebn Al Mostadi is created Khalîf.* *Al Attâr*, the *Wazîr*, by his activity and address, prevailed upon the grandees of the court, and the principal citizens of *Baghdâd*, to take the oath of allegiance to *Al Nâser Ledini'llah Abu'l Abbâs Ahmed*, his son. That prince was, therefore, inaugurated in form, and universally acknowledged *Khalîf*. After the ceremony of inauguration was over, *Al Nâser* conferred the post of master of the palace and judge of the empire upon *Majdo'ddîn Abu'l Fadl Ebn Al Sâbeb*; who, arrogating to himself the supreme authority, caused the *Wazîr* to be first put under an arrest in his own house, and afterwards to be conducted to *Al Tâj*, a place belonging to the imperial palace at *Baghdâd*, where he was thrown into irons. Not content with this, *Majdo'ddîn* forced him to deliver up all his wealth and substance into his hands; and, as two of the best Arab historians seem plainly enough to intimate, at last ordered him to be put to death. On *Wednesday*, the 12th of *Dhu'lkaada*, in the night, his body was carried by a common porter out of *Al Tâj* into the street; when the mob immediately rose, took it off the porter's shoulders by force, tied a cord about the privities, and dragged it through the city of *Baghdâd*. Then they put an old spoon, covered with ordure, into one of the defunct *Wazîr's* hands, to represent a pen; and said, "Sign us, O lord and master, the patent that we want." After these and many other indignities offered the corps of the unhappy minister, it was wrested out of the hands of the mob, and decently interred. The unparalleled barbarity of the populace on this occasion was the more remarkable, as the *Wazîr* was an excellent governor, a person of great temperance, probity, and honour, and had never injured any one either in his property or reputation. This, therefore, is a most flagrant instance, and convincing proof, of the more than brutal disposition of the lower sort of people at *Baghdâd*, the capital of the *Moslem* empire, when *Al Nâser Ledini'llah*, the thirty-fourth *Khalîf* of the house of *Al Abbâs*, ascended the throne^a.
- ^b
- ^c

In the 576th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *May* 28th, 1180, the *Khalîf Al Nâser Ledini'llah* sent the patent of investiture, the *Kaftân* of *Soltân*, and other ensigns of royalty, to *The most remarkable transactions of the year 576.*

^a ISM. ABU'LFED. EBN SHOHNAH, AL MAKIN, EBN AL ATHIR, EBN KHALECAN. TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, MIRKHOND, AL EMIR YAHYA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, KHONDEMIR, & AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 409, 410. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Nasser Ledini'llah Ben Mostadhi Beemrillah*, p. 663. RENAUD. ubi sup.

Ed. Bib. Soc. Ind.

Salâb'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb; constituting him, by those presents, prime minister, *Emir Al Omrà*, or *Soltân*. The defeat he received from the *Franks*, in 573, together with the plague and famine that raged the following year, had prevented that prince from undertaking any enterprize of moment before the year 576. But being now solicited for succours by *Kilij Arslân*, the *Seljukian Soltân* of *Al Rûm*, who sent ambassadors to him for that purpose; he led a powerful army to his assistance against *Ebn Lâûn* or *Ebn Leon*, the *Armenian*, and advanced to *Karâ Hifâr*, where he incamped. Having been joined by the forces of *Aleppo*, in conformity to one of the articles of the treaty concluded some time before with the *Sâheb* of that place, between *Babnesa* and the castle of *Mansûr*; he penetrated into the *Armenian* territories, ravaged a considerable part of them, took and demolished *Ebn Lâûn's* principal fortress, and obliged him to submit to an accommodation with *Kilij Arslân* upon the terms he thought fit to prescribe. Nay, if *Bobâo'ddin Ebn Sheddâd* may be depended upon, he effected by the terror of his arms a general pacification amongst the neighbouring princes, in which the *Sâhebs* of *Al Mawfel* and *Diyâr Becr* were included. *Abu'lfeda*, however, gives a different account of this expedition. He informs us, that *Salâb'addîn* marched against *Kilij Arslân*, the *Sâheb* of *Belâd Al Rûm*, and pitched his camp at *Ra'bân*. But, continues he, having afterwards entered into an alliance with *Kilij Arslân*, the *Soltân* made an irruption into the provinces subject to *Ebn Lâûn*, the *Armenian*, and laid waste the country through which he moved with fire and sword. Whereupon *Ebn Lâûn*, terrified by *Salâb'addîn's* devastations, sent him a large sum of money, and released all the *Moslem* prisoners he had taken; which so pleased the *Soltân*, that he immediately granted him a peace. In the month of *Al Moharram*, 'Azzo'ddin *Kilij* rebelled against *Al Mâlec Al Sâleb*, and set up for himself at *Tel Kbâled* in the territory of *Aleppo*; upon which, *Al Sâleb* sent a body of troops to reduce him. As we have not been told any thing farther of this rebel by the *Arab* writers, he was probably forced to lay down his arms. The third of *Safar*, this year, died of a consumption *Saifo'ddin Gâzi Ebn Mawdûd Ebn Zenki*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Mawfel* and *Al Diyâr Al Jazîra*, after he had reigned ten years, and three months; being about thirty years old, at the time of his decease. He was a prince of a beautiful aspect, perfect stature, and a fair complexion. He was also prudent, just, and abstemious; though jealous to such a degree, that he would suffer none but eunuchs that were boys to be with his women, dismissing them as soon as they grew up. He never fleeced his subjects, nor even so much as touched their property; though, on some occasions, he discovered signs of an avaricious disposition. He left to his brother 'Azzo'ddin *Mas'ûd Ebn Mawdûd* all his dominions, except *Jazîra Ebn Omar*, with the castles erected thereon; which he bequeathed to *Sinjâr (A) Shâb*, his son. After his death, his will was executed in every particular. This we learn from *Abu'lfeda*, in the piece so often referred to here; though he assigned to *Nâfêro'ddin Cobec*, his younger son, *Belâd Al Hamîdiya* and the castle of *Shûsh*, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. In this, however, both authors agree, that *Mojâhedo'ddin Kaymâz*, his executor, acted with so much prudence, that every thing was settled to the mutual satisfaction of all the parties concerned. The same year, *Shamso'ddawla Tûrân Shâb Ebn Ayûb*, *Salâb'addîn's* elder brother, departed likewise this life at *Alexandria*; the government of which city, together with that of almost the whole kingdom of *Al Yaman*, which he himself had conquered, this prince had obtained of the *Soltân*, the preceding year. He was so liberal, or rather profuse, that he did not only spend the immense treasures brought him from *Zabîd*, 'Aden, and other places in *Al Yaman*, as well as the money that came annually to his share out of the public revenues of *Alexandria*, but likewise vast sums that he found himself obliged to borrow, and could never afterwards pay. For, notwithstanding the opulent posts he was possessed of, he died 200,000 *Egyptian dinârs* in debt; which his brother *Salâb'addîn*, who returned to *Al Kâbirah*, in the month of *Shaabân*, after he had appointed 'Azzo'ddin *Farkb Shâb Ebn Shâbînshâb Ebn Ayûb* his nephew, the *Sâheb* of *Baalbec*, his deputy in *Syria*, or *Al Shâm*, very honourably paid. *Tûrân Shâb* is said to have been a great warrior, though this has been denied by some writers, but at the same time insolent, libidinous, addicted to drunkenness, cruel, and rapacious, to the last degree^b.

^b BOHÂO'DDIN EBN SHEDDÂD, ubi sup. p. 46, 47. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 576. EBN SHOHNAH, ad an. Hej. 576. AL MAKIN, in op. part. inedit. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 410. TÂKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, in *Mawredô'llatâfa*, RENAUD. & ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup.

(A) Though we have followed the original *Arabic* of *Abu'lfeda*, in the orthography of this proper name; yet it ought, if we are not greatly mistaken, to be written *Sanjar*, that being a *Turkish* proper name which frequently occurs in the *Arab* writers. Dr. Hunt's MS. copy of *Ebn Shohnah* puts this point beyond dispute (1).

(1) *Im. Abul'fed. in excerpt. Alb. Schult. p. 27. Lugd. Bat. 1732. Cod. MS. Ebn Shohn. apud V. C. Thom. Hunt, S. T. P. Ædis Christi, Oxon. Canonic. Linguae Hebraicæ Profess. Reg. Linguae Arabicæ Prælect. Laudian. & R. S. S.*

- a THE following year, being the 577th of the *Hejra*, commencing May 17th, 1181, *Al and of the year*
Bornas, or *Arnold*, the *Frank*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Carac*, a strong fortress of *Al Hejâz*, not 577.
 far from the confines of *Syria*, formed a design to make himself master of the city of *Medina*, and all the territory appertaining to it. Of which 'Azzo'ddîn *Farkh Shâh*, the governor of *Damascus*, having received advice; he assembled a body of troops, penetrated into the district of *Al Carac*, and ravaged a considerable part of it. This obliged *Al Bornas* to stay at home for the defence of his own dominions, and lay aside all thoughts of the intended expedition. The same year, dissensions reigned amongst the lieutenants left by *Tûrân Shâh*, the brother of *Salâh'addîn*, in *Al Yaman*; insomuch that the *Soltân* was forced to send an army, under the command of some of his most experienced generals, into that country, to reduce them.
- b 'Azzo'ddîn *Othmân*, who had been appointed by *Tûrân Shâh* to preside over the people of *Aden*, and *Hettân Ebn Câmel Ebn Monkad Al Kenâni*, the governor of *Zabîd*, whose family had formerly reigned at *Sbaizar*, being therefore subdued by the *Soltân's* forces; a calm immediately ensued, and the public tranquillity was restored in every part of that opulent region. This year, died at *Aleppo* of the colic *Al Mâlec Al Sâleb*, the son of *Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki*, the *Sâheb* of that place; being about nineteen years old, at the time of his demise. He was seized with a violent fit of that distemper the ninth of *Rajeb*; obliged the grandees of his court to take the oath to his cousin 'Azzo'ddîn *Mas'ûd*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Mawfel*, as his successor, the thirteenth; and expired in the citadel of *Aleppo*, the twenty-fifth of the same month. He was chaste, abstinent, and religious; and
- c not in the least tainted with any of those vices, to which youth have generally so strong a propension. During his last illness, the physicians ordered him to drink a little wine, apprehending that might be good for his distemper; but, out of a principle of religion, he chose to die rather than taste it. He was no sooner dead, than the officers of state dispatched a courier to 'Azzo'ddîn *Mas'ûd* at *Al Mawfel* to inform him, that the city and district of *Aleppo* had been bequeathed him by *Al Mâlec*, *Al Sâleb*, and that his subjects there impatiently expected to see him. Upon which, he soon after set out for *Aleppo*, in company with *Mojâbedo'ddîn Kaymâz*, to take the government into his hands; lest *Salâh'addîn* might be induced, by his absence, to attempt possessing himself of that place. However, by *Kaymâz's* advice, he agreed to exchange *Aleppo* for *Senjar*, 'Amâdo'ddîn *Zenki Ebn Mawdûd*, the *Sâheb* of the latter of those cities; which, being at no great distance from *Al Mawfel*,
- d was much more defensible, and tenable with his *Mesopotamian* dominions, than the other. 'Azzo'ddîn having sent before him *Modbaffero'ddîn Ebn Zîno'ddîn*, one of his generals, and the prefect of *Sarûj*, who reached *Aleppo*, with a person appointed to swear the principal inhabitants, the 3d of *Sbaabân*; he arrived there himself, and occupied all *Al Mâlec Al Sâleb's* treasures, deposited in the citadel, the 20th of the same month. He also married *Al Sâleb's* mother, the 5th of *Shawâl*; and then, having left his son and *Modbaffero'ddîn Ebn Zîno'ddîn* with a sufficient garrison in the castle, he departed from *Aleppo*, and had an interview with his brother 'Amâdo'ddîn *Zenki Ebn Mawdûd* at *Al Rakka* upon the *Euphrates*, where a convention relative to the above-mentioned exchange between them was signed.
- e This happened, on the 21st of *Shawâl*. Whereupon one of 'Azzo'ddîn's officers was admitted into *Senjar*, with a detachment of that prince's troops; and the town and citadel of *Aleppo* were delivered up to 'Amâdo'ddîn *Zenki Ebn Mawdûd*, who entered the latter of those places, in consequence of this cession, the 13th of *Al Mobarram*, 578. Some authors relate, that an ambassador from the *Greek* emperor arrived now at *Al Kâbirab*, and brought about a peace between his master and the *Soltân*. They also give us farther to understand, that *Salâh'addîn* concluded a truce, or temporary cessation of arms, with the count of *Tri-poli*; and that the *Khalîf Al Nâser Ledînî'llah* himself aspired at the sovereignty of *Aleppo*, in vain, before the close of the year that we are now upon.
- f THE next year, being the 578th of the *Hejra*, which began May 7th, 1182, on the 5th *Salâh'addîn*
 of *Al Mobarram*, *Salâh'addîn Yûsef Ebn Ayûb* set out from *Al Kâbirab* (B) for *Damascus*; *returns from*
 where he arrived, according to *Bohâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, the 17th of *Safar*, or, if *Abu'lfeda* *Egypt to Da-*
 may be credited, the 11th of that month. Soon after his arrival there, he undertook an ex- *mafcus.*
 pedition

* ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 577. GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 410, 411. BOHÂO'DDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 48, 49. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 577. TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, in *Mawredo'llatâfa*, RENAUD. ubi sup.

(B) We are told both by *Abu'lfeda* and *Ebn Shohnah*, that when *Salâh'addîn* was upon the point of beginning his march for *Syria*, and the grandees of the court, together with a vast croud of people, were assembled to take their leave of him, several poets appeared, with the valedictory verses they had composed upon the occasion. Amongst these, according to those authors, there was one, then preceptor to some of the *Soltân's* children; who, stepping out of the croud, spoke a distich

to the following effect. "Enjoy the odour of the sweet-smelling camomile, whilst it is fragrant. O! how great is the difference between the common herbs and the camomile!" Which words were no sooner uttered, than the *Soltân's* countenance, before full of joy, was clouded with grief; that prince considering them as ominous, and being therefore not a little affected with them. All the company likewise then present, sympathizing with him, were thrown into confusion by

pedition against *Bayrūt*, or *Beyrūt*, the *Berytus* of the antients, and laid siege to that place; ^a but without effect. Upon his return to *Damascus*, he was informed, that the *Sāheb* of *Al Mawfel* had sent an embassy to the *Franks*, in order to solicit their assistance, and instigate them to a rupture with him. Whereupon he came to a resolution to chastise that prince, for his infraction of the late treaty, and even to make himself master, if possible, of his capital; that the *Moslems*, being united under one chief, might be thereby enabled to act more vigorously against the *Franks*. 'Amādo'ddīn Zenki Ebn Mawdūd, the *Sāheb* of *Aleppo*, having received intelligence of the *Soltān's* design, and of his great military preparations, dispatched an express to *Al Mawfel*, to apprise his brother 'Azzo'ddīn Mas'ūd Ebn Mawdūd of the storm that was gathering, and to advise him to put himself in a posture of defence without delay. In the mean time, Salāb'addīn with a numerous army presented himself before *Aleppo*; and, on the 18th of the former *Jomāda*, invested that city. For the space of three days, he briskly attacked the place; but being repulsed with very considerable loss, he found himself obliged to draw off, the 21st of that month, and retire towards the *Euphrates*. After which he advanced to *Harrān*, and entered into an alliance with *Modbaffero'ddīn*, the *Sāheb* of that place; who, being afraid of the growing power of the *Sāheb* of *Al Mawfel*, for his future security, judged it proper to join his arms to those of the *Soltān*. Strengthened by this alliance, Salāb'addīn reduced the cities of *Al Robā*, *Al Rakka*, *Nasībīn*, and *Sarīj*. He also placed a commandant in *Al Khābūr*, and marched at the head of his army to *Al Mawfel*; incamping before that capital, the 11th of *Rajeb*. The *Sāheb* and people of *Al Mawfel*, finding themselves in this distressed situation, applied both to the *Khalīf Al Nāser Ledinī'llah* and *Mohammed Pebelawān* for succours; but without success, ^c neither of those princes being inclined to imbroil themselves with the *Soltān*. However, Salāb'addīn having spent several days ineffectually in making his utmost efforts to carry the place (C), he was forced to abandon the siege. This did not discourage him from sitting down before *Sinjār*, or *Senjār*, the 16th of *Sbaabān*; which, at last, after reiterated assaults, he took by storm, the 2d of *Ramadān*. The garrison, which was pretty numerous, commanded by *Sbarfo'ddīn Ebn Kotbo'ddīn*, a detachment of the *Soltān's* troops, by his order, escorted to *Al Mawfel*. Having left his nephew *Takīo'ddīn*, with a sufficient force, at *Senjār*, he directed his march towards *Nasībīn*; which, after having sustained a short siege, together with its citadel, had before surrendered to him. *Nasībīn*, with the territory be- ^d longing to it, he had given to *Abu'l Hījā*, an *Emīr* that generally attended him in his expeditions; but, for what reason we have not been told, deprived him of it, towards the close of the campaign. It appears from *Abu'lfeda*, that the *Soltān*, who began to move from *Damascus*, in the former *Rabī*, ravaged the country about *Bānīās*, or *Paneas*, *Jānīn*, and *Al Gaur*; putting many of the *Franks*, that he met with there, to the sword, and carrying with him out of that tract no small quantity of spoil. To which he adds, that having afterwards passed the *Euphrates* at *Bīr*, or *Bīra*, Salāb'addīn did not only draw *Modbaffero'ddīn Ebn Zīno'ddīn*, the *Sāheb* of *Harrān*, into a confederacy with him, but likewise prevailed upon *Nūro'ddīn Mohammed Ebn Karā Arslān*, the *Sāheb* of *Hesn*, or *Hisn*, *Caifā*, to follow his example; that, besides the places above-mentioned in *Mesopotamia*, he subdued ^e *Karkīsīa*, *Mākesīn*, and *'Arbān*; that he appointed *Jasīy'a*, one of his officers, to command in *Al Khābūr*; and that he battered *Al Mawfel* with his military engines in such a terrible manner, that he shook the whole city. However, continues this writer, the artillery of the besieged being superior to that of the *Soltān*; he was obliged to raise the siege, and retire. Salāb'addīn himself, during the time of his incampment before the town, was posted on a spot opposite to the gate of *Cunda*, the *Sāheb* of *Hesn Caifā* at the gate of the *Bridge*, and

by the unexpected event. And, in conformity to the poet's prediction, continue the aforesaid writers, Salāb'addīn never afterwards returned to *Egypt*; for which reason, they have assigned this accident a place amongst the remarkable occurrences of the present year (1).

(C) It appears from *Abu'l Faraj*, that the garrison of *Al Mawfel*, which consisted of horse as well as foot, was at this time extremely numerous; and that Salāb'addīn, as well as the principal officers of his army, was struck with a sort of terror, when he first appeared before the place. To which he adds, that this seemed to be heightened by an accident; which, in itself, was rather matter of ridicule. In a sally, made, as it should seem, by a party of the garrison, a common soldier, taking off one of his shoes,

full of iron nails, after he had uttered much opprobrious language against the *Soltān*, struck *Jāwālī Al Asadi*, the chief and commander of the *Asadites*, with it upon the breast; and that with such force, that he grievously wounded him. The *Mawfelites* being beaten back into the town; and the shoe taken from the person to whom it belonged, *Jāwālī* brought it to Salāb'addīn, saying, "The *Mawfelites* treat us with such contempt, by attacking us with old shoes, as we never met with before; I will, therefore, not be any farther concerned in this siege." Whereupon the *Soltān*, finding that the people of *Al Mawfel* entertained not the least apprehension of him, and that he could not make himself master of their city, immediately decamped, marched to *Senjār*, and possessed himself of that place (2).

(1) *Ism. Abu'lfed. in chron. ad an. Hej. 578. Ebn Shohn. ad an. Hej. 578.*
p. 411, 412.

(2) *Greg. Abu'l Faraj, ubi sup.*

a *Tāj Al Molūc*, *Salāb'addīn's* brother, at the gate of *Al 'Amādi*. The siege was pushed on with surprizing vigour through the whole course of the month of *Rajeb*; notwithstanding which, the city being defended by a numerous garrison, as well as amply furnished with provisions and warlike stores, the *Soltān* found the reduction of it impracticable, and therefore drew off to *Senjār*, where he met with the success already mentioned here^d.

THE *Sāheb* of *Al Mawfel's* affairs at this juncture wearing a very indifferent aspect, he sent an embassy to the *Sāheb* of *Akhlāt* in *Armenia*, in order to solicit succours of that prince; who thereupon moved from *Akhlāt*, at the head of a considerable body of troops, to his assistance. He first advanced to *Khorzem*, and from thence dispatched a courier to *Al Mawfel*, to inform *'Azzo'ddīn Mas'ūd Ebn Mawdūd* of his approach. The *Armenian* forces soon after joined the troops of *Al Mawfel* and *Aleppo*, as well as those of the *Sāheb* of *Māredīn*, one of *'Azzo'ddīn Mas'ūd Ebn Mawdūd's* allies; after which junction, the combined army made the proper dispositions for taking the field. But, before the confederates entered upon action, the prince of *Akhlāt* sent *Boḥtemar*, or *Baḥtamar*, to the *Soltān*, with proposals for an accommodation; which being rejected, *Salāb'addīn* moved towards the *Armenian* camp, in order to attack it. In the mean time, the *Sāheb* of *Akhlāt* having received advice of the *Soltān's* march, and dreading his superior force; he deserted his allies, and returned home without striking a stroke. This obliged *'Azzo'ddīn Mas'ūd Ebn Mawdūd* to fly to *Al Mawfel*; upon which, the army that was to have acted under his command immediately dispersed. *Salāb'addīn*, meeting with no enemy to oppose him in the field, presented himself before *Amed*, or *Amida*, and formed the siege of that place; which, after it had been battered by the *Soltān* eight days, surrendered to him, the 1st of *Al Moharram*, the following year. The city itself he made a present of to *Nūro'ddīn Ebn Karā Aḥṣān*, but the riches and valuable spoil acquired by this conquest he gave to *Ebn Nisān*. With the reduction of *Amed*, according to the *Moslem* writer now before me, the *Soltān* concluded the operations of this glorious campaign^e.

The prince of Akhlāt in Armenia moves to the assistance of the Sāheb of Al Mawfel; but is obliged to retire.

THE same year, *Saif Al Islām Tagtakīn*, *Salāb'addīn's* brother, marched with an army into *Al Yaman*, by the *Soltān's* command, in order to quell some commotions there. Notwithstanding *Hettān Ebn Cāmel Ebn Monkad Al Kenāni*, the governor of *Zabīd*, and *'Azzo'ddīn Othmān Al Zanjili*, who presided over the people of *'Aden*, had been obliged by the *Emīr*, sent thither by *Salāb'addīn* for that purpose, the preceding year, to submit to the *Soltān*; they had since found means to recover the prefectures they had formerly enjoyed, and render themselves independent on his lieutenant there. This was no sooner done, than the heats and animosities that had formerly subsisted between them revived. *Hettān*, having been apprized of *Saif Al Islām's* approach, abandoned *Zabīd*; and shut himself up in a fortress of great strength, at some distance from that place. *Saif Al Islām*, however, decoyed him from thence into his hands; and, with no small difficulty, gave him leave to retire into *Syria*. Having sent his baggage and valuable effects before, he waited upon *Saif Al Islām*, in order to take his leave of him; when, to his vast surprize, that prince caused him to be put under an arrest, commanded his baggage to be brought back, and seized upon all the wealth he had amassed. Having plundered his palace, *Saif Al Islām* met with there no less than seventy iron chests full of *dinārs*; all which he appropriated to his own use, and afterwards confined *Hettān* in a certain castle, where he at last ended his days. *Azzo'ddīn Othmān Al Zanjili*, being terrified at *Hettān's* fate, posted away with the utmost celerity into *Syria*; having before sent his riches into that country, by sea. But the vessel carrying these being taken by one of *Saif Al Islām's* ships, all the treasure he had hoarded up fell into that prince's hands. Thus *Saif Al Islām* appeased all the tumults and commotions in *Al Yaman* without any effusion of human blood, restored peace to that fertile and delightful tract, and settled seemingly upon a lasting foundation its future repose^f.

Saif Al Islām, Salāb'addīn's brother, undertakes an expedition into Al Yaman.

THIS year, the *Sāheb* of *Al Carac* fitted out a strong fleet on the sea of *Aila*, or the *Red Sea*, which he divided into two squadrons, with a proper number of land-forces on board. One of these blocked up *Aila*, or *Ela*, by sea; and the other steered its course towards *'Aidāb*, as the place of its destination, in order to ravage the maritime coasts of *Hejāz*, and even, if an opportunity offered, to penetrate as far as *Mecca* and *Medina*. As the *Franks* had never before appeared with a fleet in the *Red Sea*, the *Moslems* did not suspect any enterprize of this kind, and consequently had made no preparations to oppose them. But *Al Mālec Al 'Adel Abu Becr*, *Salāb'addīn's* brother, the viceroy of *Egypt*, being informed of their design, in a very short time equipped a considerable fleet on the sea of *'Aidāb*, and gave the command of it to *Ho-sāmo'ddīn Lūlū*, his *Hājeb*, an officer extremely well versed in naval affairs. *Lūlū*, who at this time had the sole management and direction of the marine of *Egypt*, first attacked the squadron that blocked up, or rather besieged, *Aila*; and, after an obstinate engagement, intirely defeated

Other events of the year 578.

^d BOHĀO'DDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 49, 50. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 578. GREG. ABU'LFARAJ, ubi sup. p. 411. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 578. TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, ubi sup. EBN AL ATHIR, EBN KHALECAN, RENAUD. ubi sup.

^e BOHĀO'DDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 51. ISM. ABU'LFED. EBN SHOHN. AL MAKRIZI, & GREG. ABU'LFARAJ, ubi sup.

it, killing and taking prisoners most of the men on board. Then he sailed after the other without delay, and came up with it off *Rabig*, on the coast of *Al Kbourá*; upon which, a most fierce and bloody conflict ensued. At last, however, after the most vigorous efforts on both sides had been made, victory declared in favour of the *Moslems*; who sunk many of the enemy's ships, slew an incredible number of their men, and took most of the rest prisoners. Some of the latter *Lílu* sent to the valley of *Mina*, where they were inhumanly butchered; and the remainder to *Egypt*, where they to a man met with the same fate. We are told, that *Arnold*; or, as the *Arab* writers call him, *Al Bornas*, the *Sáheb* of *Al Carac*, actually formed the siege of *'Aidáb*, and that he penetrated so far into the province of *Hejáx*, that he was not above a day's journey off *Mecca*; but was forced to return on board his ships, for want of water. To which it is farther added, that he put a large number of the *Mohammedan* pilgrims, or *Hadji's*, to the sword, threatened the demolition of the temple of *Mecca*, and spoke of *Mohammed* himself in very opprobrious terms; which probably occasioned *Lílu's* cruel treatment of the *Christian* prisoners that fell into his hands. Be that as it will, the *Moslem* writers, in the accounts they have handed down to us of this expedition of the *Franks*, are far from being perfectly agreed. Before the close of the present year, died *Farkh Sháh Ebn Shábinsháh Ebn Ayúb*, the *Sáheb* of *Baalbec*, who had formerly been appointed by *Saláb'addin* the governor of *Damascus*. He was brave, liberal, of an excellent disposition, a good poet, and a person in whom the *Soltán* reposed the most unshaken confidence. *Saláb'addin*, receiving advice of his death in *Mesopotamia*, sent from thence *Shamso'ddin Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd'almálec Al Mokaddem* to succeed him at *Damascus*, and assigned to his son *Babráin Sháh* the government of *Baalbec*. The same year, *Mas'úd Ebn Mohammed Ebn Mas'úd Al Nisábúri*, a *Fakih* of the sect of *Al Sháfe'i*, born in the year of the *Hejra* 505, departed this life likewise at *Damascus*. This *Imám* excelled in divine knowledge, and was surnamed *Kotbo'ddin*, or the axis of religion. He travelled from *Nisábúr* in *Khorasán*, the place of his nativity, from whence he was denominated *Al Nisábúri*, to *Damascus*, where he composed for the *Soltán* a sort of creed, or confession of faith, out of which that prince instructed his children in their tender years. About this time, died also *Al Sheikh Ahmed Ebn Al Rosá'i* of *Súad Wáfel*, a great and good man, held in universal esteem. His scholars were extremely numerous, and some of them with no small justice afterwards attracted the public regard. We must not forget to remark, that *Saláb'addin*, in his march from *Al Kábirah* to *Damascus*, ravaged part of the territories of the *Franks*, who endeavoured to dispute his passage through the district of *Al Carac*, with a body of troops they had assembled there; that this diversion enabled *Farkh Sháh* to reduce *Al Shakif*, a fortress in the neighbourhood of *Paneas*, subject to the *Franks*, and pillaged the adjacent country; and that the devastations committed by *Saláb'addin* and *Farkh Sháh*, in the beginning of the campaign, probably excited the *Franks*, by way of revenge, to undertake the *Arabian* expedition^g.

Saláb'addin
extends his
conquests.

THE 579th year of the *Hejra*, which commenced April 26th, 1183, proved as favourable as the preceding to the *Soltán's* arms. The city of *Amed* in *Mesopotamia* surrendered to him the 1st of *Al Mobarram*, after a siege of eight days, as has been already observed. *'Amádo'ddin Zenki Ebn Mawdúd*, the *Sáheb* of *Aleppo*, about this time, advanced with a body of troops to *A'záz*, in order to seize upon and pillage that fortress, as he had done before to *Caserlâtá*, a castle at the foot of mount *'Amila*, in the territory of *Aleppo*; which he had taken by force from *Bocmasb*, one of *Saláb'addin's* allies, the 21st of the former *Jomáda*, the preceding year. He had also attacked *Báshar*, in the possession of *Duldurm Al Yárúki*, another of the *Soltán's* allies; but without effect. These violences, which animated the *Franks* to make incursions into the *Moslem* territories, so incensed *Saláb'addin*, that he resolved to lay siege to *Aleppo*, and, if possible, possess himself of that place. *'Amádo'ddin* receiving intelligence of the *Soltán's* design, after he had reduced *Corzím*, a fortress in the district of *Aleppo*, returned to his capital, and there made the proper dispositions for sustaining a siege. *Saláb'addin*, in pursuance of the plan he had formed, marched first to *Tel Kbáled*, a castle at no great distance from *Aleppo*; which he took, the 22d of *Al Mobarram*, with very inconsiderable loss. From *Tel Kbáled* he moved to *Aleppo* itself, and encamped before that capital, the 26th of the same month. As the *Soltán's* army was extremely numerous, and he pushed on the siege with the utmost vigour, *'Amádo'ddin Zenki Ebn Mawdúd* thought fit to capitulate, about the middle of *Safar*; and therefore sent *Hosámo'ddin Dbimán*, as his agent and interpreter, to settle the terms of the capitulation with the *Soltán*. The principal articles were, that *'Amádo'ddin* should be permitted to retire with all his riches and valuable effects; that in lieu of *Aleppo*, with its castle and dependencies, *Saláb'addin* should cede to him *Sinjár*, *Násibin*, *Al Kbábúr*, *Al Rakka*, and *Sarúj*, in *Mesopotamia*, most of which places had formerly been subject to him; and that he should be always ready to attend the *Soltán* at the head of his troops, whenever called upon, without presuming to offer any excuse for his absence. The negotiation, which terminated in this convention, was carried

^g ISM. ABU'LFED. EBN SHOHN. EBN AL ATHIR, EBN KHALECAN, & AL MAKRIZI, ubi sup. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 543.

- a on with so much secrecy, that nothing relative to it transpired before the capitulation was actually signed. After which, 'Azzo'ddin Jordic was sent out of the city to treat with the *Soltân*, on the part of the people and the troops; whom *Salâb'addin* took under his protection, when the oath of allegiance had been administered to them, the 17th of *Safar*, presenting at the same time the principal of them with most sumptuous vests. The 23d, died *Tâj Al Molâc*, *Salâb'addin's* brother, of a wound he received in the siege; which overwhelmed the *Soltân*, who had the most tender regard for him, with grief. The same day, 'Amâdo'ddin evacuated the citadel, paid his duty to *Salâb'addin*, and was magnificently entertained by that prince in his tent. He also received from the *Soltân*, as did likewise every one of his companions, a present of a royal *Kaftân*, or vest, and a beautiful horse. 'Amâdo'ddin having taken the rout of *Karâ Hisâr*, in his way to *Senjâr*, or *Sinjâr*, *Salâb'addin* took possession of the citadel of *Aleppo*; where he regaled in a most elegant manner *Hosâmo'ddin Dbimân*, who had been left by 'Amâdo'ddin to superintend the removal of his effects. The *Soltân* then ordered a detachment of his troops to reduce *Hârem*; which being done the 29th of *Safar*, he repaired to that fortress, and staid there two nights. Having settled every thing there, he returned to *Aleppo*; where he arrived, the 3d of the former *Rabî*. He left *Ibrahim Ebn Sherwab* to command in *Hârem*, began to move towards *Damascus*, the 22d of the latter *Rabî*, and entered that capital, the 3d of the former *Jomâda*. He did not, however, continue long there. For, on the 8th of the latter *Jomâda*, he advanced to *Al Fawâr*; and from thence to *Al Kofair*, where he pitched his tents for one night. The next morning, by day-break, he passed the ford of *Al Kofair*, and marched to *Beisân*; which the inhabitants abandoned at his approach. Having pillaged *Beisân*, and burnt all the spoil he could not carry off with him, the *Soltân* moved to *Al Jâlût*, or 'Ain *Al Beisân*; from whence he sent a detachment, under the command of 'Azzo'ddin Jordic, to reconnoitre the *Franks*. That general falling in with a party of the troops of *Al Carac* and *Al Shawbec*, a small town on the confines of *Al Hejâz*, inhabited by *Christians*, and adorned with many charming gardens, as well as two refreshing fountains, that were advancing to the assistance of the *Franks*; he attacked them with so much bravery, that they were soon put to the rout, had most of their men killed upon the spot, and about 100 taken prisoners. The *Moslems* lost only *Babrâm Al Shâwawsh* in the action, the enemy not making a very vigorous resistance.
- d The *Soltân*, animated by this first instance of success, drew up his forces in order of battle, and led them against the *Franks*; who having assembled their whole army at *Seforiya*, or *Sepphoris*, the strongest city of *Galilee*, marched to *Al Fawla*, and moved from thence towards the *Egyptian* forces, with an intention to engage them. But finding them more numerous than they at first imagined, and being a little dejected by the bad success they had met with, in the late skirmish, on the 10th of the latter *Jomâda*, they thought fit afterwards to decline an engagement. Nor could the *Soltân*, by all the methods he could devise, bring them to a general action. They, therefore, gradually retreated to *Al Fawla*, after they had lost in one or two smart reinounters a pretty considerable number of men; and from thence retired into their own territories, where they seemed to be apprehensive of a speedy visit from the enemy. But though the *Soltân* could not force them to a battle, he killed abundance of their men, carried off many with him into captivity, intirely dismantled 'Aferbalâ, *Beisân*, and *Zer'in*, three of their strongest towns, laid waste a very large extent of country belonging to them, and concluded the campaign on that side with the reduction of *Al Fawâr*. *Abu'lfeda* farther relates, that *Salâb'addin* presented himself before 'Aintâb, a city occupied by *Nâsero'ddin Mohammed*, the brother of *Al Sheikh Ismael*, and *Nîro'ddin's* treasurer, who had ruled in that place, which was given him by his master, to this time, the present year; and that *Nâsero'ddin*, by surrendering it to him, became one of the *Soltân's* favourites, was confirmed in the prefecture he had before enjoyed, and ranked thenceforth amongst the principal commanders of the *Egyptian* armies. To which he adds, that this happened before *Aleppo* was invested by *Salâb'addin's* troops; that 'Amâdo'ddin being fatigued by a long (D) siege, and tired with the importunities of his own officers, exchanged *Aleppo* for the above-mentioned cities in *Mesopotamia*; and that the treaty concluded by that prince with *Salâb'addin* was vastly disagreeable to the people of *Aleppo*, who could not forbear reproaching him for it in the following opprobrious terms, "O you as! you have sold your new milk for that which is sour." The last of which particulars may likewise be evinced from *Abu'l Faraj*; who clearly intimates, that the cession of *Aleppo* and its district to *Salâb'addin*, for a few villages and open fields, was considered by every one that heard of it as infamous to the last degree. The *Soltân* was no sooner master of *Aleppo*, continues *Abu'lfeda*, than he sent to *Serkbac*, 'Amâdo'ddin's governor of *Hârem*, to which post

(D) It seems to be intimated by *Abu'l Faraj*, that *Salâb'addin* erected a sort of huts for his troops on mount *Jarufân*, where he incamped, as an indication of his intention to continue long before the place; which, according to this author, induced 'Amâdo'ddin *Zenki Ebn Marvâd*, for an equivalent, to surrender it to him (1).

(1) Greg. *Abu'l Faraj*, *ubi sup.* p. 412.

he had been advanced by *Al Málec Al Sáleh*, and summoned him to surrender that place ; which a
 he refusing to do, and endeavouring to call in to his assistance the *Franks*, the garrison muti-
 nied, and delivered him up to *Saláb'addín* bound. About the same time, the fortress of *A'záz*
 submitted to the *Soltán* ; who sent *Al Emír Solimán Ebn Jondar* to reside as commandant there.
 Some of the MSS. of *Ebn Shobnah* give us to understand, that *Táj Al Molúc Túri*, *Saláb'addín's*
 youngest brother, died of a wound in his knee, received before *Aleppo*, during the operations of
 the siege ; whilst others assert the mortal wound to have been given by a spear, in his head. But
 the former of these lessons is the most consonant to the text of *Abu'lfeda*, which *Ebn Shobnah*
 generally follows, and consequently the most likely to be true. The news of that prince's death
 was brought to the *Soltán*, when he was in the height of his jollity at a grand entertainment
 which *'Amádo'ddín Zenki Ebn Mawdúd* had prepared for him ; whereupon he ordered him to b
 be interred, but with a low voice, lest the mirth of the company should be interrupted by that
 tragical event. However, the loss of this favourite brother so strongly affected him, that he used
 frequently to say, " The acquisition of *Aleppo*, purchased by my brother *Táj Al Molúc Túri's*
 " blood, cost us dear ^h."

Other remark-
 able occurren-
 ces that hap-
 pened, accord-
 ing to the
 Moslem
 writers, this
 year.

SALAH'ADDIN having fixed his son *Al Málec Al Dháber*, or *Al Tháber*, *Gázi*, in the govern-
 ment of *Aleppo*, and left a sufficient garrison in the castle, as well as at *Húrem* and *A'záz*, return-
 ed to *Damascus*. From thence he afterwards advanced to the *Jordan*, passed that river, laid
Beisán in ashes, drove the *Franks* out of the field, and formed the siege of *Al Carac*. In order
 to render this enterprise successful, his brother *Al Málec Al 'Adel* had joined him with a large c
 body of the *Egyptian* troops, the fourth of *Sbaabán*. But the place being defended by a nu-
 merous garrison, about the middle of the same month, he found himself obliged to abandon the
 siege. *Sbarfo'ddín Bargash Al Núri*, an officer of distinction, was killed in one of the attacks.
 In the room of *Al Málec Al Adel Abu Becr*, who had now the government of *Aleppo* conferred
 upon him, *Takío'ddín Omár Al Modhaffer*, the *Soltán's* nephew, was appointed, the 15th of
Sbaabán, to act as viceroy of *Egypt*. The season being now something advanced, *Saláb'addín*
 returned to *Damascus*, and entered that city, the 24th of the same month. He had not been
 long in that capital, when he commanded his son *Al Málec Al Tháber* to leave *Aleppo*, and
 repair immediately to *Damascus* ; who, in obedience to that command, though much against
 his inclination, set out, with *Saifo'ddín Yázcu* and *Ebn Al 'Amíd*, for the latter of those cities,
 which he reached, the 18th of *Shawál*, and met with a most gracious reception from the *Soltán*. d
 This young prince, the best beloved by *Saláb'addín* of any of his children, was, according to
Bobáo'ddín, possessed of the finest intellectual endowments. He was a person of the utmost
 sagacity, the most ready parts, the quickest apprehension, the greatest application, especially to
 all affairs of government, and perfectly exact in every point of filial duty. At this time, the fa-
 mous *Sheikh Bedro'ddín*, a most celebrated preacher of *Baghdád*, went, by the *Khalíf Al Náser's*
 permission, as ambassador on the part of the *Sáheb* of *Al Mawfel*, to the *Soltán's* court. *Mo-*
bió'ddín Ebn Kemálo'ddín and *Bobáo'ddín Ebn Sheddád* attended *Al Sheikh Bedro'ddín* in this le-
 gation. But as the *Soltán* insisted upon the *Sáhebs* of *Arbel*, or *Arbela*, and *Al Jazíra* being
 left at liberty either to enter into an alliance with him or the *Sáheb* of *Al Mawfel*, which *Mo-*
bió'ddín strenuously opposed, and would consider those princes in no other light than that of c
 allies of the *Sáheb* of *Al Mawfel*, the conferences broke off without success. The ambassadors,
 therefore, departed from *Damascus*, without executing the commission they were sent upon.
 However, before the close of this year, embassies came to *Saláb'addín* from all parts of the
 world ; and particularly from *Sanjar Sháb*, the *Sáheb* of *Al Jazíra*, and the prince of *Arbel*,
 who desired to be admitted into the number of his confederates and friends. Which having
 obtained, they returned to their respective courts. *Al Málec Al 'Adel*, the *Soltán's* brother,
 paid him a visit, the 4th of *Dhu'lbajja*, at *Damascus* ; and, having celebrated the feast called
Id Al Korbán, or *Id Al Adbá*, that is, *The feast of the sacrifice*, beginning on the 10th of that
 month, he made the best of his way to *Aleppo*, from whence he came. This year, *'Azzo'd-*
dín Mas'úd Ebn Mawdúd deposed *Mojábedo'ddín*, his prime minister, and put him under arrest. f
 After the cession of the city and territory of *Aleppo* to *Saláb'addín Yusef Ebn Ayúb*, *Mobío'ddín*
Ebn Al Zakki, the *Kádi* of *Damascus*, observed in an encomium (E) he wrote upon the *Soltán*,

^h BOHA'ODDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 579. GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 412. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 579. EBN AL ATHIR, EBN KHALECAN, & TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, ubi sup. RENAUD. ubi sup. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. pass. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 742.

(E) It appears from *Abu'lfeda* and *Ebn Shobnah*, that this encomium was a poem, written by *Mobío'ddín* upon the reduction of *Aleppo*, containing a distich, preserved by them, in praise of the *Soltán* ; wherein, by a sort of poetical enthusiasm, he says, " Your subjugation of

" *Aleppo* in *Safar* announces the conquest of *Jerusalem* by your arms in *Ráje*." Which prediction, as those authors pretend, was fulfilled by the taking of *Jerusalem*, the 17th of *Ráje*, in the year of the *Hejra* 583 (1).

(1) *Ism. Abu'lfed. in chron. ad an. Hej. 579. Ebn Shobn. ad an. Hej. 579.*

that

- a that the conquest of *Aleppo* in the month of *Safar* presaged that of *Jerusalem* in the month of *Rajeb*; which both *Abu'lfeda* and *Ebn Shobnah* look upon as a prediction that was afterwards fulfilled, and for that reason assign it a place amongst the remarkable occurrences of the present year. We must not forget to remark, that *Sokmán*, or *Sakmán*, *Ebn Tabīro'ddīn Ibrāhīm Ebn Sokmán Al Kotbi*, the *Shāh Armen*, or prince of *Akhlāt*, died, after he had completed the sixty-fourth year of his age, towards the close of the year that we are now upon. *Boṭemar*, one of his father's *Mamlūks*, or slaves, who at that time held *Mayyāfūrakīn*, hastening to the capital, upon the news of his death, was placed on the throne of *Akhlāt*, and proclaimed *Shāh Armen*, in his stead. Here he reigned about ten years, having been cut off in 589, as from the *Moslem* historians will hereafter more fully appear^{*}.
- b IN the 580th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *April* 14th, 1184; *Salāb'addīn* assembled both the *Syrian* and *Egyptian* forces, in order to attempt once more the reduction of *Al Carac*; and appointed *Nūro'ddīn Ebn Karā Arslān*, who came with *Al Mālec Al' Adel* to *Damascus*, towards the close of the former *Rabī*, to command the troops to be employed in that expedition. Upon their arrival, they met with a most gracious reception from the *Soltān*, who was just recovered from an illness, that had confined him to his apartment for some time. *Al Mālec Al Modbaffer* reached *Damascus*, from *Egypt*, the 19th of the latter *Rabī*, bringing his family, and all his treasures, along with him. *Nūro'ddīn Ebn Karā Arslān*, having been reinforced by the *Mesopotamian* troops, advanced to *Al Carac*; and, according to *Bobāo'ddīn*, invested that place, the 4th of the former *Ṣomāda*. He soon after began to play upon it with the military engines he had brought with him, and attacked it with the utmost vigour. The *Franks*, receiving advice, that the *Moslems* had opened the campaign with the siege of *Al Carac*, marched to *Al Wālib*, a place not far from that fortress, and there incamped. As *Al Carac* in a great measure cut off the communication between *Syria* and *Egypt*, *Salāb'addīn* was determined at all events, if possible, to carry it; and, therefore, moving towards them, posted himself at *Mā' Ain*, in the neighbourhood of *Al Wālib*, where he made the necessary dispositions for an engagement, being resolved, if an opportunity offered, to give them battle. But finding this impracticable, and being informed, that the *Franks*, who decamped from *Mā' Ain*, the 26th of the former *Ṣomāda*, had thrown a body of fresh troops into *Al Carac*; he abandoned the lower town, which *Nūro'ddīn Ebn Karā Arslān* had taken, and immediately raised the siege. However, after having harassed the enemy's rear, he penetrated into *Palestine*, took *Nāblos*, or *Naplosa*, the *Neapolis* and *Sichem*, or *Shechem*, of the antients, ravaged the neighbouring tract, put many of the inhabitants to the sword, and carried a vast number of them with him into captivity. He also possessed himself of *Jānīn*, or *Jinīn*, a little town between *Nāblos* and *Beisān*, near the banks of the *Jordan*; and penetrated to *Sebastiya*, or *Sebaste*, where *John the Baptist's* remains are supposed to have been deposited. Here he released some *Moslem* prisoners, who had been thrown into irons by the *Franks*. He was not, however, able to reduce to his obedience the two castles of *Nāblos*. After this, he returned to *Damascus*, where he made his public entry, the 7th of the latter *Ṣomāda*; being accompanied by *Al Mālec Al' Adel* and *Nūro'ddīn Ebn Karā Arslān*, who had attended him in this expedition. The same month, an ambassador from the *Khalīf Al Nūser Ledīnī'llah* arrived at *Damascus* from *Baghdād*, waited upon *Salāb'addīn*, and brought him a royal vest, or the *Kaštān* of *Soltān*. *Salāb'addīn's* brother, his son *Asado'ddīn*, and *Nūro'ddīn Ebn Karā Arslān* were also honoured by the *Khalīf*, before the close of the month, with a similar present. About this time, an embassy came to the *Soltān* from *Ebn Zīno'ddīn*, with the news of an irruption made by *Mojābedo'ddīn Kāymāz*, with the army of *Al Mawṣel*, reinforced by the troops of *Kozul*, into the district of *Arbel*; soliciting succours of him, that *Ebn Zīno'ddīn* might be thereby enabled to drive the enemy out of his dominions. *Mojābedo'ddīn* had incamped before *Arbel*, and laid waste a considerable part of the adjacent territory with fire and sword. Notwithstanding which, *Ebn Zīno'ddīn* had routed that general, and obliged him to retire from *Arbel*, in the most precipitate manner, with considerable loss¹.
- f THE same year, died *Kotbo'ddīn Ebn Aylgāzi Ebn Nojmo'ddīn Alebbi Ebn Tamartāsh*, of the house of *Artak*, or *Ortok*, the *Sāheb* of *Māredīn*; and was succeeded by *Hosāmo'ddīn Yulak Arslān*, his son. As *Hosāmo'ddīn* was an infant, at the time of his father's death, *Shāh Armen*, the *Sāheb* of *Khālāt*, or *Akhlāt*, *Kotbo'ddīn's* uncle, took upon him the government of

^{*} BOHĀO'DDĪN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 56, 57, 58. ISM. ABU'LFED. EBN SHOHNĀH, EBN AL ATHIR, EBN KHALECAN, & AL MAKRIZI, ubi sup. HYDE, in not. ad Albertum Bobovium, de peregrinat. Meccan. p. 16. ut et ipse ALBERT. BOBOY. ibid. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 150, 151. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Salaheddin Josef Ben Aioub, Ben Schadi*, p. 742. RENAUD. ubi sup. ¹ BOHĀO'DDĪN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 58, 59. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 580. EBN SHOHNĀH, ad an. Hej. 580. EBN KHALECAN & TAKIO'DDĪN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, ubi sup. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 543. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. pass.

Miredin, and placed *Nodbâmo'ddin Al Takasb*, with his son, at the head of the administration there. *Nodbâmo'ddin*, being an upright and religious person, took care to give the child a good education, and married his mother. But finding *Hosâmo'ddin*, when he advanced towards manhood, to labour under a great defect of common sense, and not fit, on account of his levity, to be placed at the helm; he continued himself in the management and direction of public affairs, until the young prince's death. *Hosâmo'ddin* had a younger brother, named *Kolbo'ddin*, whom *Nodbâmo'ddin*, or *Al Nodbâm*, caused, by his address, to be elevated to the throne; though he was only a nominal prince, the supreme authority being vested in *Nodbâmo'ddin* himself, and *Lîlî*, one of his slaves. In this situation things remained, till the year of the *Hejra* 581; when *Nodbâmo'ddin* being sick, *Kolbo'ddin* went to see him, and, at his departure, was assassinated by *Lîlî* with a knife, who afterwards entered *Nodbâmo'ddin's* apartment, and dispatched him in the same manner. He then cut off both their heads, and exposed them to the view of the whole army; the officers of which hereupon declared for him, so that he immediately became master of *Mîredin* and *Al Bîriya*, with their respective citadels, as well as *Al Sûr*, or *Al Sawra*, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. After which, if that author may be credited, though he so villainously acquired his power, he discovered himself to be by no means deficient in point of valour. This year, died also *Sadro'ddin Abd'alrahim Ebn Ismael Ebn Abu Sa'id*, denominated by *Abu'lfeda* the *Sheikh* of *Sheikhs*. He was the *Khalîf* of *Baghdâd's* ambassador to *Salâh'addin Yusuf Ebn Ayûb*, sent by his master to bring about an accommodation, in conjunction with *Shahâbo'ddin Bashîr*, between '*Azzo'ddin Mas'ûd*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Mawfel*, and the *Soltân*. Those ministers, whose negotiation did not meet with the desired success, being taken ill at *Damascus*, were desirous of returning to *Baghdâd*, in order to recover their health. But the heats, at the time of their departure from *Damascus*, being excessive; *Bashîr* departed this life at *Al Sukhna*, and *Sadro'ddin Abd'alrahim* at *Rababa* upon the *Euphrates*. The latter of these, who, for his knowledge in both ecclesiastical and political matters, is styled by *Abu'lfeda* the phoenix of his age, was interred at *Mashhad Al Bûk*, at no great distance from the last mentioned city. As for *Al Sakna*, where *Bashîr* expired, it is a small town in the deserts of *Al Sham*, or *Al Fâzira*, between *Tadmor*, '*Ard*, and *Arec*. It derived the name of *Al Sukhna* from a hot fountain on the road to *Rababa*, surrounded with palm-trees, near it, and is called in the maps *Sukana*. Before the close of the 580th year of the *Hejra*, *Abu Yakûb Yusuf Ebn Abd'al'mûmen*, *Soltân* of the *Al Moâbedun*, in *Spain*, likewise departed this life; being engaged, according to *Ebn Shobnah*, in a sacred expedition against the *Franks*, at the time of his demise. His remains were carried to (F) *Ashbelia*, *Ashbiliab*, or *Seville*, and there inhumed. After this prince's death, his son *Yakûb Ebn Yusuf Ebn Abd'al'mûmen* was proclaimed *Soltân* of the *Al Moâbedun* in his room. We must not forget to remark, that '*Azzo'ddin Mas'ûd*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Mawfel*, in the month of *Al Mobarram*, released *Mojâbedo'ddin Kâymâz* out of prison, and received him again into favour; nor that *Salâh'addin* ordered the sons of *Al'Aded*, the last *Fâtemite Khalîf*, to be confined more straitly than ever, for fear of a sedition in *Egypt*, where they were by the body of the people extremely revered, the present year^m.

Al Mawfel
is incessantly
besieged by
Salâh'addin,
in the year
581.

THE following year, being the 581st of the *Hejra*, commencing April 4th, 1185, *Salâh'addin*, having received advice of the hostilities committed by *Mojâbedo'ddin* with the combined army, consisting of the forces of *Al Mawfel* and those of *Kozul*, as has been already observed, against the territories of the *Sâheb* of *Arbel*, one of his allies, moved at the head of a numerous army, in order to lay siege to *Al Mawfel*. Having passed the *Euphrates*, he was met at *Al Bîra* by *Modbaffero'ddin*, the 12th of *Al Mobarram*, and from thence advanced to *Harrân*. Here he arrived, the 22d of *Safar*; having sent before *Saïfo'ddin Al Meshtûb*, with the main body of the army, to *Râs Al'Ain*, called by *Ptolemy Rhafena*. The 26th of the same month, the *Soltân* ordered *Modbaffero'ddin* to be put under arrest, for not appearing when he was commanded to attend him, and for having in other respects of-

^m GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 412. 413. ISM. ABU'LFED. EBN SHOHNAH, EBN KHALECAN, EBN AL ATHIR, & TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, ubi sup. Aut Al Moshtarec, apud Ism. Abu'lfed. in tab. Mesopotam. ut et ipse Ism. ABU'LFED. ibid. GOLL not. ad Alfragan. p. 255. ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup. pass. RENAUD. ubi sup.

(F) This is the name given by the *Arabs* to the city of *Seville*; which they made themselves masters of, in the beginning of their conquests in *Spain*. *Al Mo'tamed Al Abadi*, who reigned there, was driven from *Ashbelia*, or *Seville*, by *Yûsuf Ebn Tâfessîn*, emperor of *Morocco*, of the race of the *Al Morabeta*, or *Almoravides*, in the year of the *Hejra* 484. The surname of *Al Ashbeli*, or *Al Ashbili*, has been given to

Ahmed Ebn Omar, who died in 401, and left behind him a book of jurisprudence, drawn up according to the principles of *Mâlik Ebn Anas*, as well as to the doctors *Ebn Asfar*, *Ebn Kharath*, *Ebn Farah*, *Ebn Yurdûn*, *Ebn Tarkhan*, *Ebn Zaidûn*, and other *Arabic* authors, either natives, or descended from natives, of this place (1).

(1) *Al Nowair*. Ism. Abu'lfed. Ebn Shobnah, &c. Vid. etiam D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 134.

- a fended him. That prince likewise deprived him of the government of the citadel of *Harrân*, and *Al Rohî*, or *Edeffa*; but *Salâb'addîn* conferred the former of those posts a second time upon him, made him a present of a royal vest, and took him again into favour, the beginning of the former *Rabi*. Soon after the *Soltân* had reached *Râs Al 'Ain*, an ambassador from *Kilij Arslân* had an audience of him; in which he informed him, that all the kings of the East had formed a confederacy against him, and were determined to come to an open rupture with him, if he did not desist from his enterprize against *Al Mawfel* and *Mâredîn*. But this formidable alliance by no means intimidating him, he marched to *Dunîser*; where he was joined by *'Amâdo'ddîn Ebn Karâ Arslân*, with the troops of *Nûro'ddîn*, the *Sâheb* of *Mâredîn*, the 8th of the last mentioned month. Having treated that general with great marks
- b of distinction, the *Soltân* advanced to *Al Mawfel*, and incamped before that city, at *Al Ismâ'ilân*; the 21st of the aforesaid month; and, for some time, straitly besieged it. But *'Amâdo'ddîn Ebn Karâ Arslân* being obliged to return to *Mâredîn*, on account of his brother *Nûro'ddîn's* death, and the people of *Khalât*, or *Akblât*, being desirous of submitting to the *Soltân*; he raised the siege of *Al Mawfel*, and moved towards *Shâb Armen's*, or the prince of *Akblât's* frontiers, without delay. But *Boztemar*, who succeeded *Shâb Armen Sokmân Ebn Tabîro'ddîn Ibrahim Ebn Sokmân Al Kotbi* in the sovereignty of *Khalât*, being drawn from his first attachment to *Salâb'addîn* by *Al Pehelawân Mohammed*, the *Sâheb* of the *Belâd Al Jebel*, *Al Ray*, *Esfabân*, *Arrân*, and *Adverbijân*, who for that purpose had given his daughter in marriage to him; the *Soltân* found it impossible to possess himself of *Akblât*, and therefore laid aside all hopes of carrying into execution his former design. However, as he had
- c sat down before *Mayyâfârahîn*, he pushed on the siege of that place with the utmost vigour; and obliged the commandant, notwithstanding his brave defence, on the 28th of the former *Jomâda*, to surrender it to him. Whilst *Salâb'addîn* was engaged in the operations before *Al Mawfel*, *Sakmân*, or *Sokmân*, who ascended the throne of *Mâredîn*, *Al Hîsn Caîsa*, and *Amed*, after *Nûro'ddîn Mohammed Ebn Karâ Arslân's* demise, then under age, was brought to him, and confirmed by him in the possession of those fortresses, with their respective districts. As *Sokmân* was a child, *Al Kawâm Ebn Samîkâ Al Ashardi* governed his dominions for him; to whom the *Soltân* joined one of his *Emîrs*, and then dismissed the young prince in a very honourable manner. After the reduction of *Mayyâfârahîn*, *Salâb'addîn* returned to
- d *Al Mawfel*, pitched his camp at *Casar Zimmâr*, and, being reinforced by the *Mesopotamian* troops, under the conduct of *Sanjar Shâb*, attacked a third time that city. However, the summer heats growing excessive, the *Soltân* fell sick of a malignant distemper, that threatened him with the most dreadful effects; upon which, especially as *'Azzo'ddîn* had before sued to him (G) for peace, he abandoned the siege, and retired to *Harrân*. When he arrived there, he was so reduced by the fatigues he had sustained in his march, that his life was despaired of. Nay, soon after his arrival, it was given out, that he was actually dead. In the mean time, *'Azzo'ddîn*, having met with a denial both from the *Persians* and the *Khalîf* of *Baghdâd*, to whom he had applied for assistance, sent *Bobâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd* and *Bobâyo'ddîn Al Rabîb*, as his ambassadors, to the *Soltân*, to procure a peace of him at any rate. These
- e ministers overtook *Salâb'addîn* upon the road, and concluded a treaty with him upon the following terms. I. The *Sâheb* of *Al Mawfel* shall restore *Shabrezûr*, with its district, to the *Soltân*. II. He shall likewise cede to him the prefecture of *Al Karâbâli*, and all the tract situated on the other side of the *Zâb*. III. The *Soltân* shall be prayed for in the mosques

(G) It appears from *Abu'l Faraj*, that the *Atâbek 'Azzo'ddîn*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Mawfel*, sent his mother, together with *Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenkî's* daughter, several other ladies, and the principal lords of his court, to *Salâb'addîn*, when he first attacked that city, in the former *Rabi*, the present year. This he did, in order to prevail upon him to raise the siege; but without effect. The *Soltân* bade them sit down in his tent, and made an awkward disagreeable apology for not complying with their request. This so exasperated the people of *Al Mawfel*, who thought he could not have denied the ladies, especially the daughter of his friend and benefactor *Nûro'ddîn*, even the whole province of *Syria*, had they desired it, that they unanimously resolved to defend the place to the last drop of blood. *Al Kâdî Al Fadl* also wrote to him, upbraiding him with the ingratitude he had been guilty of on this occasion. Parties of the garison likewise frequently passed the *Tigris*, and harassed by their sallies that part of his army incamped on the eastern bank to such a degree, that he attempted to cut off all communication betwixt the river and the town, on the side of *Nineveh*;

thinking by this means to oblige *'Azzo'ddîn's* troops to surrender for want of water. But, finding the execution of his design impracticable, and receiving advice of *Shâb Armen's* death, he at last decamped, and turned off to *Mayyâfârahîn*; having been informed, that this prince died without issue, and was succeeded by *Boztemar*, one of his slaves. Whereupon the *Soltân* detached *Nâfêro'ddîn Mahmud Ebn Shairacûb* and *Mot-haffero'ddîn Ebn Zîno'ddîn* with a body of troops towards *Akblât*; who advanced to *Tatwâna*, and incamped there. *Al Pehelawân Mohammed Ebn Ildig-biz*, or *Ayldigbîz*, the *Sâheb* of *Adverbijân*, also posted himself with a detachment of his forces near *Akblât*; upon which, a negotiation commenced, and many couriers passed and repassed between him and the *Soltân*. The result of which was, that *Salâb'addîn* should take *Mohammed* into the number of his allies, and be prayed for in the territories of that prince, as well as those of the *Sâheb* of *Akblât*. In the last point, however, this writer does not intirely agree with another of the *Arab* historians referred to here (1).

(1) *Greg. Abu'l Faraj, ubi sup. p. 413, 414. Bobâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd, ubi sup. p. 61.*

throughout the territories of *Al Mawfel*. IV. Money shall be coined there, with *Salâb'addin's* name imprest upon it. Which treaty being signed, according to *Bobâo'ddin Ebn Sheddâd*, the 10th of *Dbu'lbajja*, when the victims are slain at the pilgrimage of *Mecca*; the *Soltân* annexed to the dependencies of *Al Mawfel*, if the last mentioned author may be credited, the country of *Al Nabrein* (H), which had lately been put into his hands by *Sanjar Shâb*. Being visited by his brother, who came with the utmost expedition from *Aleppo* to *Harrân*; and attended by his physicians; *Salâb'addin* soon recovered his health, and made the necessary dispositions for undertaking a journey into *Syria*. Whilst the *Soltân* was ill, *Mohammed Ebn Shairacûb Ebn Shûdi*, his nephew, the *Sâheb* of *Hems*, taking for granted that he would die, had engaged the leading men at *Damascus* to declare for him, and admit him into the town, as soon as they should receive advice of that prince's death. These intrigues being discovered to *Salâb'addin*, he probably resented them. For, *Mohammed Ebn Shairacûb* was found dead, the morning of the 11th of *Dbu'lbajja*, in his palace at *Hems*; having been poisoned, at an entertainment he had provided for some of his friends, with the *Soltân's* privity, as was generally believed, the preceding night. Be that as it will, *Salâb'addin* appointed his son *Shairacûb*, then only twelve years old, to succeed him at *Hems*. He also seized upon his most valuable effects, and departed from *Harrân*, as *Bobâo'ddin* and *Abu'lfeda* seem to intimate, towards the close of the year that we are now upon".

At this time, according to some of the oriental historians, there was one of those great conjunctions of the seven planets, which rarely happen. It appeared in the third degree of *Libra*; which, if the rules of judicial astrology may be depended upon, is a very airy sign. All the astrologers in the *Moslem* territories, and amongst the rest *Anwâri*, surnamed *Al Hâkem*, or the philosopher, foretold, from this phænomenon, that such violent winds would blow, and such dreadful hurricanes arise, this year, that most of the houses in the country would be blown down, and the mountains themselves shaken. These predictions had such an effect on many people, that they provided places under-ground for their retreat, in order to screen themselves from the fury of such horrible tempests. Nevertheless there did not blow, during the whole time assigned by the astrologers, any wind to hinder the farmers from threshing and winnowing their corn. Notwithstanding which, the author of the *Lebtârîk* would persuade us, in opposition to the sentiments of other historians, that *Anwâri* and his brethren prognosticated, from the aforesaid conjunction, the frightful devastations attending the irruption of the *Moguls* into the countries of the *Turân* and *Irâk*, under the command of *Jenghîz Khân*. Some of the eastern writers affirm, that *Mohammed Ebn Ildighîz*, surnamed *Al Pebelawân*, the second *Atâbek* of *Adherbijân*, died the present year; and that, upon this event, a breach commenced between *Kezel*, *Kizil*, or *Kozul*, *Arslân*, his brother, who succeeded him, and *Togrol II.* the *Soltân* of the *Selîjûks* of *Irân*, who resided at *Hamadân*, in the *Persian Irâk*. For *Kozul Arslân*, taking upon him to dispose of all things without *Togrol's* orders, gave great umbrage, both to that prince and his whole court. *Kozul Arslân* perceiving the *Soltân* to be displeased with him, to prevent the consequence, marched suddenly with a powerful army towards *Hamadân*; from whence *Togrol*, having no forces to oppose him, retired. Whereupon *Kozul Arslân* entered the city without resistance; and, after he had continued there for some time, content with having offered this insult to the *Soltân*, withdrew home to *Adherbijân*. After his departure, *Togrol* re-entered his capital. But the *Atâbek*, resolving soon to disturb his repose, drew several of the discontented lords of *Irâk* to his party, and persuaded them afterwards to send proper persons to the *Soltân*, to inform him that they were ready to come and ask his pardon, if he would have the goodness to grant it them. *Togrol*, well pleased with their submission, appointed a day to receive it, when he was to play at mall in the great square of the city. The lords did not fail to appear before him; but, instead of asking pardon, secured his person, and imprisoned him in the strong castle named *Kalât Al Najû*, or the castle of refuge. This scheme being executed, *Kozul Arslân* left *Adherbijân*, and came to *Hamadân*, with a design to set *Sanjar*, son of the late *Solimân Shâh*, upon the throne; but having learned from a friend at *Baghdâd*, that the *Khalîf*, as soon as he was apprized of what had happened in the *Persian Irâk*, had said, "The *Atâbek* had a good pretence to be *Soltân* himself," he re-

ⁿ BOHÂO'DDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 60, 61, 62. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 581. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 414. EBN SHOHNAH, ad an. Hej. 581. EBN KHALECAN, TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, ubi sup. RENAUD. ubi sup.

(H) The words *Al Nabrein* properly denote the two rivers, or the country of the two rivers. The tract pointed out to us by them here is likewise called by *Bobâo'ddin Ebn Sheddâd*, a little above, *Al Fajîra*; and therefore the learned *Albert Schultens* has rendered *Al*

Nabrein, in the passage before us, *Mesopotamian*. The limits of the particular region or district *Bobâo'ddin* had in view have perhaps not been precisely determined, at least by any of the modern *European* geographers (1).

(1) *Bobâo'ddin Ebn Sheddâd*, ubi sup. p. 61, 62.

- a solved to assume that title, and ordered money to be coined in his own name. This proceeding changed the face of affairs. For *Fekbro'ddîn Kûtlûk*, his nephew, and several others of the noblesse, who thought themselves his equals, entering into a conspiracy, slew him, and divided *Togrol's* dominions amongst them. At this juncture, the *Soltân* escaped from his confinement, by the intrigues of *Hosâmo'ddîn*, the general of his troops; amongst whom there were many attached to his interest. As soon as he was at liberty, he raised an army; with which he defeated the rebels, and punished them for their revolt in the manner they deserved. This victory entirely re-established *Togrol's* affairs, and rendered them as flourishing as they ever before had been. So far we have followed the writers consulted by M. *D'Herbelot*; with whom *Bobâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, in relation to the time of *Atâbek Mohammed Ebn Ildigbîz's* death, most perfectly agrees. But *Al Pebelawân Mohammed Ebn Ildigbîz*, whose subjects prayed constantly in their mosques for *Soltân Togrol II.* though that prince had no kind of authority over them, died, and was succeeded by his brother *Kozul Arslân Othmân*, the following year, according to both *Abu'lfeda* and *Abu'l Faraj*¹.

- BEFORE we conclude our account of the most remarkable occurrences of the year 581, we must beg leave to observe, that a bloody battle was fought between the *Turkmâns* and the *Cûrds*, towards the close of it; in which a great number of men, if *Bobâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd* may be credited, on both sides were slain. The author, however, has not informed us in what part of the *Moslem* territories this action happened. It nevertheless seems probable, from a hint in his relation of the most interesting events of the following year, that the *Turkmâns* and the *Cûrds* engaged at no considerable distance from the city of *Nasîbîn* in *Mesopotamia*; though this, as it is not immediately deducible from any writer of note, we must not take upon us positively to affirm².

- THE next year, being the 582d of the *Hejra*, which began *March* 24th, 1186, *Salâb'addin Yusef Ebn Ayûb* recalled his son *Al Mâlec Al Afdal* from *Egypt*, and assigned him the government of *Damascus*; where he arrived, according to *Bobâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, the 17th of the former *Jomâda*. *Al Mâlec Al Modhaffer Takio'ddîn Omar*, *Salâb'addin's* nephew, then the viceroy of *Egypt*, having informed the *Soltân*, that *Al Mâlec Al Afdal* had released all those whom he had caused to be imprisoned for being deficient in the payment of their tribute, and that it would be impossible for him to collect the revenues of *Egypt*, if that prince was suffered to remain at *Al Kûbirab*; *Salâb'addin*, seemingly disgusted at his conduct, immediately sent for him. However, the *Soltân* conceived a dislike from hence to *Takio'ddîn*, and entertained a suspicion that, in case any accident should happen to him, he would set up for himself in *Egypt*. He therefore ordered him to return, without delay, to *Damascus*. But *Takio'ddîn*, not being disposed to obey his master, at first proposed to retire to *Karâkûsh*, one of his *Mamlûks*, who had subjugated *Barka*, and some of the neighbouring *African* provinces; which, as *Karâkûsh* was very powerful in the west, gave no small uneasiness to the *Soltân*. However, he at last fixed *Takio'ddîn* in his interest, by conferring upon him the government of *Hamab*, *Manbij*, *Casar Tâb*, *Al Ma'ra*, or *Al Maarra*, *Mayyâfârakîn*, and the mountainous tract of *Jawr*. He also appointed his brother *Al Mâlec Al 'Adel* to preside over the cities of *Harrân* and *Al Robâ*, with their dependencies; having before removed him from *Aleppo*, where he had been honoured with the supreme command. After which, *Salâb'addin* constituted him viceroy of *Egypt*, and joined to him his son *Al 'Azîz Othmân* in the administration there. *Al Mâlec Al Dbâher*, the *Soltân's* best beloved son, succeeded *Al Mâlec Al 'Adel* at *Aleppo*, a city considered at this time, according to *Bobâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, as the strongest and most important fortress of *Syria*, and married one of that prince's daughters, if the same author in this point may be depended upon, the 26th of *Ramâdân*. *Al Mâlec Al Afdal's* nuptials with a daughter of *Nâsero'ddîn Ebn Afado'ddîn* were likewise celebrated, in the month of *Shawâl*, this most auspicious year. With regard to the *Soltân* himself, we must beg leave to observe, that, after his recovery, he left *Harrân*, and arrived at *Aleppo*, in his way to *Damascus*, the 14th of *Al Moharram*; from whence, after he had been received there with all possible demonstrations of joy, he departed, the 18th of the same month. He was met at *Tel Al Soltân* by *Afado'ddîn Shairacûb Ebn Mohammed Ebn Shairacûb*, with his sister, attended by a numerous retinue; who accompanied him to *Hems*, where he spent some days in taking a view of *Nâsero'ddîn Mohammed Ebn Shairacûb's* treasures, arms, and most valuable effects. After which, he gave that city, with its district, to *Afado'ddîn Shairacûb*, *Nâsero'ddîn's* son, and then continued his route to *Damascus*. He made his public entry into that capital, according to *Bobâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, the 2d of the former *Rabî*, and was welcomed by the inhabitants, who distinguished

¹ D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Thogrul Ben Arslân*. p. 1028. AL EMIR YAHYA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, in *Lebtârikh*, BOHÂO'DDÎN EBN SHEDDÂD, ubi sup. p. 63. ISM. ABU'LFED. in *ciron*. ad an. HEJ. 582. GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 414, 415.

² BOHÂO'DDÎN EBN SHEDDÂD, ubi sup.

themselves on this occasion, with the loudest acclamations. Having thus received advice, that *Ma'ino'ddin* had rebelled against him, and set up for himself, at *Al Râwand*, or, as it is called by *Abu'lfeda*, *Al Râwanddân* a fortress in the province of *Kinnisrîn*, he commanded his forces in the territory of *Aleppo*, under the conduct of *'Alamo'ddin*, to reduce him. *Ma'ino'ddin*, finding himself not in a condition to make head against the *Soltân's* troops, delivered up *Al Râwand* to *Alamo'ddin*; and arrived at *Damascus*, in order to pay his duty to *Salâb'addîn*, the 2d of the former *Jomâda*. We are told, that *Asado'ddin Shairacûb*, on whom the *Soltân* had just now conferred the government of *Hems*, after he had stripped him of all the riches, arms, horses, and precious furniture, that had belonged to his father *Nâsero'ddin Mohammed Ebn Shairacûb*, was at this time a child, and filled the post assigned him, which had been occupied by his father, many years. That *Salâb'addîn* caused *Nâsero'ddin* to be poisoned, as has been intimated above, though he had married his own sister, is acknowledged by *Ebn Khalecân Abu'lfeda*, and *Takio'ddin Ahmed Al Makrizi*, his great admirers themselves. The first of those writers relates, that *Asado'ddin Shairacûb* being brought before *Salâb'addîn*, the *Soltân* asked him, "Whether he had made any progress in reading the *Korân*?" To which he replied in the following terms: "I am come to that place, Sir, where it is written, *Surely they who devour the possessions of orphans unjustly, shall swallow down nothing but fire into their bellies, and shall broil in raging flames.*" The war still continued between the *Turkmâns* and the *Cûrds*, who fought several battles, in the neighbourhood of *Nasîbîn*, and other parts, in the former *Rabî*; wherein a vast number of men, if we may believe *Bobâo'ddin Ebn Sheddâd*, were lost on both sides. But to which of those nations victory inclined, that author has not informed us. This year, *Al Bornas*, or *Arnold* the *Sâheb* of *Al Carac*, intercepted a large caravan of *Moslem* pilgrims going to *Mecca*, killed many of them, and carried off more with him into captivity. As a truce had been before concluded between *Salâb'addîn* and that prince, the *Soltân* looked upon this act of hostility as an open infraction of that treaty, and therefore sent an ambassador to *Arnold*, to demand the release of the prisoners he had taken; but without effect. This so incensed the *Soltân*, that he vowed he would himself cut off the perfidious *Sâheb's* head, if he ever fell into his hands. Our curious and sagacious readers will naturally here remark, that *Salâb'addîn's* treatment of *Nâsero'ddin Mohammed Ebn Shairacûb*, and *Shairacûb*, or *Asado'ddin Shairacûb*, his son, to whom, by the bands of consanguinity, he was so closely allied, indicates him to have been, notwithstanding the nauseous flattery of his sycophantic panegyrists, a very cruel and rapacious prince¹.

and of the
year 583.

THE 583d year of the *Hejra*, which commenced *March* 13th, 1187, proved extremely unfortunate, and even almost fatal, to the *Franks*. *Salâb'addîn* advanced at the head of a body of his troops to *Al Carac*, in order to block up that place, and protect the caravan of pilgrims going to *Mecca*. He also sent a large detachment of his forces, under the command of his son *Al Mâlec Al Afdal*, to ravage the district of *'Accâ*, and all the adjacent tract. *Al Mâlec Al Afdal* committed dreadful depredations in that part of *Palestine*, and then returned into the *Moslem* territories with an immense quantity of spoil, without having sustained any considerable loss. As for the *Soltân* himself, he remained before *Al Carac* till the return of the caravan, and then marched to *'Ashtarâ*, probably the *Ashtaroth Karnaim* of Scripture, belonging to the tribe of *Manasseh*, not far from *Damascus*. Here he was met by his son *Al Mâlec Al Afdal*, and *Modbaffero'ddin Ebn Zino'ddin*, with the army under their command. In the mean time, *Al Mâlec Al Modbaffer*, the *Sâheb* of *Hamab*, having concluded a treaty of neutrality with the *Franks* from the principality of *Aleppo*, decamped from *Hîrem*, where he had posted himself, to observe their motions, and returned to *Hamab*. The *Soltân* being afterwards joined by the forces of *Al Mawfel*, commanded by *Mas'ûd Al Za'farâni*, *Mîredîn*, and *Hamab*; he reviewed his army first on the hill called *Tel Taisal*, and afterwards at *Ashtarâ*; the latter of which, according to *Bobâo'ddin*, was the place of rendezvous. The *Franks*, having received advice of the dispositions made by the *Soltân* for attacking them, and of his having already taken the field, assembled likewise a numerous army, and encamped in the plains of *Sepphoris*. Of which *Salâb'addîn*, being informed, he pitched his camp on the lake of *Tiberias*, near the village of *Al Sobeira*, on *Friday*, the 17th of the latter *Rabî*; from whence he removed it to a spot to the west of that lake, and drew up his troops there in order of battle. This he imagined would induce the *Franks* to do the like; but he was deceived in his expectation, they keeping themselves close within their camp. The *Soltân*, not being able to draw them to an engagement, which he earnestly desired, left one part of his army to guard his camp, and with the other moved to *Tabariya*, or *Tiberias*, then subject to the *Sâheb* of *Tripoli*; which he took by storm, on *Wednesday*, the 21st of the latter *Rabî*, putting many of the people he found therein to the sword. The castle, however, held out against him, and could not be

¹ BOHÂO'DDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 63, 64, 65, 66. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 582. EBN KHALECAN, TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAM. SUR. IV. EBN SHOHNAH, ad an. Hej. 582. KHONDAMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 743. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 543, 544. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geograph. in vit. Salad. pass.

- a obliged to surrender. He was no sooner master of the town, than he committed the most horrible barbarities upon the inhabitants, and carried many of them off with him into a state of captivity. After which, to complete the tragical scene, he set fire to the place. The *Franks* receiving intelligence of what had happened to *Tabariya*, and being determined to give *Salâb'addin* battle; they immediately quitted their camp, and moved towards the *Soltân*: who, having left a body of troops to keep the citadel of *Tabariya* blocked up, led his men, with the same ardour, against them. Both armies, therefore, at last, facing each other, on *Thursday*, the 22d of the latter *Rabî*, in the afternoon, a most fierce and bloody conflict thereupon ensued. But the night preventing victory from declaring on either side, the fight was renewed the next morning, by break of day, with greater fury than before. Nor could the most vigorous efforts
- b of both armies decide the dispute before *Saturday*, the 24th of the aforesaid month; when the *Moslems*, animated by despair, as being hemmed in on every side by the enemy and the *Jordan*, intirely defeated the *Franks*, and gained a most glorious victory. The *Sâheb* of *Tripoli*, who, according to *Abu'lfeda*, had been prevailed upon to join the *Franks*, by a *Christian* patriarch and several priests sent to him as ambassadors from the king of *Jerusalem* for that purpose, in open violation of a solemn treaty of alliance he had before concluded with the *Soltân*, charged the *Moslems* in front; but was so warmly received by *Al Mâlec Al Modhaffer Takio'ddin*, the *Sâheb* of *Hamab*, who commanded there, that he soon betook himself to a precipitate flight. But being hotly pursued by a detachment of the *Moslem* forces, all the people that attended him were cut off to a man, and he alone escaped to *Tripoli*; where, as
- c *Bobâo'ddin Ebn Sheddâd* writes, he was some time after seized with a pleurisy, and died. A prodigious number of the *Franks* were killed in the action and the pursuit. A body of them, however, found means to retire to the top of a neighbouring hill, denominated from a village at a small distance from it the hill of *Hittin*; but being surrounded by the *Soltân's* troops, who set fire to a wood into which they had fled for shelter, and almost dead with thirst, they were obliged to surrender at discretion. Some of them were barbarously butchered by the *Moslems*, as soon as they delivered themselves up into their hands, and others thrown into irons. Amongst the prisoners were the king of *Jerusalem* himself, *Al Bornas*, or *Arnold*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Shawbec* and *Al Carac*, the *Sâheb* of *Hobeil*, or rather *Jobeil*, his son *Humfrey*, the masters of the *Templars* and *Hospitalers*, together with almost the whole order of the latter.
- d With such terror were the *Franks* struck on this occasion, that one of *Salâb'addin's* men, if the last-mentioned author merits any attention in this particular, took thirty of them prisoners, and dragged them after him; having tied them together, to prevent their escape, with the cord of his tent. The masters of the *Templars* and *Hospitalers*, with the knights above-mentioned acting under the latter, being brought into the *Soltân's* presence, he commanded them all to be cut (1) to pieces before his face. After the end of the action, *Salâb'addin* seated himself in a magnificent tent, erected for that purpose; and placed the king of *Jerusalem*, or, as the *Arab* writers style him, the king of the *Franks* (K), on his right hand, and *Al Bornas*, or *Arnold*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Shawbec* and *Al Carac*, on his left. Then he drank to the former of these princes, at that time ready to expire for want of liquids, and offered him a cup of snow-water (L);
- e which he thankfully received, and immediately drank to the latter. But here the *Soltân* interrupted him, with some warmth; saying, "I will not suffer this cursed rogue to drink, as that, according to the laudable and generous custom of the *Arabs*, would secure to him his life." Then turning towards the *Sâheb* of *Al Shawbec* and *Al Carac*, he gave him very opprobrious language, and reproached him with the expedition he had undertaken against the two sacred cities, that is *Mecca* and *Medina*, as well as with his violation of the treaty last concluded with him, in contempt of public faith, by intercepting an *Egyptian* caravan of pilgrims going to *Mecca*, in time of profound peace, near *Al Shawbec*, and massacring all the holy people of which it was composed. He likewise accused him of uttering the most virulent language against *Mohammed*, and of being guilty of a vast effusion of *Moslem* blood. Not-
- f withstanding which, he told the *Sâheb* he would spare him, if he would become a convert to *Islamism*; but refusing this, the *Soltân* drew his scymitar, and immediately struck off his head, in conformity to the vow he had formerly made. This not a little terrified the king of the *Franks*, who expected to meet with the same fate. But *Salâb'addin* raised his drooping spirits,

(1) Some authors relate, that above 200 knights *Templars* and *Hospitalers* were now killed before the *Soltân's* tent; that he called them *Assassins* or *Bâtanists*, and put every one of their orders to the sword that fell into his hands; and that he usually paid his soldiers 50 *dinârs* for every head of a *Templar* or *Hospitaler* that they brought him (1).

(K) This was *Guy of Lusignan*, *Sibylla's* husband, who held the kingdom of *Jerusalem* in right of his wife. The misunderstanding between him and the *Sâheb* of

Tripoli occasioned the latter to enter into an alliance with *Salâb'addin*, though he fought for the king of *Jerusalem* at the battle of *Hittin* against that prince (2).

(L) M. *Renaudot* informs us, that this was the liquor called by the orientals *forba*, and by us *sherbet*; though he has not produced the author, from whom he received that notion. However, this seems to be confirmed by *Bobâo'ddin Ebn Sheddâd*; who intimates, that it was a sweetish sort of liquor diluted with snow-water (3).

(1) *Renaud. ubi sup.* p. 544.
Sheddâd, ubi sup. p. 70.

(2) *Renaud. ubi sup.* p. 544.

(3) *Renaud. ubi sup.* *Bobâo'ddin*

by assuring him that he had nothing to fear, that it did not become kings to kill their brethren, a and that *Al Bornas* had brought upon himself a violent death by shewing so little regard to the dictates of common honesty. The *Franks* being thus overthrown, and totally dispersed; the *Soltân* resumed the military operations against the citadel of *Tabariya*, or *Tiberias*, and took it by capitulation. From thence he moved towards '*Accâ*, or *Ptolemais*; which, after a short (M) siege, he possessed himself of, the 1st of the former *Jomâda*. Here he found 4000 *Moslem* prisoners in chains, whom he instantly released. As the inhabitants of '*Accâ* enjoyed a very flourishing and extensive trade, the place being at this time full of merchants, he found there not only immense sums of money, but likewise variety of wares of exceeding great value; all which he seized, and applied to his own use. His brother *Al Mâlec Al' Adel* attacked *Majdelyâbâ*, a small town or village with a very strong castle, near *Al Ramla*, which he carried b sword in hand. The *Soltân* then divided his army into several bodies, in order to over-run the territories of the *Franks* with the greater celerity; which reduced *Nâblos*, *Nâbolos*, *Naplosa*, or *Neapolis*, with its citadel, *Haifâ*, *Kayfâriya*, or *Cesarea*, *Sefforiya*, or *Sepphoris*, *Al Nâfaret*, or *Nâzareth*, *Ma'lthâ*, or *Maaltba*, *Al Fawla*, *Al Shâkif*, and several other places not far from '*Acca*; where they met with only women and children, all the men having been before either killed or taken prisoners. After the reduction of *Majdelyâbâ*, *Al Mâlec Al' Adel* advanced to *Jassa*, *Yâfâ*, or *Joppa*; which, after a pretty vigorous resistance, he carried by storm. Every thing being settled at '*Accâ*, and both the spoils and the captives distributed amongst the victors, the *Soltân* himself marched to *Tebnîn*, a fortress of considerable strength above '*Accâ*, on the road to *Saidâ*, *Seidâ*, or *Sidon*; which was taken by assault, c after it had sustained a siege of six days, the 18th of the former *Jomâda*. He was no sooner master of *Tebnîn*, than he ordered the fortress itself to be razed, and the garrison to be put to the sword. From *Tebnîn* *Salâb'addîn* moved to *Sidon*; which, being deserted by its prince, surrendered almost as soon as he presented himself before the town. *Bayrût*, or *Berytus*, he invested the 22d of the same month; and obliged it to submit the 29th, the inhabitants then taking the oath of allegiance to him. Amongst the prisoners here the *Soltân* found the *Sâbeb* of *Hobeil*; who, by way of ransom, if *Abu'lfeda* in this point may be depended upon, delivered up his capital to him. *Bobâo'ddin Ebn Sheddâd*, however, one of *Salâb'addîn's* contemporaries, relates, that *Hobeil* was taken by one of the *Soltân's* detachments whilst he himself pushed on the siege of *Bayrût*. *Abu'lfeda* scruples not to censure the *Sâbeb* of *Hobeil*, for his mean d and illiberal conduct at this juncture; as he was so much distinguished amongst the *Franks*, both by his dignity and his hatred of the *Mohammedons*. Upon his cession of *Hobeil*, in consequence of his promise, the *Soltân* released him. About this time, a certain marquis (N) arrived in a *Christian* vessel at '*Accâ*; not knowing that the *Moslems* were in possession of that place. *Al Mâlec*, *Al Afdal*, the commandant of '*Accâ*, might easily, as *Abu'lfeda* seems to intimate, have secured the person of this nobleman; as he was detained several days in the port, either by a calm or a contrary wind. But letting the opportunity slip, the marquis escaped to *Tyre*, and put himself at the head of the *Christian* forces assembled in that city. Which misfortune, together with the vast number of prisoners released by the *Soltân*, and sent by his command to *Tyre*, chiefly contributed, in *Abu'lfeda's* opinion, to the success that four years after e attended the arms of the *Franks*. The next place of note attacked by *Salâb'addîn*, was '*Askalân* (O); which, after a siege of fourteen days, he made himself master of, towards the close of the latter *Jomâda*. About the same time his troops possessed themselves of *Al Ramla*, *Yasna*, or *Yabnâ*, the *Jabneh* or *Yabneh* of scripture, *Al Dârûm*, *Gaza*, *Betlehem*, *Al Netrîn*, *Beit Jebrîn* and several other towns. The *Franks* since the battle of *Hittîn* not daring to look the *Soltân* in the face, he recalled all his detachments, that had been ravaging the adjacent country, and wresting many of the lesser fortresses of *Palestine* out of the enemy's hands, led his army against *Jerusalem*, or *Al Kuds*, and invested that capital, then full of people (P), on the f

(M) The people of '*Accâ* did not put him to the trouble of a siege, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. Upon his first appearance before the town, they submitted to him; and were permitted by him, at their request, to retire to what place they should think proper, with as much of their money and effects as they could carry off with them. The rest was seized upon by the *Moslems*. After which, continues he, the *Soltân* appointed his son *Al Afdal* to command there (1).

(N) This was the marquis of *Montferrat*; who, by a stratagem, over-reached *Al Afdal*, called by M. *Renaudot* corruptly *Adel*, and made his escape to *Tyre* (2).

(O) One of the articles of the capitulation was, that

Guy, king of *Jerusalem*, should be released; which being complied with by the *Soltân*, the city was surrendered to him. About the same time *Beth Gabriel*, who commanded in the castle, was also released, and sent with 500 men to *Europe*; from whence he returned with a reinforcement of *Venetians*, *Genoese*, and *Pisans*, and a fleet of 100 sail, about six months after to *Tyre* (3).

(P) We are told by *Abu'l Faraj*, that the garrison and inhabitants of *Jerusalem* were struck with terror, when they saw from the walls the numerous army commanded by the *Soltân*; who, after he had spent five days in viewing the ground round the place, erected his engines on a spot near *Bâb 'Amûdâ*, or the gate of *Amûdâ*,

(1) *Greg. Abu'l Faraj, ubi sup. p. 415. Hij. 583.*

(2) *Renaud. ubi sup. p. 545. Ijm. Abu'lf. d. in chron. ad an.*

(3) *Renaud. ubi sup. p. 544, 545.*

- a the west side, the 15th of *Rajeb*, the present year. Some of the *Moslem* historians relate, that the garrison alone consisted of at least 60,000 men; but that this much exceeded the truth, *Bobão'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd* himself has not scrupled to affirm. Be that as it will, the *Soltân* found himself obliged to remove his camp more to the north, that his engines might play upon the city, and batter the walls with greater success. The siege he carried on, notwithstanding the obstinate resistance of the garrison, with the utmost vigour, and at last by sapping made a breach in that part of the walls contiguous to *Gebinnom*, or the valley of *Hinnom*; which, being practicable, so intimidated the besieged, that they immediately desired to capitulate. But the *Soltân* at first refused to grant them any terms, saying, he would take *Al Kuds* from the *Franks*, as they had formerly taken it from the *Moslems*, that is, sword in hand. But upon the garrison's insinuating, that the troops which composed it were extremely numerous, and would defend themselves to the last drop of blood, if they were not permitted to retire in safety to some other place, he thought fit to desist from his design. It was, therefore, agreed that every man should pay the *Soltân* ten *Tyrian dinârs*, every woman five, and every infant two; upon which condition, they were allowed to leave the holy city in peace. Those that paid the stipulated sums were escorted by a detachment of the *Soltân's* troops to *Tyre*, but the others were thrown into irons. The *Moslems*, according to *Bobão'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, took possession of (Q) *Al Kuds*, on *Friday*, the 27th of *Rajeb*; the night following, which day, says that writer, was the anniversary of *Mohammed's* night's journey to heaven. This he would have believed a clear and incontestable proof of this event's being brought about by the particular designation of Providence; though we are informed by *Abu'lfeda* and *Ebn Shobnah*, that it happened not on the 27th, but the 17th of the aforesaid month. The *Moslems* then, as they relate, erected their standards on the walls, and the *Soltân* posted persons at the gates to collect the money exacted of the *Franks*, when they evacuated the place; which, continue these authors,
- b
- c

Amûdâ, and the church of *Sion*, as the most commodious for that purpose, the night of the 20th of *Rajeb*. The *Franks*, having planted their machines on the walls, made on their part the necessary dispositions for a vigorous defence. In short the troops on both sides, animated by the most fervent zeal for their religion, exerted themselves with so much ardor, that their leaders could not oblige them to confine their intrepidity within proper bounds. But the *Franks*, perceiving the dreadful execution done by the enemy's military engines, and the surprizing progress of their miners, found they could not hold out long; and therefore sent *Bâliân*, the son of *Nirvân*, or *Birvân*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Ramla*, to treat with the *Soltân* about the surrender of the city. That prince, however, at first refused to grant them any terms; saying he would take it by storm, as the *Franks* had formerly done. "If that be the case, replied *Bâliân*, know, O *Soltân*, that we, who are extremely numerous, and have been restrained from fighting like men in despair only by the hopes of an honourable capitulation, will kill all our wives and children, commit all our wealth and valuable effects to the flames, massacre 5000 *Moslem* prisoners now in our hands, leave not a single beast of burden or animal of any kind belonging to us alive, and level with the ground the rock you esteem sacred, together with the temple *Al Akfa*. After which, we will fall out upon you in a body, and doubt not but we shall either cut to pieces a much greater number of you than we are, or force you to abandon the siege. In fine, we are determined, if you will not permit us to retire, either to meet with victory or a glorious death." This resolute speech had such an effect upon the *Soltân*, that he immediately called a council of war, at which all the general officers of his army assisted; who unanimously agreed, that it would be adviseable for him to suffer the *Franks* quietly to evacuate the place, since the issue of such a vigorous sally as *Bâliân* had threatened him with must be altogether uncertain. The *Soltân*, therefore, allowed them to march out freely and securely, with their wives, children, and effects; upon which, in consequence of the capitulation that had been signed, *Salâb'addîn* was to receive ten *dinârs* from every man capable of paying that sum, five from every woman, and two from every young person under age. For the poor, who are not able

to lay down any money for themselves, *Bâliân* paid the *Soltân* 30,000 *dinârs*. The city was put into the hands of the *Moslems*, the 27th of *Rajeb*; after which, when the *Soltân* had settled every thing to his satisfaction at *Al Kuds*, the *Egyptian* army advanced to *Tyre*, in order to lay siege to that place. As it was blocked up on the sea side by a squadron of five men of war, stationed before the port, to hinder any persons either from going into the town or coming out of it, *Salâb'addîn* imagined that he should easily make himself master of that fortress. But in this he found himself mistaken. For a fleet of the *Franks* fell upon the *Moslem* squadron one morning by break of day, and intirely defeated it; putting to the sword many of the people they met with on board, and carrying most of the rest away prisoners, with all their ships, into the port of *Tyre*. This was no small mortification to the *Soltân*, who saw the action from the shore; but was not able to send his men any assistance. A considerable number of the *Moslems*, in the naval engagement, threw themselves into the sea; a few of whom escaped, and the others were drowned. As *Salâb'addîn* had before been repulsed in his attacks by the bravery of the garrison, this last misfortune so disheartened him, that he immediately raised the siege. In this succinct relation of *Abu'l Faraj*, our curious reader will discover several entertaining particulars omitted by the other eastern writers (1).

(Q) M. *Renaudot* assures us, that the loss of *Jerusalem* was owing to the discords and dissensions that reigned amongst the citizens, and to the perfidy of the *Melchites*. One *Yusef Al Batith*, of that sect, a merchant, excited those of his communion, who were the most considerable part of the inhabitants, to shake off the yoke of the *Franks*. The patriarch carried away with him the gold and silver plates, together with all the rich utensils and furniture, of the church of the *Holy Sepulchre*, by the *Soltân's* permission; though this was, for a short time, opposed by the *Mohammedans*. Some authors relate, that 14,000 *Franks* were left prisoners in the place; that the celebrated cross above-mentioned, thrown down by the *Moslems*, was erected on the top of the *Hospitalers* church; and that the rejoicings, made on this occasion throughout the *Mohammedan* territories, were such as had never before been known (2).

(1) *Greg. Abu'l Faraj, ubi sup. p. 415, 416, 417, 418.*

(2) *Renaud. ubi sup. p. 545.*

through the knavery of the collectors, fell much short of the expected sum. The *Soltân* had a no sooner occupied *Al Kuds*, than some of his men took down a cross overlaid with gold from the top of the temple *Affakbra*, or *the sacred rock*, perhaps mount *Calvary*; upon which, the skies were rent by such a cry, add the above-mentioned historians, as had never before been heard. *Salâb'addin*, being absolute master of the city, commanded the temple *Al Akfa*, which had been converted into a jakes by the *Franks*, to be cleansed, and restored to its pristine state. He also ordered the pulpit, destined by *Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki*, for *Jerusalem*, to be brought from *Aleppo*, and fixed in this temple. After he had released 3000 *Moslem* captives, formed a plan for the erection of several schools and colleges, for the education of the youth trained up in the principles of *Al Shafei*, and settled every thing to his satisfaction at *Al Kuds*, he departed to 'Accâ, and from thence marched with his army to *Tyre*; which he formally besieged, the 9th of *Ramadân*. But the *Franks* having surprized and defeated (R) his fleet, consisting of ten sail, which was appointed to forward the operations of the land-forces, taken five of his ships of war, killed a vast number of his seamen, and obliged *Al Fares Bedrân* and *Abd'almohsen*, his two admirals, to sheer off; the *Soltân* judged it expedient, especially as the winter approached, to raise the siege. Accordingly, having burnt that part of his machines which he could not carry off, he decamped the 2d of *Dhu'l-kaada*, and returned to 'Accâ. *Shams'o'ddîn Mohammed Ebn Al Mokaddem*, the *Emîr* of the *Hadji's*, or *pilgrims*, of *Al Shâm*, endeavouring to perform the religious decursion from mount *Arafat* to the valley of *Mina*, before *Tâstakîn*, the *Emîr* of the *Hadji's* of *Irak*, was killed in a skirmish that happened on this occasion, between the pilgrims of *Al Shâm*, or *Syria*, and those of *Irak*, the 10th of *Dhu'lhajja*, the present year. He was interred in the burying-place denominated *Al Moalla*, and died a martyr, according to the sentiments of the *Mohammedans*. *Tâstakîn* is said to have insisted upon the honour of conducting his *Hadji's* first from mount *Arafat* to the valley of *Mina*, on account of the superior dignity of the *Khalîf Al Nâser Ledinî'llah*, who resided in *Irak*; and *Ebn Al Mokaddem* to have claimed the same privilege, by reason of the mighty power of *Salâb'addin*, now become in a manner the sole monarch of *Syria*, or *Al Shâm*, as well as *Egypt*. Many perished on both sides in this bloody fray. The *Khalîf* sent to *Salâb'addin* to excuse what had happened, but this by no means satisfied the *Soltân*. About this time, *Togrol Ebn Arslan*, or *Togrol II.* the last *Soltân* of the *Seljuk* dynasty of *Irân*, dispossessed of part of his dominions *Kozul Arslân Othmân*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Jebel, Arrân*, and *Adberbijân*; and annexed to his territories several provinces, as *Abu'lfeda* reports, of considerable extent. This induced *Kozul Arslân* to send an embassy to *Baghdâd*, to solicit the *Khalîf's* assistance; and to demonstrate to him, that his own safety required *Togrol's* power to be confined within narrower bounds. We must not forget to remark, that *Hittîn*, which has been rendered memorable to all succeeding ages by the signal overthrow *Salâb'addin* gave on a spot near it to the *Franks*, was a village between *Tabariya* and 'Accâ, about two parasangs from the former of those cities; at a small distance from which, in *Bohâo'ddîn's* days, if that author in this point merits any regard, the sepulchre of *Shoaib*, or *Jethro*, the father-in-law of *Moses*, was to be seen. The battle of *Hittîn*, which proved the total ruin of the kingdom of *Jerusalem*, was the greatest blow the *Franks*, since their first invasion of *Syria*, says *Abu'lfeda*, had ever received^a.

The farther
progress of the
Soltân's arms.

In the 584th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *March* 2d, 1188. *Salâb'addin Yusef Ebn Ayûb* extended his conquests, and still proved superior to the *Franks*. Moving out of his winter-quarters at 'Accâ, he advanced to *Caucab*, a strong castle seated on a hill, at a small distance from *Tiberias*, near the *Jordan*; and laid siege to it, in the beginning of *Al Moharram*. But receiving advice, that the *Franks* had penetrated as far as 'Aferbala, defeated a body of the

^a BOHÂO'DDÎN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 66—76. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 583. GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 415, 416, 417, 418. 'AMADO'DDÎN MOHAMMED EBN MOHAMMED EBN MOHAMMED AL KOREISHI AL ESFAHANI, in expugnat. Kudsitic. sive Hierosolymitan. ab Alb. Schult. edit. Lugduni Batav. 1732. KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, ad an. Hej. 583. EBN AL ATHIR, in Câm. EBN KHALECAN, TAKIO'DDÎN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, in Mawredo'llatâfa, IBRAHIM EBN MOHAMMED EBN DAKMAK, in Al Jawhar Al Thamîn, ABU MOHAMMED MOSTAFA AL JANNABI, AHMED EBN YUSEF, TAJR BERD, in Târikh Mefr. MOHABO'DDÎN, in Târikh Al Kuds, KHALIL EBN MOHAMMED AL AFKAHESBI, in Târikh Salâh'ad. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. pass. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 743. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 544, 545. AL KOR. MOHAM. Sur. VII. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. pass. Lugduni Batav. 1732.

(R) This action happened, according to *Bohâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, the 27th of *Shawâl*. The *Moslem* fleet, destined to assist the land-forces in the reduction of *Tyre*, consisted of ten large ships, brought from *Egypt*; five of which were sunk, and five, with their respective captains and crews, taken. This defeat, which was so entire that very few of the *Moslems* on board the

ships escaped, gave great uneasiness to the *Soltân*; who thereupon immediately called a council of war, wherein the officers unanimously declared, that, as the winter approached, and the continual rains rendered the operations impracticable, it would be highly proper to raise the siege (1).

(1) *Bohâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, ubi sup. p. 76. *Renaud. ubi sup. p. 545.*

- a Moslem troops posted there, under the command of *Saifo'ddîn*, the brother of *Al Jiwali*, who was killed in the action, and carried off several standards, together with a large quantity of arms; he marched at the head of part of his forces thither, and left the *Emîr Kâymâz Al Nojmi* with the remainder to continue the siege. Finding afterwards, however, that the fortress was rendered both by nature and art in a manner impregnable, and defended by a brave as well as numerous garrison; he concluded it could only be reduced by all his troops, drawn out of the different provinces of his empire, assembled in a body, and therefore ordered *Al Emîr Kâymâz* to retire from before it. As for the *Soltân* himself, he entered *Damascus*, the 6th of the former *Rabî*, and staid there only five days; though, according to *Bobâo'ddîn*, he had been absent from that capital sixteen months. His speedy departure was
- b occasioned by the news brought him of a design formed by the *Franks*, after they had by favour of the night met with the aforesaid success at *'Aferbala*, to make themselves masters of *Hobeila*. This induced him to put some of his forces immediately in motion; of which the *Franks* being apprized, they thought fit to keep quiet within their own frontiers, and attempt nothing against that town. About the middle of the former *Rabî*, the *Soltân* incamped on the lake of *Al Kuds*, a little to the west of *Hems*; where he was joined by *'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki*, the *Sâheb* of *Sinjâr*, or *Senjâr*, and *Nasîbîn*, with a very considerable reinforcement, as well as by several *Emîrs*, who acknowledged him for their chief. He had not been long here, before his army was ready to enter upon action; wherefore removing his camp to *Hisn Al Acrâd*, the 1st of the latter *Rabî*, he detached parties from thence to
- c make incursions into the territories of the *Franks*. Some of these detachments, who had orders to reconnoitre the enemy, ravaged the district of *Tripoli* twice, if *Bobâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd* may be credited, the same month; and then returned, with the immense quantity of spoil they had acquired, to the *Soltân's* camp. From *Hisn Al Acrâd* *Salâb'addîn* marched to *Antarsûs*, *Anatarsûs*, or *Antaradus*, one of the dependencies of *Tripoli*; which the *Franks* had abandoned at his approach. This we learn from *Abu'lfeda*; but *Bobâo'ddîn* relates, that the *Soltân* marched from *Al 'Arîma* or *Antarsûs*, presented himself before the town, took it after a faint resistance by storm, and gave it up to be plundered by his troops. He also, continues this last author, intirely dismantled, and then set fire to the place. The *Soltân* having reduced *Antaradus*, the 10th of the former *Jomâda*, and completed the demolition of
- d its fortifications, the 14th of the same month, directed his march to *Marakiya*, a fortress situated in the maritime coast of *Hems*; which, says *Abu'lfeda*, was likewise deserted by the *Franks*. From *Marakiya* *Salâb'addîn* marched to *Merkab*; but finding that fortress in a condition to baffle his most vigorous efforts, he advanced to *Jibla*, *Jebela*, or *Jebela*, the *Gabala*, or *Gabala*, of the antients, a town of the same tract. This, on his first appearance before it, the 18th of the former *Jomâda*, if *Bobâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd* may be depended upon, immediately surrendered to him; as did also, the next day, the citadel, the garrison of which was permitted in safety to retire. Having appointed *Al Emîr Sâbiko'ddîn Othmân Ebn Al Dâya*, the *Sâheb* of *Shaizar*, or *Shaizer*, to command there; he began his march for *Al Lâdikiya*, or *Laodicea*, the 23d of the same month, where he arrived the following day.
- e Animated by the reduction of so many castles and towns, the *Soltân* attacked *Al Lâdikiya* with so much bravery, that towards the evening of the 25th, being *Friday*, the garrison offered to capitulate, and desired that the *Kâdi* of *Jibla* might be sent as an interpreter to them. The *Soltân* complying with their request, the *Kâdi* of *Jibla* was admitted, the 26th, into the town, and the capitulation afterwards signed; by virtue of which, both the people and the garrison were allowed to march out of the place with all their treasures and most valuable effects. They were obliged, however, to leave their cattle, beasts of burden, provisions, arms, and military stores, to the *Moslems*; who instantly, after their departure, took possession of them. *Al Mâlec Al Modbaffer Takîo'ddîn* having been constituted governor of *Al Lâdikiya*, *Salâb'addîn* decamped, the 27th, and reached *Sebyûn*, the 29th. That fortress, notwithstanding
- f its prodigious strength, was constrained to submit to the *Soltân*, either the 2d or the 3d of the latter *Jomâda*, upon the same terms as those granted the city of *Jerusalem*, or *Al Kuds*. The government of the castle of *Sebyûn*, being assigned *Al Emîr Nâsero'ddîn*, the *Sâheb* of the castle of *Abi Kobais*, one of *Salâb'addîn's* favourites, the *Soltân* made the proper dispositions for attacking *Bacâs*, an important fortress upon the *Orontes*; which he carried by assault, the 9th of the latter *Jomâda*, cut to pieces many of the inhabitants and garrison, brought the rest away with him bound, and stript the place of every thing valuable belonging to it. In the mean time, the *Soltân's* detachments, that had spread themselves over the country, seized upon *Al 'Aid*, a castle dependent on *Antioch*, *Faiba*, a fortress in the same district, *Blâtanûs*, or *Plâtanûs*, a regular fortification opposite to *Laodicea*, *Al Jahinâbûnîn*, a strong
- g castle near *Jibla*, and other places of considerable note. After the surrender of *Bacâs*, *Salâb'addîn* summoned the castle of *Al Shokr*, joined to it by a bridge; the garrison of which, having no prospect of relief, demanded to capitulate, the 13th of the latter *Jomâda*, and, three days after, delivered up the fortress, though inexpugnable, as being rendered inaccessible by every

every advantage of situation, into the *Soltân's* hands. *Salâb'addin* then returned to the camp, a and detached his son *Al Mâlec Al Dbâber*, the *Sâheb* of *Aleppo*, with a body of troops, to possess himself of the castle of *Sarmâniya*, about a day's journey N. E. of *Aleppo*; which beat the chamade, and received a *Moslem* garrison, the 23d of the same month. It has been remarked by *Bobâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, that the reduction of *Jibla*, and of every one of the other maritime fortresses and towns, happened on *Friday*; which he looks upon as a full proof, that the prayers of the *Moslem* preachers were heard, and that the *Soltân* was particularly favoured by the great Arbiter of events, who showers down his blessings on believers for their good works on that very day. *Salâb'addin* having intirely demolished the castle of *Sarmâniya*, and left no traces of it remaining, led his army against *Borziya*, a fortress in the territory of *Antioch*, so strong by its situation as to become thereby a proverb amongst the b *Franks*. This place he assaulted with so much bravery, that he took it sword in hand, the 27th of the latter *Jomâda*, killed many of the *Christians* settled there, and made all the rest prisoners. However, the *Soltân* sent the governor of the castle, together with all his family, amounting to seventeen persons in number, to the *Sâheb* of *Antioch*, to whom he was nearly related; though, by his permission, the poor inhabitants were deprived of all their money and effects by the *Moslem* troops. From *Borziya* the *Soltân* marched to the *Iron Bridge*, upon the *Orontes*, about six or seven miles from *Antioch*; where he halted till the rear of his army came up, and then continued his march to *Derbasûc*. Having formed the siege of the castle here, the 18th, or, as some MS. copies of *Abu'lfeda* have it, the 8th of *Rajeb*; the garrison surrendered the place, according to the last-mentioned author, c the 19th of that month, and were suffered to evacuate it with only the cloaths they had on. *Bagrûs*, or *Pagræ*, a city seated at the foot of mount *Al Locâm*, about four parasangs from *Antioch*, with a citadel, met with the same fate, the 2d of *Shaabân*. *Boamund*, or *Boamund*, the *Sâheb* of *Antioch*, disheartened to the last degree by the uninterrupted success that had attended the *Moslem* arms this campaign, sent a minister to the *Soltân*, to desire a truce for seven or eight months. To this the present situation of his affairs, notwithstanding the advantages he had gained, obliged him to agree; the incredible fatigues his men had sustained, and the insolent demand of the auxiliaries, under the orders of 'Amâdo'ddîn, the *Sâheb* of *Sinjâr*, to be immediately dismissed, rendering absolutely necessary such a concession. The truce was nevertheless granted *Boamund* only upon the following conditions; viz. d that he should set at liberty all the *Moslem* prisoners in his hands; and that he should put the *Soltân* in possession of his capital, if he was not succoured before the expiration of that truce. This convention being signed, *Salâb'addin* went with his son *Al Mâlec Al Dbâber* to *Aleppo*, and staid there three days. He was met on the road to *Damascus* by *Al Mâlec Al Modhaffer Takîo'ddîn*, whom he splendidly entertained at *Hamab*. Having spent one night there, and conferred upon *Takîo'ddîn* (S) the government of *Jibla*, *Jebela*, or *Jabala*, and *Laodicea*, he continued his route to *Baalbec*, and from thence to *Damascus*; where he arrived in good health, about the beginning of *Ramadân*. In this last journey, after he had given 'Amâdo'ddîn *Zenki Ebn Mawdûd* leave to return home, he visited the tomb of the *Khalîf* e *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz* of pious memory, as well as the holy doctor *Abu Zacariâ Al Garbi* (T), famous for his sanctity, and the miracles he wrought, who resided there. He was also, according to *Abu'lfeda*, attended by *Al Emîr Kâsem Ebn Mohanâ Al Hoseini*, the *Sâheb* of *Medina*, for whom he had the highest regard, in all these expeditions. Upon his arrival at *Damascus*, he was advised by some of the grandees of his court to disband the troops; but this advice he would by no means listen to, saying, "Life is short, and the term of it uncertain." About this time, news was brought to *Soltân*, that his brother *Al Mâlec Al 'Adel* had made himself master of *Al Carac* and *Al Shawbec*, with their dependencies, and the whole adjacent territory extending as far as *Safad*. Having surmounted all obstacles, *Salâb'addin* also reduced to his obedience the town of *Safad*, an important post of the *Franks*, f not far from the lake of *Tiberias* and the *Jordan*, the 14th of *Shawâl*, according to *Bobâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, the present year; though the capitulation was not signed before the middle of *Dhu'lkaada*, if *Abu'lfeda* in this point may be depended upon. The garrison and inhabitants, as it was stipulated by one of the articles of the capitulation, were conducted to *Tyre*. The *Soltân*, after every thing was settled to his satisfaction at *Safad*, set out for *Jerusalem* the 1st of *Dhu'lhajja*, in company with his brother; and reached the holy city on *Friday*, the 8th of the same month. From thence he passed to 'Askalân, or *Ashkelon*,

(S) It appears from *Abu'lfeda* and *Ebn Shohnab*, that *Al Mâlec Al Modhaffer Takîo'ddîn* was extremely fond of building, repairing, and fortifying castles; of which the citadels of *Laodicea*, and *Hamab*, which he either built or repaired, and fortified, are incontestable proofs (1).

(T) He is called in Dr. Hunt's MS. copy of *Ebn Shohnab* the pious *Sheikh Abu Zacariâ Al Mâgrebi*, or *Mcgrebi*; but this author does not assert, that *Salâb'addin* performed a pilgrimage to the sepulchre of this *Sheikh*, as M. D'Herbelot is pleased to affirm (2).

(1) *Isf. Abu'lfed. & Ebn Shohnab, ad an. Hej. 584.*

(2) *D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 744.*

- a and put every thing upon a proper foot there. From 'Askalân he directed his course to 'Accâ, visiting all the towns of any moment in his way. Soon after he had entered 'Accâ, he nominated Bobâo'ddîn Karâkûsh to preside over that ancient city, and the district appertaining to it; ordering him to repair the walls, then in a ruinous condition, without delay. That this might be done with the utmost expedition, he joined Hofimo'ddîn Bashâra to Bobâo'ddîn Karâkûsh in the aforesaid post. We must not forget to observe, that the Soltân subjugated the strong castle of Caucab, which he had besieged ineffectually the beginning of the year, before he celebrated the feast of the oblation at Jerusalem, or Al Kuds; with the mention of which conquest we shall conclude our account of his military operations against the Franks, during the course of this prosperous campaign¹.
- b THE same year, Kozul Arslân, or Kezel Arslân, the son of Ildigbîz, sent the Imâm Al Nâsir, The Khalîf is as his ambassador, to the Khalîf, in order to solicit his assistance against Togrol Ebn Arslân, the last Soltân of the Seljûks of Irân. The Imâm represented to the Moslem pontiff, that Togrol's exorbitant power ought to give him as much umbrage as it did his master, since they were both equally threatened with utter subversion by the success that had lately attended his arms. Hereupon the Khalîf sent an army, under the command of Helâl Ebn Obeid'allah, his Wazîr, against him; which penetrated almost as far as Hamadân, in the Persian Irâk. Togrol having received advice, that the Khalîf's forces had made an irruption into his territories, and were posted in the neighbourhood of Hamadân; he marched at the head of a powerful army against them, gave them battle, the 8th of the former Rabî, and overthrew them with very great slaughter. Helâl Ebn Obeid'allah himself was taken prisoner in the action, and thrown into irons. In fine, the victory was complete; the Seljûkian troops obliging the routed enemy to abandon their camp, and seizing upon every thing valuable they found therein².
- c

BEFORE the close of the present year, Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah, a writer of note, known Al Ta'âwîrî by the name, or surname, of Al Ta'âwîrî, departed this life. He was the author of many poems, as we learn from Ebn Shobnah, held amongst the Moslems in good esteem. For a specimen of those productions, we must beg leave to refer to that historian such of our readers as are capable of being entertained by this kind of oriental compositions³.

- d THE following year, being the 585th of the Hejra, commencing Feb. 20th, 1189, the Khalîf Al Nâser Ledîni'llah sent an ambassador to Salâh'addîn, requiring him to command his subjects to put up prayers for his son in all their mosques, as his successor in the Khalîfat; who arrived at Damascus, in the beginning of the former Rabî. With this request, the Soltân, who had spent the greatest part of Al Moharram at 'Acca, and entered Damascus either the 1st or 2d of Safar, readily complied. He soon after formed a design to make himself master of Shakîf Arnûn, a strong fortress in the neighbourhood of Bâniâs, or Paneas; and for that purpose put himself at the head of a large body of troops, with which he began his march from Damascus, the 3d of the former Rabî. That day he advanced to Marj Borgûth, where he halted till the 11th. From Marj Borgûth, after some of the reinforcements he expected were come up, he moved first to Bâniâs, and afterwards to Marj 'Aîlîn, where he took post the 17th. As Marj 'Aîlîn was in a manner contiguous to Shakîf Arnûn, and the Soltân soon formed a very powerful army out of the forces flocking to him from all parts hither; the Sâheb of Shakîf Arnûn was struck with terror at his approach, and therefore thought fit to have recourse to a finesse, in order to avert the impending storm. He came in a submissive manner to the Soltân's tent, called himself his Mamlûk, or slave, and promised to deliver up Shakîf Arnûn into his hands at the end of three months, by the expiration of which term he proposed to draw his family out of Tyre. The Soltân, satisfied with his conduct, granted him a truce for the time he desired, and soon after received the news of the dispositions made by the Franks for besieging 'Accâ. One of their detachments having entered the Moslem territories, bordering upon the district of Tyre; a party of the Soltân's men, occupying a neighbouring post, fell upon them with so much bravery that they forced them to retire, killed many of them upon the spot, and took a large number of them prisoners. As for the Moslems, they lost only a single man in the action; whose name, according to Bobâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd, was Aybec Al Akbraish. He was one of Salâh'addîn's most valiant slaves, and extremely well versed in the military art; so that his death, if that author may be credited, was vastly regretted by the Soltân. This was followed by another brisk skirmish, in which the Moslems were worsted by the Franks; losing 180 men upon the field of battle, besides a very considerable number that fell into the enemy's hands.
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¹ BOHÂO'DDÎN EBN SHEDDÂD, ubi sup. p. 76—89. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 584. GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 418. EBN KHALECAN, EBN AL ATHIR, in Câm. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 584. KHONDÊMIR, TAKIO'DDÎN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in Mawredo'llatâfa, IBRAHIM EBN MOHAMMED EBN DAKMAK, in Al Jawhar Al Thamîn, ABU MOHAMMED MOSTAFA AL JANNAB, AHMED EBN YUSEF, KHALIL EBN MOHAMMED AL AFKANESEBI, in Târikh Salâh'ad. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. pass. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 545. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. pass. ² ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. ³ EBN SHOHN. ubi sup.

Amongst the slain on the side of the *Franks* was a *German*, or *Alamannic* general; and on that of the *Moslems* *Ebn Al Basār wā*, a youth of uncommon merit. A third action happened not far from *Tebnīn*, a strong castle a little above *'Accā*, the 8th of the latter *Jomāda*; wherein the *Moslems* killed ten of the *Franks*, with the loss (U) of only six men. The term for the evacuation of *Shakīf Arnān* being nearly elapsed, the *Soltān* advanced again to *Marj 'Alīn*, in order to take possession of that place. But *Arnold*, the *Sāheb* of the fortresses, being sent for by him, and commanded to admit a *Moslem* garrison, pretended, that his own troops would not permit him to abandon a post they thought themselves obliged in honour to defend. Whereupon the *Soltān* put him immediately under an arrest, had him conducted to *Damascus* under an escorte, and caused him there to be closely confined^a.

The Franks
besiege 'Accā.

THE *Franks*, who had defended *Jerusalem*, and the other towns and fortresses taken by *Salāb'addīn*, against the *Moslems*, having retired to *Tyre*, formed a very numerous body of troops in that city. This proved not only the preservation of *Tyre*, but likewise greatly contributed to the re-establishment, at least for the present, of the affairs of the *Franks*. For, having received powerful succours from *Europe*, they took the field with an army of 30,000 foot, and 2000 horse. This was no sooner done, than the commander in chief of the *Franks* sent a detachment of his forces to *Alexandretta*; which drove a strong party of the *Moslem* infantry from thence, and posted themselves there, with inconsiderable loss. The *Soltān* having been informed, that the *Franks* were in motion, and directed their march towards *'Accā*; he decamped from *Al Shakīf*, the 12th of *Rajeb*, though he did not even then perfectly penetrate their design. But receiving advice, that the *Franks* incamped the same day at *'Ain Bassa*, and that the van of their army had reached *Al Zīb*; he wrote to all his governors of provinces, to join him without delay. The 13th, by break of day, he began to move, with the main body of the *Moslem* army, towards *'Accā*, by the way of *Tiberias*; though a considerable part of the forces had orders to take the route of *Tebnīn*, which was nearer the enemy, that they might get early intelligence of their motions. *Salāb'addīn* having halted an hour at *Al Hawla*, to refresh his men, advanced afterwards to *Al Munaiia*, where he pitched his tents that night. Here news the next morning was brought him, that the *Franks* had invested *'Accā*, where the *Moslems* had a garrison of 10,000 men, the day before. Upon the arrival of this news, he sent *Arnold*, the *Sāheb* of *Al Shakīf*, then his prisoner, under an escorte to *Damascus*; and the 14th he met the body of troops, that had taken the route of *Tebnīn*, in the plains of *Sefforiya*, or *Sepphoris*, where he found his baggage likewise arrived. The 15th he marched to *Al Kherūba*, at a small distance from the enemy's camp; from whence he moved immediately in order of battle to *Tel Caifan*, where the plains of *'Accā* begin. Here he incamped, with his left wing extended to *Al Nabr Al Halū*, or the sweet river, and his right to *Tel Al 'Ayādhiya*, in such manner that the *Franks*, besieging *'Accā*, were closely besieged by him, in their turn. After several slight skirmishes between the advanced parties of the two armies, now in sight of each other, a vigorous action happened, on the 1st of *Shaabān*. The *Soltān* having been joined by *Modbaffero'ddīn Ebn Zīno'ddīn*, *Al Mālec Al Modbaffer*, the *Sāheb* of *Hamah*, and many other commanders, and thereby become much superior in number to the *Franks*; the fight was renewed, and continued with the utmost fury, the two following days. Though the engagement, according to the *Moslem* writers, seems to have been pretty obstinate, nothing decisive happened on either side. However, the *Soltān* defeated a body of the enemy, on the 2d of *Shaabān*, penetrated to the gate of *Karākūsh*, which he entered, and threw a strong reinforcement of troops into the town. This, according to *Abu'lfeda*, was chiefly owing to the bravery of *Al Mālec Al Modbaffer Takīo'ddīn*, the *Sāheb* of *Hamah*; who broke through the *Franks*, posted towards the northern part of the city, and opened a passage into it for *Abu'l Hījā*, with the detachment destined for that purpose under his command. But, notwithstanding this advantage, *Salāb'addīn* found himself obliged, partly by the continual rains, and partly by the efforts of the enemy, though they were generally worsted, if any credit is due to the *Moslem* writers, to retire to *Tel Al 'Ayādhiya*, opposite to the besiegers camp, the 11th of the same month. Soon after he had taken post there, he lost *Hosāmo'ddīn Dbimān*, an officer of distinguished merit. The 16th, a party of the enemy's foragers were drawn into an ambuscade of *Arab* horse; who put them to the rout, cut many of them to pieces, and carried off with them most of the rest prisoners. The heads of the slain they brought to the *Soltān*; who rewarded every one of them with a magnificent vest, and also conferred other marks of his favour upon them. The same day, the besieged made a sally upon the

^a BOHĀO'DDĪN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 89—97. ISM. ABU'LFEDA, in chron. ad an. Hc. 585. RE-NAUD. ubi sup. p. 545, 546. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic in vit. Salad. pass.

(U) One of the *Moslems* killed in this action was *Al Emīr Rāmel*, a youth of uncommon merit, and the leader of his tribe. His death, therefore, must have rendered the loss of the *Moslems* on this occasion more considerable than that of the *Franks* (1).

(1) *Bohāo'ddīn Ebn Sheddād*, ubi sup. p. 95.

- a *Franks*, in which both sides sustained a considerable loss. Scarce a day passed without some skirmishes till either the 20th or 21st of *Shabân*, on which a bloody battle was fought. The *Franks* then attacked the *Moslems* with unparalleled bravery, made a great carnage of them, and pierced their main body, even to the *Soltân's* tent. However, if the *Moslem* historians merit any regard, the *Franks* not supporting their men, they were repulsed, and no less than 10,000 of them killed upon the spot. But this seems pretty remote from truth, as *Salâb'addîn* was constrained to retire to *Al Kherûba*; to which place the baggage had been sent on the 3d, or, as *Abu'lfeda* intimates, the 14th of *Ramadân*. The colouring given by the *Moslem* writers to this retreat, as though it was rendered necessary by a cholical disorder of the *Soltân*, in conjunction with another distemper, occasioned by the stench arising from the
- b dead bodies remaining on the field of battle, appears to be a mere pretext, framed purely to palliate a defeat (W). Be that as it will, in consequence of the unanimous opinion of the general officers of his army assembled in a council of war, the *Soltân* thought fit to remove his camp to *Kherûba*; where he staid seven days, for the recovery of his health, as well as to collect the shattered remains of the main body and right wing, which suffered most in the action, and to wait the arrival of his brother *Al Mâlec Al 'Adel*. It may not be improper to remark here, that according to *Abu'lfeda*, the *Franks* that broke the *Soltân's* main body, and penetrated to his tent, were all at last put to the sword; though both this writer and *Bobâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd* agree, that some of the *Moslem* fugitives fled as far as *Tiberias* and *Damascus*. However, if *Bobâo'ddîn* merits any regard, the *Soltân's* left wing, with that
- c part of his right which could be rallied, beat the enemy back to their camp; though endeavouring to force this they were so roughly handled, that they could not be prevailed upon afterwards to return to the charge. It can by no means be doubted, but that the two last mentioned authors have handed down to us a very partial account of this engagement. For one of them affirms, that the number of the slain on the side of the *Franks*, amounted to 7,000 men, and the other, as has been just observed, swells it up to 10,000; whereas, if *Bobâo'ddîn* may be depended upon, only *Ismael Al Mocabbis*, *Ebn Rawâba*, *Dhabro'ddîn*, the brother of the *Pakîb Isa*, who commanded the *corps de reserve* that sustained the main body, and *Al Emîr Mojalli*, together with 150 common soldiers, were killed on the part of the *Moslems*. As the retreat, or rather flight, of the *Soltân*, and the dispersion of the largest part
- d of his forces, left the *Franks* at full liberty to pursue the operations of the siege with greater vigour than before; the relation of this conflict as penned by the *Arab* historians now before us, must be allowed to exceed the utmost limits of probability, and therefore we shall not expatiate any farther upon it. Whilst matters were in this situation, *Al Mâlec Al 'Adel* joined his brother *Salâb'addîn* with the *Egyptian* troops, and *Hosâmo'ddîn Lûlû*, the *Moslem* admiral, gained an advantage over the *Christian* fleet, took one of the ships of war of which it was composed, and brought it with him into the port of *'Accâ*. The towers likewise erected before that place, of a vast height, by the *Franks*, in order to facilitate their approaches, and enable them to batter the walls of the town, were destroyed with naphtha, prepared by one *Ebn Nejas* of *Baghdâd*, together with all the soldiers upon them, several
- e times. All which accidents served more and more to animate the besieged; who so exerted themselves in the defence of the fortress, that it held out against the whole combined force of the *Franks* till the 17th of the latter *Jomâda*, 587^w.

- In the beginning of *Safar*, 585, the *Soltân* received a letter from his son *Al Mâlec Al* Other events of the year 585.
Dbâber at *Aleppo*, with an account that the emperor *Frederic I.* surnamed *Barbarossa*, and called *Mâlec Al Alâman* by the *Arab* writers, was upon his march to *Constantinople*, with an army of 200,000, or, according to other advices, 260,000 men, in order to invade the *Moslem* territories. Hereupon *Salâb'addîn*, who was not a little alarmed at this news, sent *Bobâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, as his ambassador, to the *Sâbebs* of *Senjâr*, *Al Jazîra*, *Al Mawfel*, and *Arbel*, ordering them to attend him with their troops; he being determined to assemble
- f all the forces of his empire, and act with them against the *Franks*, for the defence of *Islâmîsm*. He also dispatched the same person, as his minister, to the *Khalîf Al Nâser Ledîni'l-lah*, at *Baghdâd*; desiring the *Moslem* pontiff to concur with him, and the other princes here mentioned, in expediting all the measures that should be judged requisite for the support of their common religion. *Bobâo'ddîn* was well received at all the courts he visited on this occasion, and particularly by the most august *Dirwân* of *Baghdâd*. He returned to the *Soltân* the 5th of the former *Rabî*, the following year; and found that the aforesaid *Sâbebs*

^w BOHÂO'DDÎN EBN SHEDDÂD, ubi sup. p. 97—110. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 585. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. & ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. pass. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 546.

(W) According to some of the authors followed by M. Renaudot, the *Soltân* was at this time intirely defeated by the *Franks*, and lost above 10,000 men. Nay this writer affirms, that the *Moslem* army was ab-

solutely dispersed. But this must be allowed to run counter to what has been handed down to us, by the principal *Arab* historians, on that head (1).

(1) Renaud. ubi sup. p. 546.

had joined him with their respective contingents, as they had promised to do, before his arrival. Soon after *Bobao'ddîn's* departure, the *Franks* before *'Accâ*, having been apprized, that the *Soltân* was gone a hunting, endeavoured to surprise the *Moslem* camp, then at a very considerable distance from them; but were so briskly received by *Al Mâlec Al 'Adel*, that they were repulsed with great loss, and obliged to retire, without having executed their design. However, many of *Salâb'addîn's* men were killed in the action, and no small number of them wounded. *Argasb*, one of the *Soltân's* *Mamlûks*, is ranked by *Bobao'ddîn* amongst the former; but we meet with no person of distinction, mentioned either by that author or any other, amongst the latter. *Karâ Sonkar*, a most valiant person, and likewise one of the *Soltân's* *Mamlûks*, was surrounded, indeed, by the *Franks*; but he cut his way through them, slew a multitude of them, and at last made his escape without being hurt. The *Fakîb Isa*, one of the *Soltân's* best ministers and generals, who shone with equal lustre in the cabinet and the field, died of a quincy and diarrhoea, at *Al Kberûba*, on Tuesday, the 9th of *Dbu'lkaada*, the present year. He was one of the companions of *Al Sheikh Abu'l Kâsem Al Barezi*, and justly esteemed in every part of the *Moslem* world, for his valour, prudence, and liberality. *Ebn Shohnab* relates, that the soldiers of which the army of the *Franks* was composed bore *Sûrat Al Mafsîb*, the figure, or Effigies, of the *Messiah*, if M. *D'Herbelot* in this point may be depended upon; and, according to Dr. *Hunt's* MS. copy of that author, the remains of the *Franks*, that had been conducted to *Tyre*, sent the figure, or effigies, of the *Messiah* to their princes, that is, as it should seem, the *Christian* princes in *Europe*, when they solicited succours of them. And this is undoubtedly countenanced by *Abu'lfeda* himself, when he observes, that the *Franks*, who had formed a powerful army at *Tyre*, sent to their transmarine brethren for assistance; and expressed, or exhibited, the *Sûrat* of an *Arab* beating the *Messiah*, and making him bloody, intimating thereby that *Mohammed* treated the *Messiah* in such an ignominious manner. The *Sûrat Al Mafsîb*, therefore, if we chuse to follow *Abu'lfeda* in this point, seems not to have been merely the sign, or representation, of the cross, as M. *D'Herbelot* pretends. The women also of the *Franks*, some of whom *Ebn Shohnab* insinuates to have been transported to *Europe*, greatly animated their countrymen against the enemies of the *Christian* name, notwithstanding *Egypt* was in a manner drained of its forces, and the people of that country not extremely well affected to the *Soltân*, yet no commotions at this time happened there; though several unknown persons endeavoured to excite the citizens of *Al Kâbirab* to a revolt, in favour of the *Fâtemites*, but without effect, the preceding year*.

Al Shakîf is
surrendered to
the Soltân.

THE next year, being the 586th of the *Hejra*, which began Feb. 9th, 1190, the *Sâheb* of *Sidon*, who commanded in *Al Shakîf*, or *Shakîf Arnân*, having no prospect of relief, and expecting, with his whole garrison, to be put to the sword, if the place was taken by storm, on the 15th of the former *Rabî*, demanded to capitulate. He offered to leave all the baggage, and the military chest, to the *Moslems*, if the *Soltân* would permit him and the garrison to march out in safety to *Tyre*. Which being granted, he immediately evacuated the fortress, and was conducted by a detachment of the *Soltân's* troops to the above-mentioned city. About the same time, an ambassador arrived at the *Soltân's* camp from the *Khalîf*, with two load of naphtha, to be conveyed to *'Accâ*, together with some engineers, to play the flames formed of those combustible materials upon the besiegers towers and machines. He also brought with him an order from the *Khalîf*, authorizing the *Soltân* to borrow of certain merchants the sum of 20,000 *dinârs*, in the name of the most august *Dîwân* of *Baghdâd*, that he might be thereby enabled to carry on the war with greater vigour against the *Franks*†.

The Franks
continue the
siege of 'Accâ.

THE *Soltân* receiving advice, that the *Franks* pushed on the siege of *'Accâ*, with the utmost vivacity; he made the proper dispositions for obliging them to abandon that enterprize, without delay. For this purpose, he moved from *Al Kberûba*, and advanced to *Tel Al 'Ajûl*, where he pitched his camp. He was soon joined by his son *Al Mâlec Al Dbâber Gayâtho'ddîn Gâzi*, the *Sâheb* of *Aleppo*, with a select body of cavalry; and by *Modbaffero'ddîn Ebn Zîno'ddîn*, a general of transcendent merit, with his light horse. In the mean time, the *Franks* had almost filled up the ditch of the town, and brought three wooden towers, strengthened with iron, resembling mountains in their height, nearer the walls. Each of these towers, which were much higher than the walls, was sixty cubits long, and had between 5 and 600 men posted in it, together with a proper number of arms and military machines. They were carried on wheels, and covered with the hides of oxen, soaked in mud and vinegar, that they might be rendered thereby incombustible, and proof against fire. However, a young man of *Damascus*, a brazier, found means, by discharging upon him a sufficient quantity of naphtha, prepared by him in a proper manner, out of some brass pots, to reduce them to ashes, together with all the soldiers, arms, and machines, that they contained.

* BOHÂO'DDÎN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 110—113. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. TAKIO'DDÎN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in *Mawredô'llatâfa*. IBRAHIM EBN MOHAMMED EBN DAKMAK, in *Al Jawhar Al Thamin*, *Tajr Berd*, in *Târikh Mefr*, KHALIL EBN MOHAMMED AL AFKANESSI, in *Târikh Salâh'ad*. EBN SHOHN. EBN KHALECAN, & EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. & RENAUD. ubi sup.

† B. HAO'DDÎN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 113, 114.

Soon

- a Soon after this happy event, 'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki Ebn Mawdûd, the Sâheb of Sinjâr, 'Sinjâr Shâh Ebn Saifo'ddîn Gazi Ebn Mawdûd Ebn Zenki, the Sâheb of Al Ja'ira, 'Alâo'ddîn Ebn Mas'ûd, the Sâheb of Al Mawfel, and Zîna'ddîn Yusef Ebn Ali Ebn Bohtakin, the Sâheb of Arbel, arrived with their respective contingents at the Soltân's camp. But notwithstanding these favourable circumstances, which not a little elated the Moslems, 'Accâ was in imminent danger of falling into the hands of the Franks; the garrison being reduced almost to the last extremity, for want of provisions. At this critical juncture, the Egyptian fleet arrived on the coast of Syria, engaged that of the Franks, defeated it, and took one of their largest ships; putting all the men they found therein, both sailors and soldiers, to the sword. They also seized upon a smaller vessel, coming from Constantinople, and made prisoners all they found on board.
- b After which, the Moslem admiral triumphantly entered the port of 'Accâ, and supplied the garrison with every thing they stood in need of; who, animated by so many instances of success, made a furious sally upon the besiegers, to facilitate the introduction of their fleet into the haven of 'Accâ, killed and wounded abundance of their men, and then retired into the town, without having sustained any very considerable loss. A body of the Soltân's troops also attacked part of the army of the Franks, gained an advantage over it, and had entirely defeated it, had not the night interposed. About this time, Salâb'addîn received a letter from Bar Cricor Ebn Bâsîl, or the son of Gregory, the son of Basil, the Armenian general, and governor of the fortrefs of Al Rûm, upon the western bank of the Euphrates, relative to the march of the emperor Frederic I. against him, to the following effect.
- c "Malec Al Alamân, or the emperor of Germany, said this officer, having penetrated through Hungary and Greece, and obliged both the sovereigns of those countries to furnish him with what men and money he was pleased to demand, passed the Hellespont in some ships; which he forced Malec Al Rûm, or the Greek emperor, after he had extorted from that prince fifty talents of silver, and as many of gold, and taken with him his brother, his son, and forty of his most intimate friends, as hostages, to supply him with. Those hostages, continued he, Malec Al Alamân carried with him till he had passed Al Malec Kilij Arslân's frontiers; but then he dismissed them, and, after three days march, was met by a body of the Turkmâns of Al Awj. There, coming to a rupture with him, they harrassed his troops for thirty-three days together. He at last, however, approached Koniya, or Iconium, not far from which place Kolbbo'ddîn, the son of Kilij Arslân, gave him battle: after an obstinate engagement, that prince was overthrown with incredible slaughter. But Malec Al Alamân afterwards routed and dispersed another numerous Moslem army, that was sent against him; and took the city of Koniya, or Iconium, sword in hand. Here he staid five days, treated with uncommon cruelty the Persian Moslems settled in this place, and concluded a treaty of peace, or rather entered into an alliance with Kilij Arslân; who persuaded him to advance to Tarsus. In the mean time, Ebn Lâûn thought it expedient to dispatch the Mamlûc Hâtem, with many of his friends, to wait upon Malec Al Alamân, confer with him on his march, and endeavour to prevail upon him, if possible, to return into the territories of Kilij Arslân. But this, added Bar Cricor, being found impracticable; Ebn Lâûn made the proper dispositions for meeting Malec Al Alamân himself, and having a conference with him. He was diverted, however, from carrying into execution this design, by the news, which soon after reached him, of that prince's death; who, by bathing in a river (the Cydnus, that runs to Tarsus), the water of which was extremely cold, contracted a distemper, that carried him off in a few days. Ebn Lâûn, being informed of this, retired to one of his castles, and there prepared for his defence. But Malec Al Alamân's son, who succeeded his father, both in the empire and the command of the army, assuring him, that his father proposed nothing more by this expedition, than the performance of the pilgrimage to Al Kuds, and that he would treat in an hostile manner only those who should refuse their submission to him; the Armenian, or Cilician, prince was hereby induced to declare himself one of his dependents and allies. He could not well, indeed, then have taken any other step; not being in a condition to face the young Malec Al Alamân, whose army consisted of 42,000 cuirassiers, and a most formidable body of infantry, disciplined in a very perfect manner." He concluded his letter with a more particular account of the troops of which the imperial army was composed, and the severity of the discipline they observed; promising the Soltân, whose Mamlûk and slave he professed himself to be, that he would transmit him a true and faithful narrative of their future motions. Upon the arrival of this news, a privy-council was immediately called; wherein, without the least opposition or debate, it was determined, that part of the Soltân's forces should be employed against the Greeks, and the other part endeavour to impede the operations of the Franks before 'Accâ, and straiten them in their camp. In consequence of this decision, the Soltân detached Nâsero'ddîn Ebn Takîo'ddîn, the Sâheb of Manbij, with a body of troops, towards the frontiers of Armenia and Cilicia, who was followed successively by Azzo'ddîn Ebn Al Mokaddem, the Sâheb of Cafer-Tâb, Bârin, and other cities, Mojo'ddîn,
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the *Sâbeb* of *Baalbec*, and *Sâbiko'ddin*, the *Sâbeb* of *Sbaizar*, with large detachments, who took the same route. The forces of *Aleppo* and *Hamah* marched after these, with all possible celerity; as did also *Al Malec Al Afdal*, and *Bedro'ddin*, the governor of *Damascus*. *Al Malec Al Dbâber* was likewise dispatched to *Aleppo*, in order to watch the enemy's motions, and cover the adjacent territory from their depredations. *Al Malec Al Modbaffer* was appointed to guard the frontiers, that seemed to be the most exposed, and to repel on that side all the enemy's incursions. The *Soltân* then commanded *Al Malec Al 'Adel* to join him with his troops, in order to replace those that had been sent against the *Greeks*. That general was put at the head of the right wing, in the room of *Takio'ddin*; by the departure of whose detachment, that wing had been greatly weakened. The command of the left wing was, at the same time, assigned 'Amâdo'ddin Zenki Ebn Mawdûd, the *Sâbeb* of *Sinjâr*. *Modbaffero'ddin*, the *Sâbeb* of *Harrân*, *Al Malec Dbâber*, before he set out for *Aleppo*, and many others of the *Soltân's* principal officers, were visited by a grievous malady, that spread itself over the *Moslem* camp; but was not attended with any bad consequences, no person of note dying of it. The case was different with the *Franks*, of whom a pestilential distemper, that raged in their camp, swept away very considerable numbers. Notwithstanding which, they continued their attacks against 'Acca; the *Soltân* not being able, though his arms had been attended with so much success since the opening of the campaign, to force them to abandon the siege^a.

The Franks
attack Al
Malec Al
'Adel, but are
repulsed.

THE young *Malec Al Alamân* having ordered the *Christian* army, under his command, to advance to *Antioch*, took post himself in the territories of *Ebn Lâûn*, with only forty *Templars*, and twenty-five other knights. That his forces might march with the greater celerity and expedition, they were divided into three bodies. One of these taking the route of *Bagrâs* or *Pagræ*; the *Moslem* garrison of that place, though small, sallied out upon them, and made 200 of them prisoners. This was, however, occasioned by their either being sick, or in want of horses and mules, to enable them to keep up with the others; most of the animals of that kind belonging to the *Christians* having died, since their arrival in *Asia*. The *Soltân's* governors of towns and districts in *Syria*, having received advice of the approach of the *Christian* army, detached a body of troops to reconnoitre them, and observe their motions. This detachment surprized a strong party of the enemy's foragers, killed and took prisoners about 500 of them, and acquired a very large quantity of spoil. At this time, *Bar Crîkor*, the *Armenian* commandant of *Al Rûm*, wrote again to *Salâh'ddin*; giving him a particular account of the bad plight the *Christians*, moving towards the frontiers of *Syria*, then were in. He informed him, that they were indeed numerous; but that, being oppressed with famine, they had been obliged to feed upon their horses, so that a few of them only were left. To which he added, that they had been forced to burn most of their arms; having been in a manner destitute of fuel, and reduced to the necessity of remaining, for some days, incamped upon a very insalubrious spot of ground. To crown all these misfortunes, the general who had been detached towards *Antioch* died on his march. Nay we are told by *Abu'lfeda*, that, after the demise of the old *Malec Al Alamân* (M), a very considerable part of the *Christian* forces returned home; that a famine and the plague, together with the fatigues they found themselves obliged to sustain, made a dreadful havock amongst them; and that, by reason of these dismal calamities, of the whole *Greek* army, which at first amounted to 100,000 men, not above 1000, under the orders of the young *Malec Al Alamân*, reached the camp before 'Accâ. These misfortunes, however, did not hinder frequent skirmishes between the *Soltân's* troops and those of the *Franks*; which continued, with little intermission, till *Wednesday*, the 20th of the latter *Jomâda*, when a very brisk and vigorous action happened. The *Franks* then attacked the *Egyptian* forces, under the command of *Al Malec Al 'Adel*, that formed the right wing of the *Soltân's* army, with so much bravery, that they penetrated to *Al Malec Al 'Adel's* tent, and even obliged him to give ground. But, amusing themselves with plundering that part of the camp they had entered, they gave him

^a BOHÂO'DDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 114—124. ISM ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 586. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 743. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 546.

(M) According to *Bar Crîkor*, the *Armenian* commandant of *Al Rûm*, the emperor, or old *Malec Al Alamân*, died of a distemper he contracted, by bathing himself in the *Cydus*, a river issuing out of Mount *Taurus*, and passing by *Tarsus*; the water of which was so extremely cold, that *Alexander the Great*, in his war against *Darius*, going to cool himself therein, found his body so benumbed with cold, that he must have perished, had not that faithful, though suspected, physician, *Philip*, relieved him. If *Vitruvius* in this point

may be credited, notwithstanding what has been observed, the water of it formerly cured the gout, by being applied to the legs of the person afflicted with that terrible distemper. In conformity to what has been handed down to us on this head by the antients, *Bar Crîkor* clearly intimated to the *Soltân*, that the intense coldness of the water brought upon the emperor the disorder that occasioned his death; though, if we prefer *Abu'lfeda's* authority to that of *Bohâo'ddin Ebn Sheddâd*, we must allow him to have been drowned (1).

(1) Bohâo'ddin Ebn Sheddâd & Ism. Abu'lfed. ubi sup. Quint. Curt. Arrian. Vitruv. &c.

- a time to rally, and by that means enabled him to wrest the victory out of their hands. For putting himself, with *Al Tawāshi Kāymāz Al Nojmi*, again at the head of the *Egyptian* troops, and being reinforced by those of *Al Mawfel*, of which the main body was for the most part composed; he returned to the charge, fell upon the enemy with such fury, that he intirely defeated them, and even pursued them to their camp. Nay, says *Abu'lfeda*, if the *Soltān* had not been detained by a violent fit of the cholic in his tent, the victory would have been in all respects decisive, and the enemy completely ruined. It nevertheless proved a terrible blow to the *Franks*, who are said by *Bobāo'ddīn Ebn Sheddād* to have had above 8000 men killed on the spot; the *Soltān*, in order to strike a terror into the enemy, having forbidden any quarter to be given. This, however, seems to be no small amplification of the affair; it being, perhaps, not much more credible that the *Franks* should lose 8000 men, in this action, than that only ten of the *Moslems* should have been therein slain, as this author scruples not to affirm. The following day, towards evening, a letter arrived from *Aleppo*; importing, that the troops of that state had cut off the retreat of a large body of the enemy, which had advanced towards the confines of the *Moslem* territories on that side, in order to ravage them; insomuch that scarce a single man of them had escaped. The same day, came *Kāymāz Al Harrāni* to the *Soltān*, with overtures of peace from the *Franks*; who were so weakened, that they found themselves incapable of carrying on the war against the *Soltān*, and therefore begged he would send a minister to settle with them the terms of an accommodation. This was the situation of their affairs, when count *Henry* arrived, with a powerful reinforcement of troops, and an ample supply of money, arms, corn, and other provisions, on board a numerous fleet, from *Europe*, to their relief. His arrival revived their drooping spirits, and animated them to such a degree, that they resolved to attack the *Soltān* with their whole combined force; to avoid which he was constrained to retire to *Al Kherūba*, the 27th of the latter *Jomāda*, and incamp there. However, he kept open a communication with the *Moslem* garrison of *'Accā*; letters passing and repassing between his camp and the town, carried partly by pigeons, partly by swimmers, and partly by men in small skiffs, who came out privately, by favour of the night, and stole into the place. About this time, an ambassador arrived from *Constantinople*, to supply the place of one that reached the *Soltān's* camp at *Marj 'Aīn*, in the month of *Rajeb*, and soon after died, the preceding year. This minister brought with him an answer to the letter wrote by the *Soltān* to the *Greek* emperor, wherein he acquainted him with his former ambassador's death. The purport of the new minister's commission chiefly was to desire *Salāb'addīn*, in the name of the emperor, to transmit to *Constantinople* all his predecessor's effects, that they might be divided amongst the members of his family; to inform him, that though the *Alamāns*, or *Germans*, had forced a passage through his country; they had suffered much more than his subjects, and were then in so miserable a condition, that they could neither greatly hurt his people, nor assist the *Franks*; and to assure him, that he had hitherto reaped no other advantage from the friendship contracted with him, than to render himself thereby the principal object of the hatred and aversion of the *Franks*. *Salāb'addīn* received likewise a letter from the emperor himself (N), delivered to him by this minister, setting forth the same things; with the contents of which, perfectly agreeing with what had been related to him, he was vastly pleased. The *Greek* ambassador, therefore, who understood *Arabic* and the language of the

(N) This was *Isaac II.* surnamed *Angelus*; whose letter to the *Soltān*, according to *Bobāo'ddīn Ebn Sheddād*, was conceived in the following terms. " *Isaac*, the king, believing in the MESSIAH, who is God, crowned by God, always august, the most powerful and invincible emperor, the autocrator of the *Greeks*, *Angelus*, to *Salāb'addīn*, the *Soltān* of *Egypt*, friendship and dilection. Your eminence's letter sent to our majesty reached us in due time: we have read it, and understand from thence, that our ambassador is dead. We are sorry that he died in a foreign country, without having executed the commission to your eminence that our majesty intrusted him with. It is necessary now that your eminence should dispatch a minister to our majesty, who may bring the body and all the effects of our late ambassador with him, that the latter may be distributed amongst his children and relations. We doubt not, but the bad rumours concerning the irruption of the *Germans* into our dominions have reached your eminence's ears. These false reports have been propagated by the enemy themselves, in order to serve a particular purpose. If you will believe us, they have suffered much more

" than our subjects. They have been in a manner
 " drained of their money, beasts of burden, and men;
 " most of the latter of which have either been carried
 " off by malignant distempers, or killed. They have
 " been so weakened, that they will scarce escape being
 " cut to pieces by our garrisons, and will therefore
 " probably not be able to advance to your frontiers;
 " but if they should pass them, you will find them so
 " exhausted, that they will not be capable either of
 " much hurting your subjects, or procuring any considerable
 " advantages to themselves. Why are you
 " so forgetful of the alliance subsisting betwixt us, that
 " your eminence has communicated nothing to our majesty
 " concerning your intentions and designs. It is
 " very apparent to our majesty, that hitherto we have
 " reaped no other advantage from the friendship cultivated
 " with you, than thereby to have drawn upon
 " ourselves the hatred and indignation of the *Franks*." This curious anecdote having not been preserved by any of the western writers, our learned and inquisitive readers will undoubtedly be pleased with finding an insertion of it here (1).

(1). *Bobāo'ddīn Ebn Sheddād*, *ubi sup.* p. 130, 131.

Franks, as well as his own mother-tongue, met with a most gracious reception from the *Soltân*; who treated him with uncommon marks of distinction, and assured him of his particular esteem. In the mean time, the *Franks*, who had been joined by count *Henry* with 10,000 men, and strengthened after that junction by another reinforcement from *Europe*, redoubled their efforts to possess themselves of 'Accâ; playing incessantly with their military machines, out of which they discharged stones of an enormous size, upon the town, with such activity and success, that it seemed to be in the most imminent danger of falling into their hands^b.

The garrison of 'Accâ continues to make a vigorous defence.

NOTWITHSTANDING the reiterated furious attacks of the *Franks*, who exerted themselves now more than ever in pushing on the siege of 'Accâ; *Al Emir Bobâo'ddîn Karâkûsh* and *Al Emîr Hosâmo'ddîn Abu'l Hijâ*, who commanded the *Moslem* garrison there, continued to make a vigorous defence. In the month of *Rajeb*, a strong party of their men sallied out upon the enemy, killed seventy of them upon the spot, burnt their machines, and then returned triumphantly into the town. They likewise took a very considerable number of prisoners in the action; amongst whom there was a person of distinction, for whose ransom the *Franks* offered an exceeding large sum. But the *Moslem* who had seized him cut off his head, and exposed his body to the view of the enemy's camp. After which, the *Franks* were harassed without intermission by the *Arab* horse, until the middle of *Shaabân*; when one night a detachment of the garrison rushed out upon the besiegers, set fire to a vast engine, erected by count *Henry*, which, according to the report of spies and deserters, cost him 1500 *dinârs*, and reduced it, together with a smaller one near it, to ashes. The *Franks*, not in the least apprehensive of such a visit, were prodigiously affected by this unexpected disaster; looking upon these machines as secure, by reason of their distance from the city. The besieged likewise, towards the end of *Rajeb*, received a seasonable supply of 400 sacks of meal, cheese, onions, sheep, and other provisions; when they were reduced to great straits for want of food. The seamen that navigated the ships of *Bayrût*, or *Berytus*, which carried this supply to 'Accâ, entered the port by a stratagem; being disguised in the *Frank* habit, and having crosses on their pendants, and hogs on board. The *Soltân* also sent the garrison 1000 *dinârs* by one *Isa*, a diver, a person frequently employed on such occasions, who was unhappily drowned in his passage; though the money reached the troops, being deposited in three bladders tied to his body, which was a few days after thrown ashore near the town. This event, which happened towards the close of *Rajeb*, was followed by another not less prosperous to the besieged. The *Franks*, having fixed two of their largest engines near the city, battered the walls with so much fury, that they must soon have been levelled with the ground, had not the garrison discharged two spears, or fire-darts, with red hot points upon one of them; which set it on fire, and, notwithstanding all attempts to hinder this, reduced it to ashes. The flames being likewise communicated to the other, it met with the same fate. In the mean time, the young *Malec Al Alamân*, having possessed himself of *Antioch*, and left his treasures there, made the proper dispositions for advancing to 'Accâ, without delay. Accordingly, the 25th of *Rajeb*, he began his march for that place; taking the route of *Laodicea*, and being met by the marquis of *Montferrat*, the *Sâheb* of *Tyre*, the most warlike and politic of all the princes of the *Franks*, before he reached *Tripoli*. The marquis had before sent into *Europe* a draught, or delineation, of *Al Kuds*, and in it a true representation of the *Temple of the Resurrection*, with a *Moslem* on horseback treading, says the author now before us, on the sepulchre of the *Messiah*; the visitation of which was the principal object of the pilgrimage, performed by the *Christians*, to *Al Kuds*. To animate the western *Christians* the more against the *Moslems*, the horse was represented as conspurcating with urine the spot where the *Messiah* was buried. This, continues he, produced in *Europe* the desired effect; an infinite number of people, incensed to the last degree against the *Moslems* by this picture, lifting themselves under the banner of *Malec Al Alamân*. The son of that prince was at this time conducted along the sea-coast, by the *Sâheb* of *Tyre*; who was afraid lest his troops should have been harassed by the enemy, if he had marched through the districts of *Haleb*, or *Aleppo*, and *Hamab*. However, neither did they so escape intirely the evil they were apprehensive of. For *Al Malec Al Modhaffer* with his forces kept close at their heels, frequently attacked them, and insulted their rear. Nay that general is reported by a certain *Moslem* writer so to have harassed them, that they must all have been infallibly cut to pieces, had he been joined by *Al Malec Al Dbâber*. This will not appear improbable, if the *European reinforcement* did not, as he asserts, exceed 5000 men, and had not above sixty horses, that were almost starved with hunger, at their departure from *Laodicea* for *Jibla*, *Jebela*, or *Jabala*, to which place they proposed to direct their march. Several of them were killed and taken prisoners by the *Moslem* parties, before their arrival at *Tripoli*; of which the *Soltân* received advice, the 5th of *Shaabân*. About the middle of that month,

^b BOHÂO'DDÎN EBN SHEDDÂD, ubi sup. p. 124—131. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. EBN KHALECAN, EBN AL ATHIR, TAKIO'DDÎN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in Mawieedô'llatâfa, KHALIL EBN MOHAMMED AL AFKÂHESBI, in Târikh Salah'ad. RENAUD, ubi sup.

- a three ships from *Egypt* entered the port of 'Accâ, with a copious supply of provisions, munitions of war, and every thing requisite to enable the garrison to sustain a siege till the following spring; when *Bobâo'ddîn Karâkûsh* was upon the point of surrendering, for want of such a supply. This so irritated the *Franks*, that they attempted, with three ships, and some forces on board, to make themselves masters of the *Tower of Flies*, built upon a rock in the midst of the sea, at the mouth of the harbour, which commanded the port; but without effect, they having lost all their vessels and men in the attempt, the 22d of *Sbaabîn*. The young *Malec Al Alamân* staid some time at *Tripoli*, to refresh his troops; and then sent them to the camp before 'Accâ; intending to follow them himself, with all convenient speed. Pursuant, therefore, to the directions of the marquis of *Montferrat*, who absolutely governed his coun-
- b cils, he went by sea to *Tyre*, where he remained with the marquis till the 6th of *Ramadân*; when, with a few companions only, he set sail for 'Accâ, and soon arrived there in good health. Not long after his arrival, he advanced at the head of a strong detachment to the hill *Al 'Ayâdiya*, opposite to that on which the *Franks* were incamped, and attacked a considerable body of the enemy posted there. The *Soltân*, finding the action to grow very warm, moved himself to *Tel Caifin*, to support his men that were engaged; which being observed by the young *Malec Al Alamân*, he thought fit to retire to the *Christian* camp. The *Moslems*, in this skirmish, had only two men killed; though, according to *Bobâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, many more of them were wounded. But the *Franks*, as the same biographer informs us, sustained a much more considerable loss. However, they resumed the operations of the siege with the utmost vigour. They prepared two machines of a new invention, and most enormous size, to batter the walls of the city; and erected a moveable tower, pointed with iron, on some ships of a stupendous magnitude, with which, attended by a proper number of other engines, scaling-ladders, &c. they intended, if possible, to storm the *Tower of Flies*. But, on *Monday*, the 3d of *Ramadân*, the garrison sallied out of all the gates at once, drove the besiegers from the two huge machines, that had been brought close to the walls, and burnt them; as they did also the ships, engines, scaling-ladders, &c. that had been prepared to facilitate the reduction of the aforesaid tower, the 15th of the same month. The next day, the *Soltân*, who had been for some time sick of a bilious fever, received a letter, by a pigeon, from *Aleppo*; importing, that *Al Malec Al Dbâher's* generals had drawn the *Sâheb* of *Antioch*,
- d who had undertaken an expedition against the *Moslem* territories, into an ambuscade, put seventy-five of his men to the sword, and made a multitude of them prisoners. As for the *Sâheb* of *Antioch* himself, he escaped to *Shîba*; and, after the retreat of the *Moslem* troops, retired to his capital. Soon after, two of the enemy's vessels, with several women, and children, on board, besides a good number of sheep, and a large quantity of other provisions, were driven into the hands of the *Moslems*, by stress of weather. But the *Franks* soon made themselves ample amends for this loss, by intercepting a pinnace, laden with money and recruits for the garrison of 'Accâ. The *Soltân* being still in an exceeding bad state of health, and both spies and deserters unanimously agreeing, that the *Franks* were determined to attack him immediately with their whole combined force; he resolved to withdraw to mount *Shaferam*, and take post there. On the top of that mountain he, therefore, incamped, the 19th of *Ramadân*.
- e This nevertheless did not discourage the troops in 'Accâ; which still continued to repel the efforts of the besiegers with so much bravery, that there was little probability of their soon becoming masters of the place^c.

f THE *Soltân* having pitched his camp on the summit of mount *Shaferam*, about three miles from the city of 'Accâ; the *Franks*, notwithstanding their apparent superiority, laid aside the design they had formed of forcing him to a battle. He had no sooner occupied his new camp, than *Zîno'ddîn Yusef Ebn Zîno'ddîn Ali Cawjec*, the *Sâheb* of *Arbel*, fell sick of a double fever, which attacked him at different hours; with which he struggled till the 28th of *Ramadân*, and then expired at *Nazareth*, in the very flower of his age. The *Soltân* appointed his brother *Modbaffero'ddîn Cawcabûri*, who was with him at the time of his death, to succeed him at *Arbel*; but deprived him of the cities of *Al Robâ*, or *Edeffa*, and *Harrân*, which he was possessed of before. *Salâb'addîn* likewise gave him the town of *Shabrezûr*, with its district; and conferred upon *Al Malec Al Modbaffer Takîo'ddîn Omar*, his nephew, the government of those territories over which *Modbaffero'ddîn* had presided before *Zîno'ddîn's* demise. These were *Al Robâ*, or *Edeffa*, *Harrân*, *Someisât*, or *Samosata*, and the territory of *Al Mawzer*, in *Al Jazira*, or *Mesopotamia*, wherein the city of *Nasîbîn* is seated; all which were annexed to *Mayyâfârakîn*, *Hamah*, *Maara*, *Salamiya*, *Manbij*, the castle of *Nojm*, *Jebela*, *Al Lâdikîa*, or *Laodicea*, *Blâtanus*, or *Platanus*, and *Bagrâs*, or *Pagræ*, with their respective dependencies, which he possessed at that time. *Al Malec Al Modbaffer* arrived at the *Soltân's* camp,

Other occurrences of the present year.

^c BOHÂO'DDÎN EBN SHEDDÂD, ubi sup. p. 131—144. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. EBN KHALECAN, EBN AL ATHIR, TAKÎO'DDÎN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in *Mawredollatâf*. KHALIL EBN MOHAMMED AL AFKAHESBI, in *Târîkh Salâh'ad*. ISRAHIM EBN MOHAMMED EBN DAKMAK, in *Al Jawhar Al Thamîn*, D'HERBEL. & RENAUD. ubi sup.

the 3d of *Shawâl*, and brought back with him by compulsion *Moezzo'ddin Sinjâr Shâb Ebn Saifo'ddin Gâzi Ebn Mawdûd Ebn Zenki*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Jazîra*; who had separated from the *Moslem* army, and marched almost as far as *Tiberias*, in his way home, contrary to the express order of the *Soltân*. The spirit of mutiny and disaffection likewise disposed *'Amâdo'ddin Zenki* to demand his dismissal of the *Soltân*, together with the money due to his troops, in an insolent and imperious manner; but he was prevailed upon at last, partly by fair means and partly by force, to desist from his demands. In the mean time, the *Franks* being not a little distressed for want of provisions in their camp, as well as in several parts of the country belonging to them, a sack of meal selling at *Antioch* for ninety-six *Tyrian dinârs*; count *Henry* and the marquis of *Montferrat* advanced to *Ras Al Mâ*, a place at no great distance from the source of the river of *'Accâ*, with a large detachment of their forces, to bring the *Soltân* to a battle. But finding this impracticable, and having lost no inconsiderable number of men in several smart skirmishes, that happened between them and the *Moslem* troops, they returned to the camp; where they had left the young *Malec Al Alamân*, with the other part of the army, to carry on the siege. The *Soltân* likewise, who had not yet recovered his health, re-occupied his former camp; from whence he had withdrawn his men, in order to observe the motions of the *Franks*. About this time, a reinforcement from *Europe* joined the *Franks*; which, however, did not hinder a party of them from being drawn into an ambuscade, and defeated, by a detachment of *Moslem*-troops, the 22d of *Shawâl*. Amongst the prisoners taken in this action were one of the *French* king's generals and his treasurer, who probably arrived with the last succours at the camp before *'Accâ*. The *Soltân* treated them with uncommon marks of distinction, and assigned them a magnificent tent next to his own. He also ordered them all kinds of refreshments, and even sometimes permitted the general to eat with him at his own table. After which, he commanded them to be conducted honourably to *Damascus*, gave them leave to write to their master, and allowed them to supply themselves with every thing they stood in need of from the *Christian* camp. The operations of the campaign being at an end, the *Soltân's* army began now to separate, that the troops of which it was composed might retire into winter-quarters. *'Amâdo'ddin*, the *Sâheb* of *Sinjâr*, and his nephew *Sinjâr Shâb*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Jazîra*, set out on their return home, the 25th of *Shawâl*; the *Soltân* having given each of them a royal vest, besides other valuable presents, as tokens of his approbation of their former conduct. *Alâo'ddin*, the son of the *Sâheb* of *Al Mawfel*, departed, the beginning of *Dhu'lkaada*, for his father's court; having been honoured by the *Soltân*, in the same manner as the two above-mentioned princes. *Al Malec Al Modbaffer* staid till the beginning of the following year, as did also *Al Malec Al Dhâber*; the latter of them taking his leave of the *Soltân*, the 9th of *Al Mobarram*, and the former, the 3d of *Safar*, in that year. Towards the close of *Dhu'lkaada*, 586, *Zulfetdâr* paid his respects in person to *Salâh'addîn*; and begged he would, by a rescript, cause to be restored to him some territories in the provinces of *Nasîbîn* and *Al Khâbûr*, of which he had been unjustly deprived. This being readily granted, and a rich vest delivered to him, he went away, extremely well pleased with the justice, magnanimity, and munificence of the *Soltân*.

The *Soltân* changes the garrison of *'Accâ*.

THE 587th year of the *Hejra*, which commenced *Jan. 29th, 1191*, produced several remarkable events, that have not escaped the notice of the eastern writers. The sea having been exceeding rough, by reason of the boisterous weather, at *'Accâ*, during the month of *Dhu'l-hajja*, the preceding year; the *Franks* removed all their ships to *Tyre*, which was a safer and more commodious port. The sea being, therefore, open, the *Soltân* easily threw a body of fresh troops, under the command of *Al Emîr Saifo'ddin Ali Ebn Ahmed Al Haccâri Al Mash-tûb*, into the place. However, as *Al Emîr Bobâo'ddin Karâkûsh* and *Al Emîr Hosâmo'ddin Abu'l Hijâ*, with the former garrison, had sustained so many fatigues, in the defence of the town; they were withdrawn from thence, and carried to *Haifâ*, where *Al Malec Al 'Adel* had posted himself with his army, in order to protect the ships passing to, and repassing from, *'Accâ*, with the forces on board, from any nocturnal insult of the enemy. As *Haifâ* was seated near the spot from whence the *Soltân's* ships set sail for *'Accâ*, such a position of *Al Malec Al 'Adel's* body of troops was judged requisite to facilitate the introduction of a new garrison into that city; which was effected, according to *Bobâo'ddin Ebn Sheddâd*, the 10th of *Al Mobarram*, the present year. The good success that attended this enterprize, made some amends for the loss of seven *Moslem* transports from *Egypt*, together with sixty sailors, that navigated them, and a vast quantity of corn and money on board for the garrison of *'Accâ* a little before; those ships having been all dashed to pieces either against a rock or one another, by the violence of the winds, the 2d of *Dhu'l-hajja*, the preceding year. This disaster the besieged could not forbear considering as an ill omen, portending the speedy reduction of the city. The ships being lost within sight of the town, the garrison had taken post on the sea-

^c BOHÂO'DDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 144—154. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. KHALIL EBN MOHAMMED AL AFKANESEI. in *Târikh Salâh'ad*. EBN KHALECAN, EBN AL ATRIK, D'HERBELLE & RENAUD. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad *Alfragan.* & ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. *Salad.* pass.

shore,

- a shore, in order to cover the debarkation of their cargoes, and convey the corn, which would have supported both the soldiers and the people in 'Accâ a whole year, into the place. This gave the *Franks* an opportunity of making a general assault with the utmost fury; but, one of their scaling-ladders by a fatal accident being broke, they were repulsed with great slaughter by the inhabitants, and driven back by them even to their very camp. However, a considerable part of the walls falling down suddenly in the night of the 7th of *Dbu'lbajja*; the besiegers, finding the breach made by this unexpected event practicable, and the remainder of the walls in a ruinous condition, attempted again to carry the fortrefs by storm. The *Moslems* looked upon this misfortune as another ill omen, and were at first not a little affected by it; but they soon recovered themselves out of the panic into which they had been thrown, and so exerted themselves, that they once more obliged the besiegers to retire. After which, they repaired the walls, and put the place into as good a posture of defence as it had been in before. The *Franks* being in vast want of provisions, a multitude of deserters from their camp came in to the *Soltân*; who employed them, at their own request, in cruising upon the enemy, and assigned them a ship for that purpose. They met with success in this employment, taking several merchant-men bound to the enemy's camp; some of which, that had a large quantity of money, plate, and other rich effects on board, were exceeding valuable prizes. The money and plate, which included a silver table, the captors brought to the *Soltân*, the 13th of *Dbu'lbajja*, together with all the prisoners that had fallen into their hands. But he returned every thing of value to them; it being a sufficient satisfaction to him and the *Moslems*, that the *Franks* with so much alacrity plundered and pillaged one another. In the mean time, the inclemency of the season produced a pestilence in the *Christian* camp; which raged with prodigious violence, and, together with the famine swept away 100, 200, and sometimes more, men in a day. Of this dreadful distemper died the young *Malec Al Alamân*, or, as he is called by *Bobâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, *Ebn Malec Al Alamân*, the 22d of *Dbu'lbajja*, 586, to the inconceivable regret of the *Franks*. The enemy likewise lost another of their principal commanders, and count *Henry* himself for some time lay at the point of death. The *Moslems* took two barks, with fifty men in them, the 24th of the same month; and another, the day following, wherein they found a garment covered with pearls, that had formerly been one of the ornaments of *Malec Al Alamân*. They also met in this small vessel with that prince's nephew, whom they immediately threw into irons. *Asado'ddîn Shairacûb Ebn Nâfero'ddîn Mohammed*, the *Sâheb* of *Hems*, penetrated into the enemy's country as far as *Tripoli*, and carried off with him 400 horses, and 100 oxen, grazing in a meadow contiguous to that city; all which, except forty horses, that died upon the road, he brought to *Hems*, the 4th of *Safar*, 587, without losing a man. Two skirmishes happened between detachments of the *Christian* and *Moslem* armies, the 3d and 9th of the former *Rabî*, of little or no consequence to either side. A party of the *Moslems* also picked up forty-five prisoners in the neighbourhood of *Bayrût*, or *Beyrût*; amongst whom was an old man, come from *Europe* to perform the pilgrimage to *The Church of the Resurrection* at *Al Kuds*. These being conducted to the *Soltân's* tent, he courteously dismissed the old man; though his sons, who were children, would have begged leave of their father to kill him. The instances of success mentioned here, especially the introduction of a new garrison into 'Accâ, with corn for a whole year, proved extremely agreeable to the *Soltân*. They seem, however, to have been too inconsiderable to merit the attention of that prince; since the relief so luckily afforded 'Accâ, the most important of them, as the body of troops thrown into that fortrefs scarce amounted to half the forces withdrawn from thence, if *Abu'lfeda* in this point may be depended upon, did principally contribute to the loss of the place ^a.
- e

- f THE season for action now approaching, the reinforcements for the *Moslem* army began *The Franks* successively to appear. *Solimân Ebn Jondar*, *Al Malec Al Dbâher's* general, an officer of great *receive succours from* experience, rendered illustrious by the many victories he had gained, as well as a statesman of *Europe*. consummate abilities, with the forces of *Aleppo*, first arrived. Next came *Majdo'ddîn*, or *Majdo'ddîn*, *Ebn 'Azzo'ddîn Fakhr Shâh*, the *Sâheb* of *Baalbec*, with the troops under his command. These two bodies were gradually followed by all the others expected to join the *Soltân*. With regard to the *Franks*, they also received powerful succours from *Europe*. *Philip II. (Y)* king of *France*, surnamed *Augustus*, and denominated by the *Arab* writers *Al*

^a BOHA'ODDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 154—159. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 587. EBN SNOHN. ad an. Hej. 587. KHALIL EBN MOHAMMED AL AFKAHESBI, in Târikh Salâh'ad. D'HERBEL. ubi sup.

(Y) This *Philip* is said to have been looked upon by the *Franks* as superior to *Richard*, king of *England*, with respect to the extent of his dominions, and his dignity; but as much inferior to him in point of wealth, and military virtue. Notwithstanding which, *Philip's*

territories are affirmed to have been not very extensive by *Abu'l Faraj*. The *Arab* writers style *Philip*, mentioned here, *Al Malec Al Fransîs*; the last word of which title (*Fransîs*), unless we are greatly mistaken, was deduced from the *French* gentile term *François* (1).

(1) *Bobâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, ubi sup. p. 159, & alib. *Greg. Abu'l Faraj*, ubi sup. p. 418, 420.

lec Al Fransis, arrived with a supply of men money, horses, provisions, &c. on board six ships (Z), the 23d of the former *Rabî*, and immediately proceeded to the camp before 'Accâ. Soon after his arrival, says *Bobâo'ddin Ebn Sheddâd*, a most beautiful white falcon, that he brought with him from home, flew off his hand to the top off the walls of 'Accâ, where it was taken by some soldiers of the garrison, and sent to the *Soltân*; who refused to restore it to the king, though he offered for it no less than 1000 *dinârs*. Count *Forond*, an excellent officer, who had distinguished himself on several occasions, also appeared at the head of some troops, destined to act in favour of the *Franks*. In the mean time, *Richard I.* king of *England*, for his great courage, surnamed *Cœur de Lion*, and going amongst the *Arab* historians under the appellation of *Malec Al Anketâr* (A), who had undertaken the *Crusade*, made a descent on the island of *Cyprus*, with an intention to possess himself of it. But meeting with a vigorous resistance, he found himself obliged to have recourse to king *Guy of Lusignan*, and his brother *Geffrey*, or *Geoffrey*, who then presided over the remains of the *Franks*, for assistance. Whereupon, according to *Bobâo'ddin Ebn Sheddâd*, those princes sent him 160 horse, to enable him to carry his point. Towards the close of the latter *Rabî*, a letter from *Bayrût*, or *Berytus*, brought advice, that five *English* ships, and a small bark, with a considerable number of men and women, forty horses, a large quantity of provisions, implements of various kinds, wood, and other things, had fallen into the enemy's hands. This, however, did not hinder the *Franks* from pushing on the siege of 'Accâ. They erected seven new machines, and began to play with them, the 14th of the former *Jomâda*, most furiously upon the town. Of this the *Soltân* being informed, he posted himself, with a few of his *Mamlûks*, on the top of *Tel Al Fodûl*, a mountain close to the spot where the army of the *Franks* was incamped, in order to take a near view of their machines. He then moved with all his forces to *Al Kherûba*, and occupied the hill *Al 'Ayâdiya*, opposite to the enemy's camp, in the night between the 10th and 11th of the same month. From this post he proposed to harass the *Franks* with perpetual alarms, and by that means to retard the operations of the siege. But, notwithstanding his efforts, the city of 'Accâ was reduced to such extremities, that the garrison and inhabitants sent letters every day to the *Soltân*, to apprise him of the distress they were in, and press him to attempt with all possible expedition to relieve the place. Their situation was rendered still more melancholy by the arrival of the king of *England*, after his subjugation of the island of *Cyprus*, at the besiegers camp. That prince, who was esteemed (B) by the *Moslems* as the most valiant and intrepid of all the generals of the *Franks*, brought with him a very considerable force, attended with arms and proper accoutrements, in twenty-five ships of war; with which he joined the *Christian* army, then in high spirits, on account of their being soon to act under the order of so brave, skilful, and experienced a commander, the 13th of the former *Jomâda*. The 16th of the same month, the *English* sunk, after an obstinate engagement, a *Moslem* ship of an enormous size, with 650 soldiers, a vast number of arms and utensils of all kinds, and a prodigious quantity of provisions, on board, going from *Bayrût* to 'Accâ, for the besieged. Of the soldiers, and sailors navigating the vessel, only one escaped; who was taken prisoner by the *English*, and dispatched immediately to the *Soltân*, to acquaint him with the disaster that had befallen him by sea. This blow so terrified the garrison and people of 'Accâ, that they began to despair of defending that fortress much longer against the *Franks*; looking upon it, says *Bobâo'ddin*, as the third ill omen that had happened to them since the commencement of the siege.

'Accâ is reduced to the last extremity by the *Franks*.

THE vicinity of the *Soltân's* camp, pitched on the hill of *Al 'Ayâdiya*, not a little favouring the sallies of the besieged; the *Franks* found themselves incapable of effecting the reduction of 'Accâ, without a farther effusion of human blood. They raised a stupendous machine, to play upon

^c BOHÂO'DDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 59—67. ISM. ABU'LFED. & EBN SHOHN. ubi sup. MOJIRO'DDIN AL HANBALI, GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 418, 419, 420. Vid. etiam not. MS. ad Abu'l Far. p. 420. apud Joannem Swintonum, A. M. ex Æde Christi, Oxon. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 743, 744, & RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 546.

(Z) According to M. *Renaudot*, *Philip's* fleet consisted of 100 sail; but by what author he has been supplied with this article, he has not been pleased to inform us (1).

(A) He is so called by *Abu'lfeda*, *Ebn Shohnah*, *Bobâo'ddin Ebn Sheddâd*, and *Abu'l Faraj*; but *Malec Al Anketâr* by *Mojiro'ddin Al Hanbali*, who in the room of *Ta* and *Alif* substitutes *Tha* and *Ya*. The word *Anketâr*, or *Anketâr*, seems to be a corruption of the French name *Angleterre* (2).

(B) *Bobâo'ddin Ebn Sheddâd* represents him as a prince grown exceeding famous, by his valour, intrepidity, military skill, experience in war, and the many victories he had gained. The same author likewise mentions him as a general on whom the *Franks* had the greatest dependence, insomuch that on some occasions they seemed to be almost incapable of acting without him (3).

(1) *Renaud.* ubi sup. p. 546. (2) *Ebn Shohn.* ad an. H. 587. *ISM. Abu'lfed.* in *chron.* ad an. H. 587. *Bobâo'ddin Ebn Sheddâd*, ubi sup. p. 160, 165. *Mojiro'ddin Al Hanbali*, GREG. *Abu'l Faraj*, ubi sup. p. 420. Vid. etiam not. MS. ad Abu'l Far. ibid. apud Joan. Swintonum, A. M. Oxoniens. (3) *Bobâo'ddin Ebn Sheddâd*, ubi sup. p. 160, 161, 165, 171, & alib.

the

- a the town, and level the walls with the ground; which the garrison set on fire with naphtha, and reduced to ashes. On *Friday*, the 19th of the former *Jomâda*, the *Franks* made a general assault; but the garrison, supported by the *Soltân*, repulsed them with great bravery, forced their trenches, penetrated into their camp, and plundered part of it. However, they were at last obliged to retire. The 23d, the besiegers made a fiercer attack than before; but were again repulsed, and pursued to their camp, where a most bloody engagement ensued. Nothing, however, decisive happened on either side. Hereupon the king of *England* sent an herald to the *Soltân*, to desire he might have an interview with that prince. This minister was introduced by *Al Malec Al 'Adel* to *Salâb'addin*, and communicated the purport of his commission to him; but without effect. The *Soltân* refused to comply with king *Richard's* request,
- b before a convention, settling the principal articles of a future treaty of peace between them, was signed. He also insisted that the interview should be conducted by an interpreter, in whom both of them could confide. The 28th, a smart action happened; which was terminated by the intervention of the night. The *Moslems* lost in it only a *Scenite Arab*, or *Bedoween*, and a *Curd*; though more of the *Franks* are said to have been killed, besides one of them taken prisoner, who was immediately carried to the *Soltân*. The 29th, there was a skirmish near *Al Nabr Al Halû*, or *The Sweet River*; in which a *Moslem* fell into the enemy's hands, whom they butchered, and afterwards burnt. To retaliate this barbarity, a *Christian* captive was treated in the very same manner. In the mean time, couriers were dispatched without intermission from the garrison and inhabitants of *'Accâ* to the *Soltân*, to acquaint him with their deplorable situation; they being reduced to the extremes of misery and despair. They assured him, that since the arrival of the king of *England*, who was by much the best and most active officer in the *Christian* camp, they had not been permitted to enjoy the least interval of repose. They added, that this martial prince had been sick, and even at the point of death; as also, that the king of *France* had been wounded, but whether dangerously or no they did not say. The king of *England's* sister, who had been the king of *Sicily's* wife, was with him, during his illness in the camp. She had with her two *Sicilian* servants, who had always been *Moslems* in their hearts. These took an opportunity, that offered itself, of deserting to the *Soltân*, and professing the *Mohammedan* faith. At this time the marquis of *Montferrat* having been told, that the sovereignty of *Tyre* was to be conferred upon the former *Sâheb* of that city, who had been detained in captivity by the *Soltân*, as a reward for what he had suffered on account of his religion; he abandoned the army, and hastened with the utmost celerity to *Tyre*. Nor could some *Christian* priests, sent after him for that purpose, by all the motives they could offer, prevail upon him to return. As he seemed fully persuaded, that the kings of *England* and *France* were resolved not only to deprive him of the principality of *Tyre*, but even to seize him; he was determined to leave them, and confine himself to the defence of his capital. The forces of *Sinjâr*, under the orders of *Mojâbedo'ddin Ycrankush*, those of *Egypt*, commanded by *'Alamo'ddin Corkhi*, *Saifo'ddin Sonkar*, and others, and those of *Al Mawfel*, under the conduct of *'Alâo'ddin*, the *Sâheb* of that place, having joined the *Soltân*; he made a motion with his army, the 2d of the latter *Jomâda*, and drew nearer the enemy's camp. The king of *England's* illness, which
- e now grew more violent, for the present not a little retarded the siege of *'Accâ*; that prince, even according to the *Moslem* writers themselves, being as it were the life and soul of the *Franks*. After his recovery, he dispatched an ambassador to the *Soltân*; who brought with him a *Moslem* prisoner, a native of *Al Maarra*, as a present to that prince. The *English* monarch's view herein was, according to *Bobâo'ddin Ebn Sheddâd*, to feel the *Soltân's* pulse, and discover whether he was more inclined to peace or war. But as *Salâb'addin* himself had a similar view, in relation to the disposition of the *Franks*, by his admission of this minister, and consequently both parties were rather disposed to impose upon each other than enter seriously into a negotiation; the conferences broke off without success, and this legation produced no remarkable effect. The *Franks*, therefore, animated by king *Richard*, redoubled their efforts to carry the
- f town; attacking it with so much ardour, that the troops forming the garrison were every moment in danger of being put to the sword. This induced them to send a letter to the *Soltân*, the 7th of the latter *Jomâda*, to inform him of the most melancholy circumstances they were in; and likewise farther to acquaint him, that, if they were not succoured the next day, they should be obliged to surrender. As most of the arms of *Phœnicia*, *Jerusalem*, *Damascus*, *Aleppo*, *Egypt*, and, in fine, all the *Moslem* provinces, were in *'Accâ*, the *Soltân's* principal magazine being settled there; and as *Saifo'ddin Al Mashtûb*, *Bobâo'ddin Karâkûsh*, and other famous generals, were now in that fortress; the contents of this letter, as well as the verbal account of things given by the bearer, extremely affected the *Soltân*. The 8th of the same month, the *Franks* penetrated through, and destroyed, the exterior wall; which was abandoned by the besieged, after a vigorous defence. The *Franks*, however, lost in the action above 150 men. Six of these were persons of distinction, the principal of whom was killed by a *Curd*. The exterior

'Accâ surren-
ders to the
Franks.

rior wall being destroyed, and the garrison thereby left intirely exposed, the place was in the most imminent danger of being taken by storm ^a.

THINGS being in this melancholy situation at 'Accâ, the garrison and inhabitants of that city demanded to capitulate; and deputed *Saifo'ddin Al Mashtûb* to the besiegers camp, to settle with the king of *France* the articles of the capitulation. That prince at first refused to grant them any terms, as they had so barbarously butchered six of the *Christian* officers, the preceding day, even after one of them had engaged to procure them mercy from the *Franks*, if they would spare him; upon which, *Al Mashtûb*, in a menacing tone, assured him, that they would defend the city to the last drop of blood, and each of them kill fifty of the principal of their enemies, if he persisted in his refusal to comply with their request. *Al Mashtûb* then returned into the town, and informed both the people and troops of the king of *France*'s disposition; which struck them with such terror, that *Arsal*, *Ebn Al Jâwali*, *Sonkar*, *Al Washâki*, and several others, got on board a bark, that night, and escaped to the *Moslem* army. *Arsal* and *Sonkar*, dreading the *Soltân*'s indignation, kept themselves in such manner concealed, that they could never be discovered; but *Al Jâwali* was afterwards taken, and closely confined. However, a reinforcement of fresh troops being thrown into the place, and the besieged having begun to build another wall, in the room of that which had been demolished by the *Franks*; the kings of *England* and *France* at length, after the fortrefs had been reduced to a heap of ruins, granted them a capitulation, on *Friday*, the 17th of the latter *Jomâda*, upon the following terms. 1. The garrison and inhabitants of 'Accâ shall be permitted to march out in safety, with their money and effects. 2. They shall release 1500 *Christian* prisoners of lower rank, and 100 others of superior note, to be named by the commanders of the *Franks*. 3. In consideration of their being allowed to retire, with their wives and children, money and effects, they shall pay the besiegers 200,000 *dinârs*, at two monthly payments; the first on the 18th of *Rajeb*, and the second on the 18th of *Sbaâban*. 4. They shall deliver up to the *Franks*, *The Cross of the Crucifixion*, or the true original cross on which the *Messiah* suffered. 5. They shall leave them all their ships, arms, and military machines; and, in fine, the remaining part of the magazine erected in their city. 6. They shall pay the marquis of *Montferrat*, or *Sâheb* of *Tyre*, 10,000 *dinârs*, and his troops 4000, because by his intervention these articles were agreed upon. The capitulation being signed, and a copy of it sent to the *Soltân*; he disapproved of the garrison's conduct on this occasion. But receiving advice that the *Franks* had, the same day, taken possession of the town, he found himself obliged, notwithstanding his chagrin, to acquiesce in what had been done. Though 'Accâ had not been evacuated by the *Moslem* troops, the *Hâjeb Kûs* departed from thence, with three attendants, to the *Soltân*'s camp, the 20th of the same month; and set out the next day for *Damascus*. Towards the close of the latter *Jomâda*, a *Moslem* post having been attacked by the *Franks*; they were repulsed, with considerable loss. In the mean time, they detained in a state of confinement the *Moslems* found in the town, and secured both their money and effects, till the conditions stipulated on their part by the late convention were performed. Whereupon the *Soltân*, says *Bohâo'ddin Ebn Sheddâd*, insisted, that before the payment of 100,000 *dinârs* on the 18th of *Rajeb*, and the dismissal of the *Christian* captives in his hands, those prisoners should either be released, on his producing a proper security for the payment in due time of the remaining sum, or hostages given him for the speedy release of them. If either of these reasonable terms, continues he, had been complied with, the *Soltân* would have punctually performed what the *Franks* thought they had a right to demand of him. But both of them being peremptorily refused, he believed himself under no manner of obligation to send them either the cross, the prisoners, or the money they required; imagining, as our author insinuates, that by a contrary conduct he should have become the dupe of his own credulity, and the perfidy of the *Franks*. This affair is, however, something differently related by *Abu'l Faraj*. According to that writer, *Salâb'addin*, by the advice of his *Emîrs*, refused to remit 100,000 *dinârs* to the *Franks*, though the money had been collected by his subjects for him, unless their kings would again bind themselves by oath to discharge all the *Moslems* they had confined. This, says he, they did not scruple to reject; but, at the same time, declared, that they would immediately dismiss part of them, upon payment of that sum, and the arrival of the cross, and the rest, when 100,000 *dinârs* more, the remainder of the stipulated sum, were paid. But with this proposal, however equitable it may appear, the *Soltân* would by no means close. *Abu'lfeda* seems to intimate that *Salâb'addin* could not raise the money due to the *Franks*, and yet required the dismissal of all the *Moslem* captives in their hands; with which, as they could not but deem it a most exorbitant and iniquitous demand, they refused to comply. Neither the cross, therefore, was sent, nor the money, at the time appointed, paid. The

^a BOHÂO'DDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 167—175. ISM. ABU'LFED. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, EBN SHOHNAH, & MOJIRO'DDIN AL HANBALI, ubi sup. EBN KHALECAN, EBN AL ATHIR, KHALIL EBN MOHAMMED AL AFKAHESBI, in *Târikh Salâh'ad*. D'HERBEL. & RENAUD. ubi sup.

consequence

a consequence of which was, that the king of *England*, having drawn up a body of the *Franks* in order of battle, on a plain between the mounts *Al Ayâdiya* and *Caisân*, and commanded the *Moslem* prisoners to be conducted thither, put 3000 of them to the sword, that were not able to ransom themselves, the 27th of *Rajeb*. This was done in the sight of some *Moslem* troops, that were both too weak and too far distant to rescue them. The other captives, according to *Abu'lfeda*, were still kept in chains. Upon the whole, from the *Arab* historians themselves, for these we only follow here, it may be fairly inferred, that the *Soltân* was guilty of perfidy, and the *English* monarch, or rather all the princes of the *Franks*, of cruelty, on this tragical occasion ^e.

AFTER the reduction of 'Accâ, the king of *England* marched with his army to besiege *Askelon*, or *Askelon*, in conformity to the plan he had laid down, as generalissimo of the *Franks*. A certain *Moslem* author insinuates, that this enterprize obliged king *Richard* to treat the *Moslem* prisoners in the manner above-mentioned; as he judged it would be altogether impolitic to leave behind him so considerable a body of men in 'Accâ. Which if we admit, that prince will be thereby in some measure cleared of the aforesaid imputation; though policy, however in this point of conduct he might have been influenced by it, will not entirely exculpate him. *Richard* having settled every thing at 'Accâ, and ordered both the town and walls to be repaired, began his march for 'Askalân, towards the close of *Rajeb*. The 1st of *Sbaabân*, he advanced to *Haifâ*; his rear being harrassed most of the way by a body of the *Soltân's* troops, under the command of *Al Malec Al Afdal*. From thence he moved to *Al Mallûba*, and afterwards to *Kaisâriya*, or *Cæsarea*; the *Soltân* attending him with his army, in order to observe his motions. *Richard* arrived at *Kaisâriya*, on *Friday*, the 6th of *Sbaabân*, and pitched his tents there, according to *Bobâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, the same day. He then continued his march, in order of battle, till the 10th of *Sbaabân*, when a brisk skirmish happened; in which a pretty large number of men on both sides were killed, and about 1000 of the *Franks*, if *Bobâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd* may be depended upon, wounded. The king of *England*, according to the information given the *Soltân* by three prisoners he had taken, having been imposed upon, with regard to the strength of the *Moslem* forces, by two *Scenite Arabs*, or *Bedowens*; he caused both their heads, after the end of the action of the 10th, to be struck off. The van of the *Christian* army was commanded by the king of the *Franks*, and formed of his own proper troops; the main body by the king of *England*, assisted by the king of *France*; and the rear was brought up by the sons of *Alisot*, the *Sâbebs* of *Tabariya*, or *Tiberias*, and others. The banner was displayed from the top of a high tower, in the center, carried on wheels. In this manner, according to the report of prisoners and deserters, and of *Bobâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd* himself, who saw them, did the *Franks* move, first to *Kaisâriya*, and afterwards to *Al Birca*, which they reached on *Friday*, the 13th of *Sbaabân*. Some few prisoners, amongst whom was a person of distinction, the *Soltân* picked up; all of whom, in resentment of *Richard's* treatment of the *Moslem* captives, he caused to be put to the sword. However, he also himself lost several of his men, on this occasion; amongst whom was *Ayâz*, one of his most valiant *Mamlûks*, or purchased slaves. Many of the *Moslems* were likewise wounded, as well as their horses, by the enemy's arrows. At this time, the king of *England* and *Al Malec Al Adel* had an interview and conference, in order to treat of a peace; but the *Soltân* making use of this affair only as an artifice to gain time, till he was joined by a body of *Turkmâns*, then upon their march, nothing of any consequence resulted from thence. *Salâb'addîn* having received advice, that the enemy had taken post in the plains of *Arsof*, or *Arsûf*, a town about twelve miles from *Al Ramla*, and six from *Yâfâ*, or *Joppa*; he made the proper dispositions for an engagement, being determined, if possible, to bring them to a battle. Accordingly, the two armies being come in sight of each other, on *Saturday*, the 14th of *Sbaabân*, a general action (C) immediately ensued; in which the *Moslems* being overthrown, with great slaughter, the *Soltân* retired, or rather fled, with the utmost precipitation, to *Al Ramla*. Here he cut off the heads of two or three *Christian* prisoners, that had fallen into his hands. After the defeat of the *Moslems*,

^e BOHÂO'DDÎN EBN SHEDDÂD, ubi sup. p. 175—184. ISM. ABU'LFED. & EBN SHOHN. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 419. 420. EBN KHALECAN, EBN AL ATHIR, TAKIO'DDÎN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in *Mawredô'llatâfa*, IBRAHIM EBN MOHAMMED EBN DAKMAK, in *Al Jawhar Al Thâmîn*, KHALIL EBN MOHAMMED AL AFKAHESBI, in *Târikh Salâh'ad*. TAJR BERD, in *Târikh Mefr*, D'HERBEL. & RENAUD. ubi sup.

(C) The battle, or defeat, of *Arsûf*, in conformity to the *Arabic* idiom, is called, by *Bobâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, *Yom Arsof*, the day of *Arsûf*; the word *Yom*, day, sometimes in *Arabic*, denoting a battle, defeat, or signal calamity. A similar, or rather the same, acceptance

of the term *Yom* was not unknown to the sacred penmen of the Old Testament; in whose writings, particularly those of the prophets, it now and then occurs (1)

(1) *Bobâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, ubi sup. p. 198. *Isai*. c. ix. v. 4. *Ezek*. c. xxx. v. 9. *Edm. Castl. lex. heptaglot*. p. 1603.

the

the king of *England* occupied *Yáfá*; which the enemy, now every where retiring before him, a had abandoned at his approach. His design, however, upon *'Asfalán* transpiring, it was resolved in a council of war, at which all the *Soltán's* generals assisted, that this city should not only be dismantled, but destroyed; which was accordingly in a good measure effected by the *Moslem* troops, before the expiration of the last mentioned month. This was done, to prevent the *Franks* from possessing themselves of that fortress, as they had before done of *'Acca*, and then penetrating to *Al Kuds*; which the *Moslems*, at this time, scarce thought themselves capable of defending. After the demolition, or rather devastation, of *'Asfalán*, the temple of *Lud*, or *Lydda*, and the castle of *Al Ramla*, met with the same fate. This happened, in the beginning of *Ramadán*. The 5th of that month, the *Soltán* arrived at *Jerusalem*, whither he went to visit the walls and fortifications of that place. Soon after his arrival, certain b *Christians* were seized by some of *Al Tawásh Káymáz's* people; on whom a copy of a letter, written by the governor to the *Soltán*, giving an account of the miserable and distressed condition of the garrison of *Jerusalem*, or *Al Kuds*, was found. As this was to be sent to the *Franks*, to communicate to them the situation of affairs there, and consequently a full proof of an illicit correspondence with the enemy; their heads were struck off, to deter others from the like offence. The *Soltán* having viewed every part of the walls and fortifications of *Al Kuds*, and satisfied himself of the state of the garrison, left that city, the 8th of *Ramadán*. Before his departure, he ordered the town to be put in the best posture of defence, as he was apprehensive of a visit on that side, from the *Franks*. The following night he lay at *Beit Núbá*, and the next day returned to the camp at *Nitron*, or *Netrún*; where *Moezzo'ddin* c *Kaisar*, (*Cæsar*) *Sháh*, the son of *Kilij Arslán*, and *Sáheb* of *Malatía*, or *Malatiya*, had an audience of him. That prince came to implore his assistance against his father and brothers; who had deprived him of *Malatía*, and the district belonging to it. *Moezzo'ddin* had been met upon the road by *Al Malec Al' Adel*, and *Al Malec Al Afdal*, who erected and fitted up for him a magnificent tent, in the neighbourhood of *Lud* or *Lydda*. He was received with the highest marks of distinction by the *Soltán*. The same day the *Sáheb* of *Malatía* arrived near *Lydda*, being the 8th of *Ramadán*, a detachment of the *Soltán's* troops routed a party of the enemy's foragers; of which news being brought to their camp, a body of horse was detached from thence to chastise the *Moslems* for the affront. This brought on a sharp engagement, wherein both sides sustained a pretty considerable loss. It was rumoured afterwards in e the *Soltán's* camp, that the king of *England* himself had been wounded in the action, and even in great danger of his life; one of his soldiers having been killed by a blow, he voluntarily received, which had been levelled at that prince. It does not, however, certainly appear, that there was any real foundation for such a report. Be that as it will, skirmishes passed almost every day between the *Moslems* and the *Franks*; the latter of whom, though apparently superior to the former, were not a little harrassed by the *Arab* horse. The king of *England* having ravaged the country about *Yáfá*, *Yáfá*, or *Joppa*, and taken possession of *Al Ramla*, towards the close of the campaign; a body of *Mamlúks* and *Greek* volunteers, who had joined the *Moslems*, headed by the *Soltán* himself, the 8th of *Shawál*, fell upon one of the quarters of the *Christian* camp, pitched near the former of those cities. But they were soon put to f flight, and left a multitude of their men prisoners in the hands of the *Franks*. However, the *Soltán* found means to draw one of the enemy's detachments into an ambuscade, formed of his guards and some *Arab* horse, the 16th of the same month, put them into disorder, and at last obliged them, though supported by a fresh body of troops, to retire in confusion to their camp. They had about sixty men killed in this conflict, and two taken prisoners; the *Moslems* losing, as it should seem to appear from *Bohá'o'ddin Ebn Sheddád*, at least an equal number. Nay, as *Ayáz Al Mebráni* and *Jáwali*, two officers of distinguished bravery, were among their slain, they must have suffered in the action more than the *Franks*; who, notwithstanding this little disgrace, reduced to their obedience a considerable part of *Palestine*, and spread terror over all the adjacent tract, this prosperous campaign h.

A negotiation is set on foot for a peace, which ends without success.

THE *Soltán* finding himself not in a condition to make head against the king of *England*, who had taken some of his strong towns, obliged him to dismantle others, and at last driven him in a manner out of the field; he began now to entertain favourable sentiments of a peace with that prince, and therefore permitted his brother *Al Malec Al' Adel* to set on foot with him a negotiation. The marquis of *Montferrat*, *Sáheb* of *Tyre*, who had before suspected that the other princes of the *Franks* had formed a design to deprive him of the territories he possessed, sent an ambassador to the *Soltán*, offering to enter into an alliance with him against the *Franks*, if he would cede to him *Sída*, or *Sidán*, and *Bayrút*. The *Soltán* hereupon im-

^h BOHÁ'O'DDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 184—204, 211, 212, 215, 216. ISM. ABU'LFED. EBN SHOHN. & EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. KHALIL EBN. MOHAMMED AL AFKARHESBI, in *Tárkh Sa'á'ad*. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 744. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. & ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographica. in vit. Salad. pass. RE-NAUD. ubi sup. p. 545.

mediately

- a mediately dispatched *Al Adl Najib*, as his minister to the marquis's court, with orders to declare, that he was willing to accept of his proposal, if he would recover 'Acca, and release all the *Moslem* prisoners detained there and at *Tyre*, before the new treaty was signed. In the mean time, couriers frequently passed and repassed between king *Richard* and *Al Malec Al' Adel*, with dispatches relative to a future peace. For *Richard* being not unacquainted with the marquis's intention of concluding a separate treaty, and the article of recovering 'Acca having transpired; he was desirous of being beforehand with the *Sáheb* of *Tyre*, and therefore of having the last hand put to the treaty, that had been long in agitation, between him and the *Soltán*, as soon as possible. He also, at the same time, for the farther security of 'Acca, and to prevent the above-mentioned treaty from taking effect, or rather to traverse the
- b negotiation commenced between the *Sáheb* of *Tyre* and the *Soltán*, made use of all the expedients he could think of to dispose the former of those princes to an accommodation. We shall not here enter into a minute detail of all the circumstances attending the conferences held between the ministers of king *Richard* and the *Soltán* on this occasion; but only observe, that, after *Al Malec Al' Adel* had been at *Jerusalem*, or *Al Kuds*, to inquire into the state of the garrison, and to inspect the walls and fortifications there, the negotiation between him and the king of *England* was resumed, and towards the close of *Ramadán*, or the beginning of *Shawál*, the following articles drawn up, as the basis of a future treaty. 1. *Al Malec Al' Adel*, *Soltán Saláb'addín's* brother, shall marry the king of *England's* sister, relict of the late king of *Sicily*. 2. He shall have assigned him, as his wife's dower, the city of *Jerusalem*, capital of the kingdom of the same name. 3. The *Soltán* shall moreover relinquish to him every other city, town, castle, district, &c. of *Palestine* in his hands. 4. The king of *England* shall cede to *Al Malec Al' Adel* the fortress of 'Acca, together with the whole extent of territory between that place and 'Askalán, and all the other towns, castles, &c. that he has conquered this campaign. 5. *Al Malec Al' Adel* and his wife shall be crowned king and queen of *Jerusalem*, and acknowledged as such by all the contracting powers. 6. The *Soltán* shall deliver into the hands of the king of *England*, without delay, *The Cross of the Crucifixion*, or the true original Cross on which the *Messiah* suffered. 7. The knights *Templars* and *Hospitallers* shall have all their towns, castles, villages, &c. restored them, immediately after the ratification of this treaty. 8. The prisoners on both sides shall be released. 9. There shall henceforth be a perpetual peace, amity, and friendship, between the *Moslems* and the *Franks*; and the king of *England*, crossing the seas, shall return home. These were the articles drawn up, as the most likely to be relished by all the parties at war, and consequently the best calculated to effect an accommodation. But the queen dowager of *Sicily* herself, as well as the clergy, objecting to the first of them, unless *Al Malec Al' Adel* would renounce *Mohammedism*, and be baptized; and this condition being absolutely rejected both by him and the *Soltán*, as by no means fit to be complied with; the conferences broke off without success, and all hopes of an accommodation vanished into smoke ¹.

- UPON *Al Malec Al' Adel's* return from *Jerusalem*, or *Al Kuds*, the 20th of *Ramadán*, he received a letter from the most illustrious *Diwán* of *Baghdád*, wherein great intercession was made for *Bašamar*, or *Boštemar*, the *Sáheb* of *Khalát*, in *Armenia*; who had been dispossessed by *Al Malek Al Modhaffer Takío'ddín*, the *Soltán's* nephew, of a considerable part of his territories. That prince, having annexed *Al Sawaidá* and *Haní* to the provinces granted him by the *Soltán*, was then marching, with his son *Al Malek Al Mansúr Mohammed*, to besiege *Malázkerd*. The *Diwán* likewise interceded for *Al Hasan Ebn Kafjak*, whom *Modhaffero'ddín Ebn Zino'ddín* detained in confinement at *Arbel*; and begged that *Al Kádi Al Fadl* might be sent to *Baghdád*, to adjust with them every thing relative to both these points. *Al Malec Al' Adel* transmitted the letter to *Al Kádi Al Fadl*, that he might dispose *Takío'ddín* to a compliance with the *Diwán's* request, in relation to his future conduct. The *Soltán* also himself received another copy of the same letter from *Damascus*, which he answered in terms to the following effect: "With regard to the *Armenian* expedition," said he, "we must beg leave to assure the *Diwán*, that this was not undertaken by our order; though some particular incidents, as we have been informed, rendered it not altogether unnecessary. However," continued the *Soltán*, "we have commanded *Al Malek Al Modhaffer* to quit the territories of the prince of *Khalát*, and join us, who are now engaged in a war against the *Franks*. As to *Ebn Kafjak*, who occupied *Irmia*, or *Ormia*, (a large antient city in the province of *Adherbiján*, about three or four parasangs from the lake of *Tela*), put all the men to the sword, and carried the women and children into captivity, when *Soltán Togrol* fled thither out of *Al' Ajem*, or *Persia*, for refuge, he ought to be looked upon as a public nuisance. *Soltán Togrol*, having married his sister, solicited his assistance; but being ill used by him, he at last made

¹ BOHAR'IDDIN EBN SHEDDAD ubi sup. p. 204—211. ISM. ABU'LFED. & EBN SHOHNAH; ubi sup. KHALIL EBN MOHAMMED AL AFKARFISI, in *Tarikh Saláh'ad*. EBN AL ATHIR, EBN KHALECAN, D'HERBEL. & RENAUD. ubi sup.

his escape, and returned to his kingdom. *Ebn Kafjāk* afterward joined *Ormīa* to *Al Kerk-*
bāni, and from those places infested the neighbouring country with his robberies and depre-
dations. Considering him, therefore, as an highway-man, or public robber, we have or-
dered *Modbaffero'ddīn* to bring him with him into *Syria*; where we shall assign him cer-
tain districts, that he may exert himself in the holy war. With respect to the last request;
we must acquaint the *Dīwān*, that *Al Kādi Al Fadl* is so weak and infirm, that he cannot,
without manifest danger of his life, undertake a journey to *Baghdād*." *Al Mālec Al Mod-*
baffer Takīo'ddīn dying on his march from *Khalāt* to *Mayyāfārakīn*, the 19th of *Ramadān*;
his body was carried to the latter of those places, and from thence to *Hamah*, where it was
interred. A tomb was erected for him without the city, close to which a college was after-
wards built. Whilst he was pushing on the siege of *Malūzkerd* (D), according to *Abu'lfeda*,
he expired; which seems not perfectly to agree with what has been related by *Bobāo'ddīn Ebn*
Sheddād, on this head. His son *Al Malec Al Mansūr*, if the former of these authors may be
credited, for some time kept his death concealed; but with what view this was done, we have
not been told. *Al Malec Al Modbaffer* was a prince of uncommon bravery, and one of the
chief supports of the house of *Ayūb*. He excelled in virtue and erudition, and wrote very
elegant *Arabic* verse. His death was extremely regretted by the *Soltān*, who, when he shewed
to his courtiers the letter that brought him the melancholy news, was so overcome with grief,
that he burst out into tears. This so affected them, that they all of them likewise wept. The
same night in which *Al Malec Al Modbaffer* died, *Hosāmo'ddīn Ebn Mohammed Ebn Kājīn*,
whose mother *Settalshām Bint Ayūb* was the *Soltān's* sister, also departed this life. *Al Ma-*
lec Al Modbaffer was no sooner dead, than his son *Al Malec Al Mansūr* sent an embassy to
the *Soltān*; desiring he might succeed his father, in the government of all the cities and di-
stricts over which he had been appointed to preside. But this he requested of the *Soltān* in a
manner so strongly favouring of rebellion, that had not *Al Malec Al Adel* (E), who influenced
his brother as he pleased, been his friend, he must have been thereby intirely ruined. But,
by the intercession of that prince, the *Soltān* was reconciled to him, and confirmed him in the
government of *Hamah*, *Al Maarra*, *Manbij*, and the castle of *Nojm*; on condition, however,
that the eastern tract, with its dependencies, which *Al Malec Al Modbaffer* had governed,
should be ceded to *Al Malec Al 'Adel*. The latter of these was nevertheless to relinquish
every thing he possessed in *Syria*, except *Al Carac*, *Al Shawbec*, *Al Celkāa*, and *Al Selt*. He
likewise promised the *Soltān* half of the property he possessed in *Egypt* (F), and to send to *Jeru-*
salem annually from *Al Belkāa* and *Al Selt* 1000 sacks of corn. This disposition being made,
Al Malec Al 'Adel set out for the provinces assigned him; from whence he returned, with
Al Malec Al Mansūr, the *Sāheb* of *Hamah*, towards the close of the latter *Jomāda*, the fol-
lowing year. At his return, he was received by the *Soltān* with extraordinary marks of affec-
tion and esteem, placed at the head of the army, and loaded with honours. *Kozul Arslān*
Otkmān Ebn Ildighīz, the *Sāheb* of *Hamadān*, *Esfahān*, *Al Ray*, and *Adherbijān*, was assas-
inated, in the month of *Shaabān*, 587. *Soltān Togrol Al Seljūki* overthrew him and the *Kha-*
lif Al Nāser Ledīnī'llab, who commanded the forces of *Baghdād*, in a great battle near *Ha-*
madān, as has been already observed. *Kozul Arslān* afterwards defeated *Soltān Togrol* in his
turn, shut him up in one of his fortresses, and treated with uncommon cruelty those of
the sect of *Al Shāfe'i* at *Esfahān*; affixing many illustrious men, professing the tenets of that
sect, to gibbets, erected for that purpose there. Marching then to *Hamadān*, he assumed
the title of *Soltān*; soon after which, his guards being slipt away from him, he was murdered
in bed by a person who could not be discovered. It has been remarked above, that *Moez-*
zo'ddīn Kaisar Shāb, the son of *Kilij Arslān*, the *Sāheb* of *Belād Al Rūm*, appeared in *Salāb'-*
addīn's camp, and was admitted to a conference with the *Soltān*, the 9th of *Ramadān*. *Kilij*
having divided his kingdom amongst his sons, *Malatīa* fell to the share of *Moezzo'ddīn Kaisar*
Shāb; but one of his brothers having got the old *Sāheb* into his power, forced him to deprive
this prince of that part of his dominions which had been allotted him. Hereupon, being afraid
of farther ill treatment, he fled to the *Soltān*; from whom he met with a most gracious re-
ception, and a promise of assistance against his brother. In testimony of his particular esteem,

(D) Dr. Hunt's MSS. copy of *Ebn Shohab* exhibits here *Belād Cord*, the country of the *Curds*; but that *Malūzkerd* must be the true reading, is, both from the tenor of the passage and other manuscripts of that author, indisputably clear (1).

(E) According to *Bobāo'ddīn Ebn Sheddād*, the reconciliation brought about between *Al Malec Al Mansūr* and the *Soltān*, was effected by the interposition of *Al Malec Al 'Adel*, *Al Emīr Hosāmo'ddīn Abu'l Hijā*, and the other *Moslem* generals, who refused to march against

Al Malec Al Mansūr; declaring openly to the *Soltān*, that they would not fight against infidels and believers at the same time (2).

(F) *Bobāo'ddīn Ebn Sheddād* reports, that *Al Malec Al 'Adel* was permitted to keep all his possessions in *Egypt*, except *Jīza*; which, by this agreement, returned to the *Soltān*. He adds, that *Al Malec Al 'Adel* was obliged to send annually 6000 sacks of corn from *Al Belkāa* and *Al Selt* to *Al Kuds* (3).

(1) *Ebn Shohab*. MS. inedit. apud Dom. Deff. Hunt, ad an. H. 587. f. 226, 227.

(3) *Bobāo'ddīn Ebn Sheddād*. ubi sup. p. 227.

(2) *Bobāo'ddīn Ebn Sheddād*, ubi

- a *Salâb'addin* also gave him his brother *Al Malec Al 'Adel's* daughter in marriage. *Ebn Al Athîr* relates, that *Moezzo'ddin Kaisar Shâb* returned to *Malatîa*, in the month of *Dhu'lkaa-da*, this year; and that the *Soltân*, to do him the greater honour, alighted from his horse (G), and took a formal leave of him. He adds, that when this prince remounted; *Kaisar Shâb* held the stirrup, and placed him upon his horse; and that *'Alâo'ddin*, the son of *'Azzo'ddin Mas'ûd*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Mawfel*, who then was present, put in order his cloaths. Upon which, a by-stander said to himself, "O son of *Ayûb*, you need not now care what death you die. A prince of the house of *Seljûk* has helped you up on horse-back, and one of the " *Atâbek Zenki's* descendants has adjusted your garments (H)." This year, *Al Malec Al Dhâ-ber* caused *Abu'l Fatab Yahya Ebn Hobeis*, surnamed *Shahâbo'ddin Al Saharwardi*, a physi-
- b cian and philosopher, to be strangled in prison at *Aleppo*, by the *Soltân's* express command. *Shahâbo'ddin Al Saharwardi* was instructed in the fundamentals of *Mohammedism* and philosophy by *Majdo'ddin Al Halebi* and *Sheikh Al Imâm Fakbro'ddin Al Râzi* at *Marâga*; from whence, after he had finished his studies, he went to *Aleppo*, and settled himself there. He was a man of extensive knowledge, but very deficient in point of judgment. As he maintained some heterodox opinions, that struck at the foundations of *Islamism*; the lawyers adjudged him worthy of death, and accordingly passed sentence upon him. *Al Sheikh Saifo'ddin Al Amedi* relates, that, being once at *Aleppo* in company with him, he said, "I make no doubt but I shall be king of the earth, as I imagined myself in a dream to have drank up the whole sea." "Perhaps that," replied *Al Amedi*, "might be the sea of knowledge;" endeavouring, in a polite and gentle manner, to undeceive him. But this the *Sheikh* found impracticable, notwithstanding the absurdity and impiety of his notion; he never receding, if *Abu'lfeda* and *Ebn Shohnab* may be credited, from any pre-conceived opinion. His most bitter enemies were *Zino'ddin* and *Majdo'ddin*, the sons of *Jebbal*. He was thirty-eight lunar years old (I), at the time of his death. He wrote many books upon philosophical subjects, and is said to have been well skilled in *Al Simâ*, an art that we shall hereafter describe (I). His poetical performances, of which a specimen has been preserved by *Ebn Shohnab*, were held in good esteem. The king of *England*, having put his troops into winter-quarters at *Tâfâ*, or *Tâffâ*, returned to *'Accâ*, to inspect the state of that place. On the other hand, the *Soltân* posted himself for some time at *Tel Al Jazr*, and went from thence to *Al Kuds*, in order to strengthen and augment the fortifications of that city, the 23d of *Dhu'lkaada*, the present year. Here, having permitted his forces to separate, and retire into quarters of refreshment, he remained till the opening of the next campaign.
- d e

In the 588th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *Jan.* 18th, 1192, several remarkable events happened; the principal of which, that have been taken notice of by the eastern writers, we shall beg leave to touch upon. The *Franks* began to repair, or rather rebuild, the city of *'Askalân*, in the month of *Al Moharram*, whilst the *Soltân* remained at *Al Kuds*. Soon after, they made an incursion into the *Moslem* territories; advanced to a village near *Al Dârûn*, in the district of *Gaza*, carried most of the *Arabs* inhabiting it away with them prisoners, and seized 1000 head of cattle. This vastly incensed the *Soltân*, who immediately detached some troops in quest of the plunderers; but they could not come up with them. A negotiation

¹² BOHÂO'DDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 211—222. ISM. ABU'LFED. & EBN SHOHN. ubi sup. AL SHEIKH SAIFO'DDIN AL AMEDI, apud ISM. ABU'LFED. & EBN SHOHN. ibid. EBN AL ATHIR, EBN KHALECAN, KHALIL EBN MOHAMMED AL AFKAHESBI, in *Târîkh Salâh'ad.* ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. *Salad.* NASSIR AL TUSI & ULUGH BEIGH, ubi sup.

(G) *Ebn Shohnab* relates, that, according to *Ebn Al Athîr*, the *Soltân*, when he came to take his leave of *Moezzo'ddin Kaisar Shâb*, alighted from his horse, and walked on foot with that prince. He adds, that afterwards, when the *Soltân* remounted his horse, *Moezzo'ddin* helped him into the saddle; and that *'Alâo'ddin Ebn 'Azzo'ddin*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Mawfel*, then present, set right his garments. After which, one of the by-standers spoke the words mentioned here (1).

(H) It may not be improper to remark here, that *M. D'Herbelot* has given this passage a different turn. He looks upon it as a kind of prophecy or prediction, couched in the following terms. "You shall not live long, O son of *Ayûb*, but soon end your days, as a prince of the house of *Seljûk* (*Jorkibka*) has placed you on horse-back, and another of *Zenki's* family (*Yoslib thiâbaca*) has accommodated your garments." Which prediction, says he, was exactly fulfilled, both

in *Salâb'addin's* person and posterity. For the *Soltân* himself died soon after, and his family was extremely ill used by the *Seljûks* of *Al Rûm*, and re-established by the *Atâbeks* of the house of *Zenki*: All which, continues he, is pointed out to us by the words *Racab*, the radix of *Yorkimbka*, and *Salab*, that of *Yoslib*; though there seems not to be the least foundation, in the original *Arabic* either of *Abu'lfeda* or *Ebn Shohnab*, for so fantastical an opinion (2).

(1) If *Dr. Hunt's* MS. copy of *Ebn Shohnab* may be deemed authentic, he was only thirty-three lunar years old, at the time of his decease (3).

(K) According to *Dr. Hunt's* MS. copy of *Ebn Shohnab*, *Shahâbo'ddin Al Saharwardi* was of the sect of the physiognomists, or rather those who professed *Al Simâ*; and, if *Abu'lfeda* may be depended upon, the tenets of the sect to which he belonged were destructive of all religion (4).

(1) *Ebn Shohnab*, ad an. *Hej.* 587.

(2) *Ebn Shohn.* MS. inedit. apud Dominum D. Forem Hunt, ad an. *Hej.* 587. (3) *D'Herbel.* Biblioth. orient. p. 744. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. *Hej.* 587. *Ebn Shohn.* ad an. *Hej.* 587. Vid. etiam Alb. Schult. excerpt. ex ABU'LFED. p. 54. Lugduni Batavorum, 1732. (4) *Ebn Shohnab*, MS. inedit. ap. D. D. Hunt, ubi sup. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. *Hj.* 587.

was about this time begun, or rather continued, and almost brought to a conclusion, between the *Soltân* and the *Sâheb* of *Tyre*. But a period was put to this by the death of the latter of those princes; who was assassinated by two *Bâtanists*, disguised in the habit of monks, after he had dined with the bishop, at *Tyre*, the 13th of the latter *Rabî*. *Bohao'ddîn* says, that the king of *England*, who hated the marquis of *Montferrat*, or *Sâheb* of *Tyre*, hired those ruffians to perpetrate this horrid fact; but as that author had the utmost aversion to *Richard*, who was the scourge and terror of the *Moslems*, we must not entirely depend upon his testimony in this particular. Be that as it will, this unexpected event seems to have had a considerable influence upon the state of affairs in that part of the world, and to have accelerated the truce which not long after was agreed upon between the *Moslems* and the *Franks*¹.

An ambassador from the Greek emperor arrives at the Soltân's court. AN ambassador from *Constantinople* arrived at the *Soltân's* court, the 1st of the former *Jomâda*, 588. He was treated with uncommon marks of distinction; and, on the 3d, had his first audience of the *Soltân*. Amongst other things he had orders to demand, in his master's name, that the true original cross, on which our Saviour suffered, should be delivered up to him; that *The Temple of the Resurrection*, and all the other principal churches of *Al Kuds*, should be assigned the *Greek* priests; that the *Soltân* should enter into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the *Greek* emperor; and that they should jointly invade the island of *Cyprus*. But the *Soltân* would not consent to any one of these demands. However, he sent *Ebn Al Bazzâz*, an *Egyptian*, in the quality of ambassador, to *Constantinople*. The cross in particular he absolutely refused to part with; adding, that the king of *Al Corj*, or *Georgia*, could not obtain that valuable relic of him, though he had offered for it 200,000 *dîners*^m.

The military operations of this campaign. THE king of *England*, having assembled his forces, took the field, towards the beginning of the former *Jomâda*. The 9th of that month, he advanced to *Al Dârûn*, and immediately laid siege to that place. As he had some very skilful engineers of *Aleppo* in his army, who the last year, at the reduction of *'Accâ*, took on in his service, he soon demolished the walls of the town. This reduced the garrison, commanded by one of *'Alamo'ddîn Kaisar's* officers, to the last extremity; whereupon the commandant desired leave to send a courier to the *Soltân*, to let him know the condition they were in. This the king of *England* absolutely refused to grant, carried the fortress by assault, took some of the garrison prisoners, and put the rest to the sword. Having left a garrison, composed of select troops, in *Al Dârûn*; he marched to *Al Hesi*, incamped there, the 13th of the former *Jomâda*, and staid there the following day. From *Al Hesi* he moved to the castle of *Majdelyâbâ*, or *Majdel Yâfâ*, that is, *The Tower of Joppa*, with an intention to attack it. *Majdel Yâfâ* was a small town, or village, near *Al Ramla*, with a citadel that was almost impregnable. The *Franks* no sooner approached it, than the garrison sallied out upon them, killed several of them, amongst whom was an officer of distinction, and obliged them to retire. About the same time, a party of the *Franks* made an incursion into the *Moslem* territories bordering upon the district of *Tyre*; but were met by a detachment of the *Soltân's* troops, and after a very brisk action put to flight. The *Moslems* killed fifteen of the enemy, and lost only a single man. In the mean time, the *Soltân*, having been joined by *Bedro'ddîn Duldurm*, with a body of *Turkmâns*, and *'Azzo'ddîn Ebn Al Mokaddem*, with an exceeding fine corps, began to be in motion. He detached *Abu'l Hijâ*, *Bedro'ddîn Duldurm*, and *Ebn Al Mokaddem*, with the forces under their orders, to reconnoitre the *Franks*; and the other part of the army soon after followed. But the *Soltân* himself, being indisposed, thought fit for the present to stay at *Al Kuds*. The *Franks* moved to *Tel Al Sâfiya*, and from thence directed their march towards *Al Netrûn*. Here they judged it requisite to remain, till their provisions, baggage, and military apparatus came up; after which, according to the report of the *Soltân's* spies, they proposed to form the siege of *Al Kuds*. A party of the *Arabs*, having not received intelligence of the enemy's motions, fell in with one of their detachments on the side of *Yâfâ*; and were all, except six, either killed or taken prisoners. The *Franks*, who incamped at *Beit Nûba*, the 27th of the former *Jomâda*, were also in their turn harrassed by the *Moslem* parties. *Bedro'ddîn Duldurm* drew a detachment of their horse into an ambuscade on the road to *Yâfâ*, or *Jâffâ*, cut thirty of them to pieces, and made a large number of them prisoners; all which were conducted under an escorte to *Al Kuds*, the 29th of the same month. Other skirmishes likewise happened; in one of which, if *Bohao'ddîn* may be credited, a convoy was put to flight by a detachment of *Arab* horse, sustained by some *Turkish* foot, the 3d of the latter *Jomâda*. Of the *Franks* several were either slain, or fell into the enemy's hands; but of the *Moslems*, after the end of the action, not one was missing. However, the *Franks* were made ample amends for this little disgrace by one of king *Richard's* parties; which, on the 11th of the same month, came up with a rich *Egyptian* caravan, defeated the escorte, and acquired a very considerable quantity of spoil. Besides other things, *Richard's* men carried off 3000 camels, 500 pri-

¹ BOHAO'DDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 222—225. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 588. GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 420. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. RENAUD. ubi sup.

^m BOHAO'DDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 226. ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup.

a ners, and 500 horses. The number killed and wounded in the action, we have not been told. After this, the *Franks* made a motion as though they intended to invest *Al Kuds*; but, to the inconceivable joy of the *Soltân*, who was not in a condition to oppose them, they turned back to *Al Ramla*, not without some warm debates amongst themselves, the 21st of the aforesaid month, and posted themselves there. About this time, the conferences between the plenipotentiaries of the king of *England* and the *Soltân* were renewed; but soon broke off, without success. The latter of those princes insisted upon the absolute demolition of '*Askalân*', lately repaired at a great expence by the *Franks*; to which the latter of them, who had been principally concerned in that reparation, would by no means give his consent. Both sides then preparing to decide the present dispute by the sword, the 10th of *Rajeb*, the *Soltân* incamped at *Al Jib*. The 13th, he pitched his camp on the hills between *Al Ramla* and *Lud*, or *Lydda*, and remained there all that day. The 14th, he advanced to *Bâzûr*, or *Yâ-zûr*, and from thence to *Beit Jibrîn*, in the neighbourhood of *Yâfâ*. The 15th, he sat down before that city. The garrison defended itself, and repulsed the besiegers in all their attacks, with unparalleled bravery, till the 18th; when the *Soltân's* troops entered the town, and plundered it. The garrison, however, retired into the castle; which the *Soltân* immediately blocked up, and made the necessary dispositions for besieging it in form. The king of *England*, having received advice of what had happened at *Yâfâ*, laid aside his intended expedition against *Bayrût*, and hastened to the relief of the citadel of that place. He arrived accordingly in the port of *Yâfâ* with a fleet of fifty sail, fifteen of which were large men of war, and a body of land-forces on board. The king's ship was red, and its pendants of the same colour. He instantly landed his troops, without opposition; and attacked the *Moslem* army, under the conduct of the *Soltân* himself, with so much bravery, that he gave it an intire defeat, reinforced the garrison of the castle of *Yâfâ*, and incamped on the very spot which had been occupied by the *Soltân* before. This happened the 20th of *Rajeb*, the present year. The 22d, the *Soltân* retired with the utmost precipitation to *Al'Awjâ*, between *Al Ramla* and *Arsof*; where he was informed, that the enemy had seized upon *Cæsarea*, and were still incamped without the city of *Yâfâ*. The 23d, he took post at *Bâzûr*; the 24th, at *Al Netrûn*; and the 25th, he set out early in the morning to pay a visit to *Al Malec Al'Adel* at *Al Kuds*. Here, it being *Friday*, he performed his devotions, inspected the fortifications, settled every thing to his satisfaction relative to the defence of the place; and towards evening returned to the camp at *Al Netrûn*. The 26th, he was joined by '*Alâo'ddîn*', the *Sâheb* of *Al Mawfel*; and, the next day, by the forces of *Egypt*, under the command of *Majdo'ddîn Huldari*, *Saifo'ddîn Yâzcuj*, and *Al Malec Al Mowayyad Mas'ûd*. But, notwithstanding this accession of strength, and the arrival of *Al Malec Al Mans'ûr Ebn Takîo'ddîn*, another of his generals, the 11th of *Shaabân*, who met with a most gracious reception from him, the *Soltân* never afterwards undertook any thing of moment against the *Franks*. He marched, indeed, towards *Al Ramla*, with part of his army, and pitched his tents at a small distance from that city, as though he had some enterprize in view. But this seems to have been done with no other design than to amuse the *Franks*; as he remained in a state of perfect inaction, during his continuance there.

THE *Soltân's* troops being extremely harrassed by the fatigues they had sustained, and he himself not a little dejected by the ill success he had met with, this campaign; *Salâb'addîn* began to think seriously of putting an end to so ruinous and destructive a war, and of giving his subjects, after such an effusion of their blood, some repose. To this he was farther excited by the state of his finances, which at this time were reduced to the lowest ebb. As the king of *England*, who had lately laboured under a very malignant indisposition, had got a relapse, and desired nothing more than to return home; he also entertained the same sentiments, and therefore now readily agreed to the demolition of '*Askalân*', which before he had stiffly opposed. The talk of peace, therefore, revived; and the conferences between the king of *England's* and the *Soltân's* plenipotentiaries being renewed, a temporary pacification was concluded between those princes, the 20th of *Shaabân*, upon the following terms. 1. There shall be a truce between the *Soltân* and the chiefs of the *Franks* for three years and three months. 2. This truce shall be both by sea and by land, and shall begin on *Wednesday*, the 22d of *Shaabân*, 588. 3. *Yâfâ*, or *Yâffâ*, *Yabnâ*, the *Jamîa* of the antients, *Majdel Yâfâ*, *Kay-sariyâ*, or *Cæsarea*, *Arsof*, *Haifâ*, and '*Accâ*', with their respective districts; shall be ceded to the *Franks*. 4. '*Askalân*' shall be completely demolished, insomuch that it shall not be of the least service to either of the contracting powers. 5. *Lud*, or *Lydda*, and *Al Ramla*, with their dependencies, shall be equally divided between the *Soltân* and the *Franks*. 6. The city of *Jerusalem*, or *Al Kuds*, and its territory, together with the other towns and villages of *Palestine* now in his hands, not mentioned in any of the preceding articles of this convention, shall remain to the *Soltân*. 7. The *Franks* and all other *Christians* shall be permitted to per-

^a BOHAC'DDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 226—258. KHALIL EBN MOHAMMED AL AFKARHSBI, in *Târîkh Salâh'ad*. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. *Salad*. pass.

form the pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, or *Al Kuds*, and to visit all the sacred places there. 8. They shall be exempted from all kinds of tribute, or toll, on this occasion, provided they go unarmed. 9. The *Sâbebs* of *Tripoli* and *Antioch* shall be included in this treaty, if they will swear religiously to observe the articles of it. The 22d of *Sbaabân*, the day appointed for signing the treaty, being come, the king of *England* gave his hand, as a mark of his firm intention never to infringe it, but, as he was a king, refused to swear; which point of conduct was approved of by the *Soltân*, who acted himself in the same manner. However, count *Henry*, king *Richard's* nephew, whom he had appointed governor of the sea-coast, *Bâliyân Ebn Bâre'zân*, the *Sâheb* of *Tarbariya*, or *Tiberias*, the son of *Humfrey*, the knights *Hospitallers* and *Templars*, and in fine all the other leaders of the *Franks*, took a solemn oath inviolably to adhere to the contents of this treaty; as did likewise, on the part of the *Moslems*, *Al Malec Al 'Adel*, *Al Malec Al Afdal*, *Al Malec Al Dbâber*, *Al Mashtûb*, *Bedro'ddîn Duldurm*, *Al Malec Al Mansûr*, *Ebn Al Mokaddem*, the *Sâheb* of *Shaizar*, *Al Malec Al Mojâhed Shairacûb*, the *Sâheb* of *Hems*, *Al Malec Al Amjed Babrâm*, or *Baharâm*, *Shâh Ebn Farkh Shâh*, the *Sâheb* of *Baalbec*, and other commanders of the first rank. According to *Abu'lfeda*, the *Soltân* insisted upon the admission of the *Ismaelians*, or *Assassins*, into the treaty, now concluded between him and the *Franks*; though this has been passed over in silence by *Bobâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, a writer whose authority amongst the *Moslems* is much revered. The war was no sooner terminated by this truce, than the *Soltân* ordered the public criers to give notice to all his subjects, "That a communication was now opened between them and the *Franks*; that they might traffick with them, as heretofore; and that they might go on pilgrimage from every part of *Syria* to *Mecca*, without the least danger." The king of *England* having withdrawn the garrison he had in *'Askalân*, the demolition of that fortress was begun, the 27th of *Sbaabân*, and finished in a very short time. The 29th the *Soltân* moved to *Al Netrân*, and a friendly intercourse commenced between his troops and those of the *Franks*. Many of the *Moslems* also went to *Yâfâ*, for the sake of trade; and the *Franks* repaired afterward in vast numbers to *Al Kuds*, to visit that holy city. To these the *Soltân* did not only set open the gates, but likewise treated them with the utmost liberality, affability, and condescension; and even sent a guard to escorte them to *Yâfâ*, and probably the other places from whence they came. This excited such multitudes of them to repair to *Al Kuds*, that king *Richard*, according to *Bobâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, took no small umbrage thereat, and begged the *Soltân* would admit only such persons as he should recommend. But that prince, says this biographer, excused himself from complying with his request, by alledging that he could not in conscience drive from *Al Kuds* so many pilgrims, who had left their friends and relations in very remote countries to perform their devotions there. The *Soltân* having inspected the fortifications of *Al Kuds*, and given orders for the reparation and augmentation of them; he made a large addition to the possessions settled upon the college, or school, he had before founded in that city. The spot on which this stood had, before the conquest of *Palestine* by the *Moslems*, been occupied by the temple and sepulchre of *St. Ann*, the mother of the virgin *Mary*. After that conquest, and before the *Franks* reduced *Jerusalem*, or *Al Kuds*, this church was converted into a school, or college, for the education of the *Moslem* youth. The *Franks*, having possessed themselves of the holy city, restored the temple of *St. Ann* to its pristine honour. But *Soltân Salâh'addîn*, having expelled the *Christians* once more from thence, re-converted this edifice into a college, for the aforesaid purpose, and richly endowed it; placing at the head of it *Al Kâdi Bobâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, one of his favourites, and an author not seldom referred to here.

An ambassador
arrives at Al
Kuds from the
Divan of
Baghdâd.

THE forces of *Arbel*, *Al Mawfel*, *Senjâr*, or *Sinjâr*, and *Al Hisn*, having separated from those of *Syria* and *Egypt*, in order to return home, the 1st of *Ramadân*; the *Soltân* sent the rest of his troops either into quarters of cantonment, or to their respective habitations, the *Franks* having withdrawn themselves into their own territories, at a considerable distance from the frontiers. He, therefore, thought fit to return to *Jerusalem*, or *Al Kuds*; which he entered, the 4th of *Ramadân*. Hither he repaired, partly with a design to hasten the workmen employed on the fortifications, and partly with an intention to make the necessary preparations for performing the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. He was, however, diverted from carrying into execution the latter of these designs, though he had written to his brother *Saif Al Islâm*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Yaman*, and imparted it to him, by his *Emîrs*; who represented to him, that the duration of the truce was very uncertain and precarious, on account of the perfidy of the *Franks*. *Al Malec Al 'Adel* being arrived at *Al 'âzariya*, in his way to *Al Carac*, from whence, after he had viewed the state of affairs there, he proposed to proceed to the eastern provinces assigned him by his brother; news was brought him, that an ambassador, with dis-

* BOHÂO'DDÎN EBN SHEDDÂD, ubi sup. p. 258—253. ISM ABU'LFED. EBN SHOHNAH, EBN AL ATHIR, & EBN KHALECAN, ubi sup. TAKIO'DDÎN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in *Mawredollatâf*. IBRAHIM EBN MOHAMMED EBN DAKMAK, in *Al Jawhar Al Thamin*, KHALIL EBN MOHAMMED AL AFKAHESBI, in *Târikh Salâh'ad*. GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 420. D'HERBEL. RENAUD. & ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup.

- a patches addressed to him, was arrived from *Baghdād*. This happened on *Friday*, the 23d of *Ramadān*; and, the next day, *Al Malec Al 'Adel* went back to *Al Kuds*, to communicate the contents of those dispatches to the *Soltān*. Having presented himself before that prince, he informed him, that this minister had been dispatched from *Baghdād* by *Ebn Al Nāfid*, whom the *Khalif* had advanced to the dignity of *Wazir*; and that the purport of the letter, brought him by the ambassador, was to the following effect. “*Ebn Al Nāfid* presses *Al Malec Al 'Adel* to effect a reconciliation between his brother *Salāb'addin* and the *Khalif*, to prevail upon the *Soltān* to entertain the same regard as formerly for the illustrious *Dīwān* and court of *Baghdād*, and to persuade him to send thither as his minister *Al Kādī Al Fadl*, that all disputes between their respective sovereigns may be terminated in an amicable manner. If what is here desired can, by *Al Malec Al 'Adel's* interposition, be obtained, the *Dīwān* will be under an eternal obligation to him, &c.” In consequence of *Al Malec Al 'Adel's* application to him, the *Soltān* pitched upon *Aldiyā Al Sharezūri* for his ambassador to the *Khalif*; who set out on *Tuesday*, the 27th of *Ramadān*, for *Baghdād*. As for *Al Malec Al 'Adel*, he returned to *Al 'āzariya*, and from thence continued his route to *Al Carac*. *Al Malec Al Dbāher* departed from *Al Kuds*, to resume the government of the territories over which he had been appointed to preside, after he had received from his father some salutary directions for the regulation of his future conduct, either the 29th or 30th of the same month; as did also *Al Malec Al Afdal*, after the *Soltān* had pretty severely reproved him, the 5th of *Shawāl*, the present year^p.
- c THE *Soltān* having now no farther occasion for his troops, and having amply rewarded them with lands and possessions for the fatigues they had sustained in his service; he disbanded those that had been sent into quarters of cantonment, and permitted them to occupy without delay the lands that had been assigned them. After this, receiving advice that the *English* fleet, with king *Richard* (L) on board, had set sail for *Europe*, the 1st of *Shawāl*; he proposed to visit all the maritime fortresses, and then go from *Bāniās*, or *Paneas*, to *Damascus*. Accordingly he left *Al Kuds*, whither he intended to return after a short stay at *Damascus*, the 6th of *Shawāl*, in the forenoon. He was attended as far as *Al Bīrā* by *Bobāo'ddin Ebn Sheddād*, whom he ordered to reside at *Al Kuds*; that *Kādī* being appointed by him to superintend the workmen employed in building an hospital, and finishing the additions to the college he had founded, there. The people of *Nāblos*, *Nābolos*, *Neapolis*, or *Naplosā*, complained bitterly to him of *Al Mashtūb*, their governor, whose wicked and oppressive administration had reduced them to great misery, upon his arrival in that city. From *Nābolos* the *Soltān* went to *Baisān*, and from thence to *Sebastia*, or *Sebaste*, and inspected the state of that place. He then directed his course to *Cawcab*; which he reached on *Monday*, the 10th of the aforesaid month. Proceeding to *Tabariya*, or *Tiberias*, where he arrived the 11th; *Al Emīr Bobāo'ddin Karākūsh Al Asadi*, or *Al Asdi*, who had fallen into the hands of the *Franks*, when they took *'Accā*, but was now released from his captivity, appeared before him, and met with a most gracious reception. *Al Emīr Bobāo'ddin Karākūsh*, it is said, paid for his liberty 80,000 *dinārs*. *Raymond*, or *Boamond*, called by *Bobāo'ddin Ebn Sheddād Al Bornas*, the *Sāheb* of *Antioch*, made his compliments, or rather paid his devoirs, to the *Soltān*, the 21st, at *Bayrūt*; where he was treated with uncommon marks of distinction, and experienced the usual munificence and liberality of that prince. Nay, if *Bobāo'ddin* may be credited, the *Soltān* bestowed on *Raymond* lands and possessions that brought annually into his coffers 15,000 *dinārs*. The next day, he took his leave of the *Soltān*; who, after his visitation of all the places of strength on the sea-coast, entered *Damascus* on *Wednesday*, the 26th of *Shawāl*, where he found his sons *Al Malec Al Dbāher* and *Al Malec Al 'Afdal* arrived before him. The former of those princes soon made the best of his way to *Aleppo*, over the inhabitants of which city he presided; and the latter, with *Al Kādī Al Fādī*, remained with the *Soltān* at *Damascus*. The troops then cantoned in those parts were permitted to return home.
- f As *Salāb'addin* had been four years from *Damascus*, which was his favourite city; the people

^p BOHĀO'DDIN EBN SHEDDĀD, ubi sup. p. 263—267. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. KHALIL EBN MOHAMMED AL AFKĀHESBI, in *Tārikh Salāh'ad*. ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup. pass.

(L) The *Soltān* entertained such dreadful apprehensions of king *Richard*, that he did not think himself safe in his own territories till that prince had set sail for *Europe*. *Bobāo'ddin* represents him as the bravest and most politic, and consequently as the most formidable, enemy the *Moslems* had. However, he looked upon him as crafty and perfidious; but this is not to be wondered at, as fraud and perfidy generally form one part of the character assigned by this author to the chiefs of the *Franks*. The *Moslems* had suffered so much

from them, and been so harassed by them, for near an hundred years, and the religious principles these nations professed were so widely different, that less than this could scarce have been expected from him. Both the conduct and bravery of king *Richard* at the relief of the castle of *Yāfā* confirm the shining part of his character, as handed down to us by the *Arab* historians; they appearing, on that occasion, in the strongest and most glaring light possible (1).

(1) *Bobāo'ddin Ebn Sheddād*, ubi sup. p. 242, 251, & alib. pass.

there received him with the loudest acclamations, and the day he entered that metropolis was concluded with all possible demonstrations of joy. About six days after his arrival, he appeared in public; and every one of his subjects, that desired it, was introduced to him. *Al Malec Al 'Adel*, who had been at *Al Carac*, to view the fortifications there, likewise arrived at *Damascus* on Sunday, the 21st of *Dbu'lkaada*; and had an interview with the *Soltân*, then hunting in the neighbourhood of *Al Keswa* and *Gabâ*, or *Gabâgeb*, who attended him to his capital, with the highest marks of affection and esteem. We must not forget to remark, that *Al Malec Al Afdal* prepared a splendid entertainment for his brother *Al Malec Al Dbâher*, the 1st of *Dbu'lkaada*, the present year; nor that *Al Malec Al Dbâher* repaired several times to the *Soltân's* apartment that night, after he had more than once taken his final leave of him. The latter of which circumstances, according to *Bohâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, seemed not obscurely to indicate, that *Al Malec Al Dbâher* had some misgiving, or foreboding apprehension, of his father's approaching fate^r.

What happened in the Persian Irâk, and Khowârazm, this year.

THE same year, *Firnab*, widow of the *Atâbek Mohammed Ebn Ildighîz*, at the instigation of her son *Kûtlûk Enbanej*, undertook to poison *Togrol II.* the last of the *Seljûkan Soltâns* of *Irân*. For the execution of which execrable design she was in a most commodious situation, as she lived in the *Harâm*, amongst the *Soltân's* women. But that prince, having notice thereof, prevented the blow, by making her take the dose which she had prepared for him. After this, he ordered *Kûtlûk* to be seized; and would have secured his own life, if he had not restored him to his liberty. For that imprudent step was the cause of all the evils that afterwards befel him. In short, this ungrateful wretch was no sooner released out of prison, than he began to meditate the destruction of the *Soltân*. He kept a private correspondence with *Tacash*, the fifth *Shâh* of *Khowârazm*, and excited him to attempt the conquest of the *Persian Irâk*. *Tacash* therefore and *Kûtlûk* joining their forces, after that junction, took the castle of *Tabrak*, or *Tabarak*, in the neighbourhood of *Al Ray*. But, after remaining for some time about *Al Ray*, *Tacash* thought fit to retire at the *Soltân's* approach, leaving *Tafaj* to govern and defend his new conquests. We are told, however, by one of *M. D'Herbelot's* oriental writers, notwithstanding what has been related here, that *Tacash* marched now at the head of his army towards the *Persian Irâk*, in favour of the *Atâbek Kozul Arslân Ebn Ildighîz*, who had been imbroiled with *Togrol II.* but that, upon his arrival there, he found a peace had been concluded between those two princes. This not a little surprized him, as he proposed to draw some advantage to himself from the quarrel that had happened between them. That this expedition, therefore, might not be intirely fruitless, he possessed himself of the city of *Al Ray*, and the castle of *Tabrak*, or *Tabarak*; leaving a body of troops, under the command of *Tamcaj*, one of the principal officers of his army, in the *Persian Irâk*, before he returned to *Khowârazm*. The latter of these relations, however, merits not the attention of our readers so much as the former, if *Abu'lfeda's* authority may be depended upon. For *Kozul Arslân* was assassinated in bed, according to him, in the month of *Shaabân*, the preceding year^s.

Shhâbo'ddîn Al Gauri invades India.

AT this time, *Shahâbo'ddîn Al Gauri* advanced with a numerous army to the frontiers of *Al Hind*, *Belâd Al Hind*, or *India*, penetrated into that vast region, and put an incredible number of *Indians* to the sword. He also brought off with him an immense quantity of spoil, which he acquired in this successful expedition. From *Abu'lfeda* it very clearly appears, that *Soltân Togrol II.* did not escape from his confinement, whatever may have been intimated to the contrary by *M. D'Herbelot*, to whom we have referred above on this head, before the beginning of the present year^t.

Several eminent persons die.

^r *Azzo'ddîn Kelij Arslân Ebn Mas'ûd Ebn Kelij Arslân Ebn Solimân Ebn Kotolmish*, or *Kotlûmish*, the *Seljûkian Soltân* of *Al Rûm*, departed this life at *Koniya*, or *Iconium*, about the middle of *Shaabân*, 588. He was an excellent governor, much revered, prudent and grave, of strict probity and justice. He undertook several expeditions against the territories of the *Greeks*. He had ten sons, every one of whom presided over some particular district of the *Belâd Al Rûm*. To his eldest son *Kotbo'ddîn Malec Shâh* he gave *Saywâs*, or *Sirwâs*, a noble city of the *Belâd Al Rûm*, the *Sebastia* of *Pliny*, and placed in *Cappadocia Pontica* by that author. But this young prince aspired at the sovereignty of all his father's dominions; and was assisted by *Sâheb Arzencân*, who favoured his ambitious views. Having surprized his father, in the city of *Koniya*; he obliged the old *Soltân* to nominate him his successor, in writing, before proper witnesses, who were assembled for that purpose. He also gave out, that he acted only as his father's prime minister, and issued all his edicts in *Kelij*, or *Kilij*,

^r BOHÂO'DDÎN EBN SHEDDÂD, ubi sup. p. 267, 268, 269. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. KHAÏL EBN MOHAMMED AL AFKAHESBI, in *Târîkh Salâh'ad*. ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup. pass. ^s D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Thogrul Ben Arslan*. p. 1029. & art. *Tacash*, *Tekesh*, & *Tecush Khan*, p. 835. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 587. ^t ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 588. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Thogrul Ben Arslan*, p. 1028, 1029. GOLLU not. ad Alfragan. p. 77. ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup.

- a *Arslin's* name. He led an army, as he pretended, for his father, whom he carried about as a prisoner with him, and by his command, against his brother *Nûro'ddin Soltân Shâb*, the *Sâheb* of *Kaysariya*, or *Cæsarea*, and brought him to a battle. In the heat of the action, the old prince found means to escape to his son *Nûro'ddin Soltân Shâb*; who received him with great honour, and behaved very dutifully to him. As for *Kotbo'ddin Malec Shâb*, he returned to *Koniya*, and assumed the title of *Soltân* there. Henceforth *Kilij Arslân* lived with his sons; going from one of them, when he was tired with him, to another. At last he came to his son *Gayâtho'ddin Kaykbofrû*, the *Sâheb* of *Bargilû*, a town and prefecture of the *Belâd Al Rûm*; who brought him back to *Koniya*, and expelled from thence *Kotbo'ddin Malec Shâb*.
- b From *Koniya* *Kaykbofrû* went to *Aksarâ*, a noble city of the *Belâd Al Rûm*. In the mean time, *Soltân Azzo'ddin Kilij Arslân* fell sick at *Koniya*, died, and was by his son *Kaykbofrû* there interred. Soon after his death, *Kotbo'ddin Malec Shâb* likewise expired; by which event, *Kaykbofrû* became possessed of the supreme authority at *Koniya*, though he was at last driven from that capital by *Rocno'ddin Solimân* his brother. This constrained him to fly into *Syria*, in order to implore the assistance of *Al Malec Al Dbâber*, the *Sâheb* of *Aleppo*. *Rocno'ddin Solimân* died, at *Koniya*, in the 600th year of the *Hejra*; and was succeeded by *Kelij Arslân*, his son. However, *Kaykbofrû* ejected him from *Koniya*, and reigned there over all the *Rûmean* provinces, till he was cut off, and then his son *Kaycâwas* ascended the throne. He was succeeded by *Soltân 'Alâo'ddin Kaykobâd*, his brother; who had for his successor *Gayâtho'ddin Kaykbofrû*, his son, in 634. This prince was greatly weakened, or rather, as *Abu'l-feda* and *Ebn Shohnah* express it, broke to pieces, by the *Tartars*, in the 641st year of the *Moslem* æra, when they over-ran all that part of the world. *Gayâtho'ddin Kaykbofrû's* demise happened, according to the best oriental writers, the following year, and with him expired the power of the *Seljukian Soltâns* of *Al Rûm*; nothing being left his two little sons *Rocno'ddin* and *'Azzo'ddin*, who survived him, but the bare name of *Soltân*. For some time, they jointly swayed the sceptre of *Al Rûm*; but afterwards *Rocno'ddin* reigned alone, his brother *'Azzo'ddin* flying to *Constantinople*. *Rocno'ddin* being put to death by *Ma'ino'ddin*, or *Ma'ino'ddin Al Berwânâb*, the *Tartar*, to whom he had rendered himself obnoxious; that prince's son was substituted in his room, though the supreme authority was really vested in *Ma'ino'ddin* himself. But of these transactions our readers will meet with a more full and ample account in a proper place. The same year, *Al Emîr Saifo'ddin Al Mashtûb* and *Râshdo'ddin Senân Ebn Solimân Ebn Mohammed*, surnamed *Abu'l Hasber*, likewise departed this life. *Al Mashtûb*, the governor of *Nâbolos*, or *Neapolis*, of whose tyrannical and oppressive administration the people of that city had complained to the *Soltân*, was left by *Salâb'addîn* at *Al Kuds*, to command the troops forming the garrison there; though *'Azzo'ddin Jordîc*, a person of transcendent merit, strictly attached to justice, and a most conspicuous protector of good men, then ruled both that capital and the prefecture appertaining to it. *Al Emîr Saifo'ddin Al Mashtûb* arrived at the final term of his days, according to *Abu'lfeda*, in *Nîbolos*, on *Thursday*, the 26th of *Shawâl*; but, if *Bobâo'ddin Ebn Sheddâd's* account of this matter be true, he met his fate at *Al Kuds*, on *Monday*, the 23d of that month. He was buried in his own house, if the latter of these authors may be depended upon, after his obsequies had been performed in the temple, or rather mosque, of *Al Akfa*. The third part of the public revenues of *Nâbolos* the *Soltân* applied, after his death, in repairing and augmenting the fortifications of *Al Kuds*; the remainder he assigned *Al Emîr 'Amado'ddin Ahmed*, *Al Mashtûb's* son, and two other *Emîrs*. With regard to *Râshdo'ddin Senân Ebn Solimân Ebn Mohammed*, it may not be improper to observe, that he was the prince of the *Ismaelians* of *Asia*, or the *Assessins*; that, during the space of thirty years, he reduced many fortresses in *Syria*; and that, if *Abu'lfeda* may be credited, he came originally from *Basra* ^u.
- f THE following year, being the 589th of the *Hejra*, commencing *Jan*, 7th, 1193, proved *Salâb'addîn's* fatal to *Al Malec Al Nâser Salâb'addîn Abu Modhaffer Yusef Ebn Ayûb Ebn Shâdi*, or, according to *Bobâo'ddin Ebn Sheddâd*, *Shâdî*; who died of a bilious fever, the 27th of *Safar*, in the castle of *Damascus*. He spent some of the first days of *Al Moharram*, in hunting, accompanied by his brother, and those of his sons then with him, in the neighbourhood of that city. The 13th of *Safar*, certain embassadors from the princes of the *Franks* were introduced into his apartment, in order to have an audience of him; but an infant son of his, nicknamed *Al Emîr*, with whom he was then at play, being frightened at their unusual garb, and the strange figure they made, he told them he was then engaged, and desired the audience might be deferred to another day. As this was contrary to the affability and condescension he had always been famous for, and to the whole tenor of his former conduct, it was taken particular notice of. Some of his courtiers observed, that the same day his appetite failed him.

^u ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 583. GREG. ABU'L. FAR. ubi sup. p. 420. PLIN. nat. hist. lib. vi. c. 3. BOHÂO'DDIN EBN SHEDDÂD, ubi sup. p. 267, 268. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 266, 267. & alib. D'HERZEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Kilij Arslân Ben Mâssâd*, p. 1004. & alib. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 546, 547. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. *Salâd* pass.

This was attended by a drowsiness and languor, that plainly indicated the commencement of an indisposition. The 15th, being *Friday*, he took a view on horseback of the pilgrims returned from *Mecca*, three of whom were *Sâbeko'ddîn*, *Karâlâ Al Târûki*, and the son of his brother *Saif Al Islâm*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Yaman*; and treated the doctors amongst them with uncommon marks of veneration and esteem. The 16th, he was worse than he had been on either of the two preceding days; and was visited by *Al Malec Al Afdal*, *Al Kâdi Bobô'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, who wrote his life, and *Al Kâdi Al Fadl*. From that day the distemper grew more violent, and chiefly affected his head; which was looked upon, by those about him, as a sign of his approaching dissolution. The fourth day of the disease, he was let blood, by order of the physicians attending him; after which, the fever raged with greater violence than before. The ninth day, he was seized with a delirium; which, with little intermission, continued to the time of his death. The following day, two clysters were applied; which, with a good quantity of psisan that he took, somewhat relieved him. But an excessive sweat afterwards brought him so low, that he wanted strength to struggle with the distemper. *Al Malec Al Afdal*, finding his father in extreme danger, convoked the principal *Kâdis*, generals, and lords of the court, to secure to himself the succession, and preserve the public repose. Of these *Sa'do'ddîn Mas'ûd*, brother of *Bedro'ddîn Mawdûd*, governor of *Damascus*, *Khoshtarîn Hosein Al Haccâri*, *'Alcân*, and *Melcân*, bound themselves by oath to acknowledge *Al Malec Al Afdal* for *Salâb'addîn's* successor, after that prince's death, simply and without reserve; but *Nâfero'ddîn*, the *Sâheb* of *Sebiyûn*, *Sâbeko'ddîn*, the *Sâheb* of *Shaizar*, *Nûshirwân Al Zerkârî*, *Maimûn Al Katsfri*, *Shams'o'ddîn Al Cabbîr*, *Sankar Al Mashtûb*, and others, took the same oath, under certain restrictions and limitations. From the beginning of his illness, the *Soltân* had been attended by some religious *Sheikh* or other, who was employed in reading proper portions of the *Korân* to him; but *Al Sheikh Abu Jaasar*, the *Imâm* of the temple *Al Calâfa*, famous for his sanctity, who was called in to assist him in his last moments, remained the whole night preceding that prince's death with him. Though the *Soltân* had been for the most part delirious, ever since the ninth night of the distemper, yet when the *Sheikh* came to a passage of the *Korân*, asserting the divine unity and omniscience, he suddenly started up, being then at the point of departure, and said, "This is most true." In fine, on *Wednesday*, the 27th of *Safar*, a little after morning prayer was ended, *Al Kâdi Al Fadl* then being with him, to the inconceivable regret of the whole *Moslem* world, he expired. *Al Kâdi Bobô'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, who came from the mosque, where he had been performing his morning devotions, soon after the *Soltân's* departure, into the castle, and *Al Kâdi Al Fadl* conducted every thing relative to his funeral, after his body had been washed by *Al Fakîh Al Dawlâ'i* the *Khattîb* of *Damascus*. The meridian prayer was no sooner over, than the corpse was put upon a bier, habited in the usual manner, and prepared for interment. After which, prodigious numbers of people crowded into the castle, to pray for the repose of his soul; and, a little before evening prayer, the same day, he was inhumed, in the place where he died. This great conqueror was born, as has been already observed, in the castle, or palace, of *Tecrît*, where his father *Ayûb* was then governor, in the year of the *Hejra* 532; and consequently he must have been about fifty-seven lunar years old, at the time of his demise. Of these he reigned near seventeen, according to *Dr. Hunt's* MS. copy of *Ebn Shohnab*, or nineteen, if *Abu'lfeda* may be depended upon, over *Al Shâm*, or *Syria*; and about twenty-four over *Diyâr Mesr*, or *Egypt*. He left behind him seventeen sons, and one daughter. The eldest of his sons was *Al Malec Al Afdal Nûro'ddîn Ali Ebn Yusef Ebn Ayûb*, who was born in the year of the *Hejra* 565. *Al'Azîz Otbmân* was about two years younger; and *Al Malec Al Dhâber*, the *Sâheb* of *Aleppo*, younger than him. His daughter was married to her first cousin, or uncle's son, *Al Malec Al Câmel*, the *Sâheb* of *Egypt*. With regard to *Salâb'addîn's* character, he has passed, as well as *Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki*, for one of the best and bravest princes whose actions have been transmitted down to posterity by the *Moslem* writers. He has been represented as mild, humble, patient, just, pious, beneficent, liberal, a conniver at faults, and in fine as a prince of a most sweet and amiable disposition (C). But, notwithstanding this fine picture drawn of him, that some instances of (D) cruelty, rapaciousness,

(C) *Ebn Shohnab* says, that he was always ready to forgive the faults of his friends, attendants, and domestics, perfectly good-natured, on all occasions; of open conversation, and sincere in all his professions (1).

(D) His shining qualities were at least in some measure clouded by his insatiable ambition, his ingratitude to his benefactor *Nûro'ddîn* and his family, as well as to the son of his uncle *Shairacûb*, and his election of unworthy favourites. With regard to his ambition,

that sufficiently appears from the whole tenor of his conduct. His ingratitude to *Nûro'ddîn* and the son of *Shairacûb*, as well as to the family of the former of those princes, was certainly most odious and detestable; since his grandeur was wholly owing to the countenance given him first by *Nûro'ddîn*, and to the support he afterwards received from *Shairacûb*. His principal favourites were *Shams'o'ddawla*, a man of an exceeding bad character, and *Al Malec Al 'Akl*, his brothers, besides

(1) *Ebn Shohnab*, ad an. *Hej.* 589.

* BOHĀO'DDĪN EBN SHEDDĀD, ubi sup. p. 269—278. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 589 GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 421. EBN SHOHNĀH, ad an. Hej. 589. EBN KHALECAN, AL MAKIN, in oper. part. inedit. EBN AL ATHIR, TAJR BERD, in Tārīkh Mefr. ĀKIO'DDĪN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDĪ, in Mawredo'llatâf. IBRAHIM EBN MOHAMMED EBN DAKMAK, in Al Jawhar Al Thamin, KHALIL EBN MOHAMMED AL AFKĀHESEI, in Tārīkh Salâh'ad. D'HERBEL Biblioth. orient. p. 744, & alib. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 547.

(F) These *dirbems* probably derived the appellation of *Nâserian dirbems* from the name and titles, and perhaps the effigies, of the *Khalif Al Nâser Ledinî'llah* impressed upon them (3).

SOLTAN

What happened, in the empire he had formed, immediately after his demise.

SOLTAN *Salûb'addîn* was so regretted by his subjects of all ranks and denominations, that there was a general mourning for him in every part of his vast dominions; which, as *Bobîo'd-dîn Ebn Sheddâd* seems to intimate, had never happened before, since the deaths of the first and most pious *Khalîfs*. *Al Malec Al Afdal*, *Salûb'addîn's* eldest son, who succeeded him in Syria, for three days received the compliments of condolence in the palace; and then sent advice of his father's decease to his brothers *Al 'Azîz Othmân*, in Egypt, and *Al Dhâber Gâzi*, at Aleppo, as also to his uncle *Al Malec Al 'Adel*, at Al Carac. *Al Malec Al Afdal Nûro'd-dîn Ali*, to whom the principal officers and grandees of the court had taken the oath of allegiance, as his father's successor, a day or two before the *Soltân* expired, forbade the poets to repeat any verses, and the orators and preachers to exercise their eloquence, on this doleful occasion; his younger brothers, then with him, at the same time rending the air with their cries and lamentations. Some authors write, that the *Soltân's* obsequies were not publickly solemnized till the arrival of *Al 'Azîz Othmân*, *Al Dhâber Gâzi*, and *Al Malec Al 'Adel*, who assisted at the performance of them; and that, during this solemnity, *Settalshâm Bint Ayûb*, the deceased *Soltân's* sister, distributed large sums of money out of her own purse, amongst the poor. *Mobîo'ddîn Ebn Al Kâdi Zekîo'ddîn* read the prayers at *Salûb'addîn's* interment, and *Al Malec Al Afdal* remained in the temple, or *Al Jama'*, near which he afterwards erected his father a stately tomb, three whole days. The *Soltân* being thus dead, the following division of the most considerable provinces and cities of his empire amongst the princes of his family, and the chief commanders of his troops, was made. *Al Malec Al Afdal Nûro'ddîn Ali* had for his share the kingdoms of Damascus and Jerusalem, or *Al Kuds*, and the Lower Syria (G), the Cælo-Syria of the antients. *Al Malec Al 'Azîz Othmân* reigned over *Al Diyâr Al Mesriya*, or all the regions, nomes, and districts of Egypt. To *Al Malec Al Dhâber Gayâtbo'ddîn Gâzi* was assigned Aleppo, and all the Upper Syria (H), which intirely depended upon that capital. *Al Malec Al 'Adel Saifo'ddîn Abu Becr Ebn Ayûb*, *Salûb'addîn's* brother, obtained Al Carac and Al Shawbec, or Al Shawbac, together with *Al Belâd Al Sharkiya*, or the eastern provinces. His nephew *Al Malec Al Mansûr Nâsero'ddîn Mohammed* enjoyed the sovereignty of Hamah, Salamiyah, Al Maarra, and Manbij, together with that of the castle of Nojm. *Al Malec Al Amjed*, or Amjad, *Majo'ddîn Bahrâm*, or Baharâm, *Shâh Ebn Farkshâh Ebn Shâhinsâh Ebn Ayûb*, had assigned him Baalbec, with its dependencies. *Shairacûb Ebn Mohammed Ebn Shairacûb Ebn Shâdi* (I) was possessed of Hems, Rakaba, and Tadmor. *Al Malec Khidr*, one of the *Soltân Salûb'addîn's* younger sons, held Basra, though dependently on his brother *Al Malec Al Afdal*. *Sâbeko'ddîn*, or *Sâbiko'ddîn*, *Othmân Ebn Al Dâya* presided over Shaizar and Abu Kobais. *Nâsero'ddîn Ebn Cawris Ebn Khemârdekîn* occupied Sebyân and the castle of Burziya. *Bedro'ddîn Duldurm Ebn Bobâo'ddîn Yârûk* had Tel Bâsbar, or Tel Bâsher. *'Azzo'ddîn Sâma* ruled at Cawcab and 'Ajlûn. And lastly, the authority of *'Azzo'ddîn Ibrahim Ebn Shams'o'ddîn Al Mokaddem* was recognized at Bagrâs, or Pagra, Cafartâb, or Cafertâb, and Afâmiya, or Apamia. The five last of these princes were generals, much esteemed by the *Soltân*; who, on many occasions, had greatly distinguished themselves in his service.

Al Malec Al Afdal is declared his father's successor.

AL Malec Al Afdal, being the *Soltân's* eldest son, was publicly declared his successor in the empire; after which, he chose for his *Wazîr* *Dîao'ddîn Nâsrallah*, the son of *Mohammed Ebn Al Athîr*, who published a collection of proverbs, and was an author of considerable note. This *Mohammed* was brother of the famous *'Azzo'ddîn Ebn Al Athîr*, or rather *Abu'l Hasan Ali 'Azzo'ddîn Ebn Al Athîr*; who wrote the general or universal history intituled, *Al Câmel*, to which in this work we have so often referred. The new *Soltân*, at the insligation of the *Wazîr*, discarded his father's generals; who thereupon offered their service to *Al Malec Al Dhâber*, at Aleppo, and *Al Malec Al 'Azîz*, in Egypt. The principal officers of the Egyptian forces went in a body to *Al Malec Al Azîz*, in order to prevail upon him to assert his right to the

^u BOHÂO'DDÎN EBN SHEDDÂD, ubi sup. p. 276, 277, 278. ISM. ABU'LFED. in excerpt. ALE. SCHULT. p. 61. 62, 63. Lugd. Batav. 1732. GREG. ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 421, 422. EBN SHOHNAH, ubi sup. EBN KHALECAN, EBN AL ATHIR, in Al Câmel. AL MAKIN, in oper. part inedit. MS. OXON. 'TAJR BERD, in Târikh Mesr. TAKIO'DDÎN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'LFAR. YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in Mawredo'llatâfa. IBRAHIM EBN MOHAMMED EBN DAKMAK, in Al Jawhar Al Thamîn, D'HERBEL, Biblioth. orient. p. 744.

(G) The tract occupied in Syria by *Al Malec Al Afdal*, besides the cities of Damascus and Al Kuds, comprehended Baalbec, Sarkhod, Bofra, Bâniâs, or Paneas, Ilonein, Telnîn, or Tabnîn, and Al Dârûm, with their respective districts, and all the sea-coast, according to *Abu'l Faraj* (1).

(H) The principal places under *Al Malec Al Dhâber's* jurisdiction, besides Aleppo, were Hârem Tel Bâsbar, or Tel Bâsher, 'Azâz, Darbesâc, or Derbesâc, and Manbij.

Mohammed Ebn Takîo'ddîn Omar Ebn Shâhinsâh Ebn Ayûb, the *Sâheb* of Hamah, if we chuse to follow *Abu'l Faraj*, likewise governed his state, dependently on him (2).

(I) *Shairacûb Ebn Mohammed Ebn Shairacûb Ebn Shâdi*, the *Sâheb* of Hems, was dependent on *Al Malec Al Afdal*, if in this point we may depend upon *Abu'l Faraj* (3).

(1) Greg. Abu'lFar. ubi sup. p. 421.

(2) Id. p. 422.

(3) Id. ibid.

succession,

a succession, and attack his brother *Al Malec Al Afdal*. To this he was of himself sufficiently well inclined, and therefore readily listened to their advice; though, according to the eastern writers, he did not lead an army into Syria before the year of the *Hejra*, 592^x.

ABOUT this time, *'Aláo'ddín Ebn Il Arslán*, surnamed *Tacash*, the fifth *Sháh*, or *Soltán*, of *What hap- Khowárazm*, marched again towards the frontiers of *Khorasán*, to accommodate some fresh differ-
ences that had arisen between him and his brother *Soltán Sháh*, about the limits of their respec-
tive states. He was no sooner arrived in the territory of *Abiwerd*, than the governor of that place, and of the whole province of *Sarakhs*, which made part of the dominions of *Soltán Sháh*, came to meet him, took the oath of fidelity to him, and advised him to move with all possible expedition against his brother, that he might surprize him before he could put himself in a posture of defence. But the news of the *Soltán Sháh's* death then arriving, he made himself master of the large province of *Khorasán* without striking a stroke. *Tacash* now finding himself in full possession of all the states which had been governed by his ancestors under the name and title of the *Soltáns* of *Khowárazm*, he proposed to give the government of the provinces of *Sarakhs* and *Merú* to *Mohammed Kotbo'ddín*, his son. But *Malec Sháh*, *Mohammed's* brother, being desirous of changing the government of *Nisábúr*, which his father had bestowed upon him, for that of *Sarakhs* and *Merú*; *Tacash* conferred the latter of these upon that prince, and sent *Mohammed* to *Nisábúr*, to preside over the people there. Not long after which, *Mohammed* resigned his post to *Malec Sháh*; who thereby became sole governor of *Khorasán*, under the orders of *Tacash*. The transactions here touched upon proved a seasonable diversion in favour of *Soltán Togrol II.* who, by the absence of *Tacash*, was enabled to retake the castle of *Tabrak*, *Tabrek*, *Tabarak*, or *Iabarek*, and to recover every thing he had lost, the preceding year^y.

BEFORE the close of the year that we are now upon, *Saifo'ddín Baftamar*, or *Boftemar* the *Sáheb* of *Khalát*, or *Akhlát*, and the *Atábek 'Azzo'ddín Mas'úd Ebn Mawdúd Ebn Zenki Ebn Aksankar*, the *Sáheb* of *Al Mawfel*, departed this life. The former of these came to a violent death, according to the *Arab* historians, the first of the former *Jomáda*, not much above two lunar months after *Saláb'addín's* demise. *Baftamar*, or *Boftemar*, could not forbear expressing his joy openly, in an indecent manner, when the news of the *Soltán's* decease was brought him. As he bore an implacable hatred to that prince, he pretended to believe that he was destitute of every virtue and good quality. He assumed the surname of *Abd'alaziz*, not long before the tragical exit he made; the speedy approach of which, after the *Soltán's* death, that filled him with so much joy, seems to have been looked upon as a divine judgment by *Abu'l Faraj*. The *Atábek 'Azzo'ddín Mas'úd Ebn Mawdúd*, who died the 27th of *Shaabán*, was a religious good man, mild, patient, modest, extremely beneficent, and in fine a prince of a most amiable disposition. His patience resembled that of his grandfather *Zenki*, and his modesty was so great, that he never conversed with any person sitting near him but with his eyes fixed on the ground. His favours he granted with the utmost benevolence, affability, and condescension. He reigned, if *Ebn Shoknah* may be credited, at *Al Mawfel* about thirteen years and six months, and was succeeded there by his son *Núro'ddín Arslán Sháh*. *Dhabíro'ddín Al Hazárdínári*, one of *Sháh Armen's* *Mamlúks*, or purchased slaves, as *Boftemar* himself had been, enjoyed after *Boftemar's* death, the sovereignty of *Khalát*. *Soltán Sháh Ebn Il Arslán*, the fourth *Soltán*, or *Sháh*, of *Khowárazm*, is also said to have died in 589. We must not forget to remark, that the college founded by *Nodhám Al Molc* was either repaired or rebuilt by the *Khalif Al Náser Ledin'illah*, who added thereto a library, consisting of 12,000 volumes, most of which were originals, according to some authors of considerable repute, the present year^z.

THE next year, being the 590th of the *Hejra*, which began Dec. 27th, 1713, *Kútlúk*, a *Togrol Ebn Arslán Sháh's* ally in concert with *Tacash*, marched with a powerful army into the *Persian Irák*; but being defeated by *Togrol Ebn Arslán Sháh* the last *Soltán* of the *Seljúks* of *Irán*, he was obliged to fly with *Tacash* into *Khowárazm*. The *Soltán* after this, thinking he was delivered from all his enemies, abandoned himself to women and wine, with unlimited excess. And though he was told, that *Tacash* was raising a formidable army to invade his dominions, yet, intoxicated with his success and delights, he continued his debauches, and neglected affairs to such a degree, that the grandees of the court wrote themselves to *Tacash* to make haste; assuring him, that he might easily surprize *Togrol* in the midst of his revels. Whereupon *Tacash*, following their advice, made such expedition, that he arrived at the gates of *Al Ray*, whilst the *Soltán* was still buried in liquor. However, he put himself at the head of his troops, and marched towards the

^x ISM. ABU'LFED. in excerpt. ALB. SCHULT. p. 63, 64. EBN SHOHNAN, ad an. Hej. 589. EBN AL ATHIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 145, 745. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 548. ^y KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. *Tacash*, p. 835, 836. & art. *Thogrol Ben Arslan*, p. 1029. ^z ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 579. & an. Hej. 589. GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 422. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 589. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 837. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 557.

enemy; repeating certain verses out of the *Shâb Nameh* (K), spoken by some warrior, boasting of what he would do. But raising his mace, as if he was going to strike, in conformity to the words he had pronounced, he discharged such a blow on one of the forelegs of his horse, that the beast fell under him, and he was thrown himself by the fall. *Kâtlik*, seeing him on the ground, immediately ran, and, with one blow of his scymitar, put an end to his life, and the power of the *Seljuks* in *Irâk*. *Tacash*, not content with the downfall of this prince, whose territories he annexed to his own, sent his head to the *Khalif Al Nâser Ledin'illah* at *Baghdâd*, and ordered his body to be fastened to a gibbet at *Al Ray*. One of the authors consulted by M. *D'Herbelot* nevertheless relates the conquest of *Irâk*, by the *Shâb* of *Khowârazm*, in a different manner. He informs us, that *Tacash* receiving advice of the death of *Tamgaj*, whom he had left as his commandant in the city of *Al Ray*, and the strong castle of *Tabarek*, as also of *Togrol's* infraction of the treaty subsisting between them, entered the *Persian Irâk* with a numerous army, vanquished the *Seljukian Soltân* in battle, and joined the estates of that prince in *Asia* to his own. This, together with the death of *Togrol Ebn Arslân Shâb*, gave the finishing stroke to the dynasty of the *Seljuks* of *Irân*; after which, *Tacash* conferred the government of *Esfabân* upon *Kilij Enbanej*, the son, or rather grandson, of the *Atâbek Ilâighiz*, with whom he had always kept a close intelligence against the *Seljukian Soltâns* of *Irân*. But the government of all the other cities of the *Persian Irâk*, of which *Al Ray* was now the capital, he assigned his third son, named *Yûnos Khân*, and went himself to pass the winter at *Kowârazm*, which he ever looked upon as the royal seat of his empire. With regard to *Soltân Togrol*, it may not be improper to remark, that, according to *Khondemir*, he reigned eighteen years, ten months, and a half. The *Lebtârikh* exhibits twenty-nine years, by mistake for nineteen; as appears by collating the year of his death with that of his predecessor's demise, as marked by the same author. *Togrol*, notwithstanding what has been here said of him, had many noble qualities. He was not only eminent for his courage, on which account his subjects compared him to *Rostam* and *Isfandiar*, two *Persian* heroes of antiquity, but also for his wit and knowledge. He excelled so much in poetry, that some esteemed him not inferior to *Anwari*, or *Anweri*, and *Dhahir*, or *Dhebir*, two celebrated *Persian* (L) poets. A *Persian* quatrain of his has been transmitted down to us, the sense of which is contained in the following terms. "The possession of the good thing I loved filled my soul yesterday with joy, and a cruel separation from it renders me to day extremely miserable. Such is the deplorable state of my life. Fortune effaces to day what she had yesterday written in my favour." *Togrol* often disputed with the learned, had a majestic mein, and was very handsome. He is said to have surpassed all the *Seljukian Soltâns* in goodness and justice, as well as in managing his arms both on foot and on horseback. The poet *Nazami*, who admired *Togrol's* learning more than his power, says of

(K) *Shâb Nameh*, or royal book, is the title given by the famous poet *Ferdûsi* to the poem which he wrote upon the history of the ancient kings of *Persia*, composed for the use of *Mahmûd Ebn Sabektekîn*, founder of the dynasty of the *Gaznevîds*, and generally known by the name of *Mahmûd Gazni*. It consists of 60,000 *Bâits*, or distichs, amounting to 120,000 verses. The author was thirty years in composing it. *Ferdûsi* is styled by the eastern writers *Danishmand 'Ajem*, the learned *Persian*, and was the most celebrated of all the *Persian* poets. He received as a reward for the *Shâb Nameh*, written at the requisition of *Soltân Mahmûd Ebn Sabektekîn*, only 60,000 *dirhems*. This so irritated him, that he quitted the *Soltân's* court, satyrized him, and retired to *Tûs*, in *Khorâsân*, the place of his nativity, from whence he is sometimes denominated *Al Tûsi*; where he died, in the year of the *Hejra* 411. The *Shâb Nameh* has been translated into *Arabic* prose, by *Kawâmo'ddin Fatah Abu Ali Al Hindi*; who, according to M. *D'Herbelot*, undertook this translation at the command of *Soltân Al Malec Al Aâdbam Isa*, the son of *Al Malec Al 'Adel*, of the house of *Ayûb*, in the year of the *Moslem æra* 675. In this last article, however, we cannot help believing M. *D'Herbelot* to be mistaken, and would therefore willingly substitute in the room of it, as more consonant to the eastern writers, and particularly to *Abu'l Faraj*, the following words; "who undertook this translation at the command of *Al Malec Al Moâbham*, or *Moadbhem*, *Isa*, the son of *Al Malec Al 'Adel*, of the house of *Ayûb* in the year of the *Hejra* 615 (1)".

(L) *Anwari*, or *Anweri*, and *Dhahir*, or *Dhebir*, were two of the most excellent poets that *Persia* ever produced. The former of them was born in a village appertaining to the city of *Abiwerd* in *Khorâsân*, named *Bedench*, and pretended to profound skill in astrology, as well as poetry. But, by his false prediction relating to the consequence of the great conjunction of the seven planets in the third degree of *Libra*, in 581, he so exposed himself, that his reputation was thereby almost intirely ruined. This brought upon him so many reprimands from *Soltân Togrol Ebn Arslân*, and so much ridicule from those who envied his good fortune, particularly *Ferid Câteb*, that he found himself obliged to depart from *Merû*, then the royal seat of the *Seljukian Soltâns*, and retire to *Balkh*. But the people there insulted him to such a degree, continually reproaching him with the falsity of his prediction, and his ignorance, that he would have been forced to leave that place also, had not *'Amâdo'ddin*, the first *Kâdi* of that city, taken him under his protection. Here it was that he wrote a poem, wherein he publicly and solemnly declared his intention never for the future to concern himself with judicial astrology. He died at *Balkh*, in the year of the *Hejra* 597. With regard to *Dhahir*, or *Dhebir*, the latter of the poets mentioned here, he composed several fine poems, and was held in high esteem, as well as *Anwari*, his contemporary, by *Tacash*, the fifth *Shâb*, or *Soltân*, of *Khowârazm* (2).

(1) *Khondemir*, *Greg. Abu'l Faraj*, *Ism. Abu'lfed. Ebn Shohn. Ebn Al Athir, Ebn Khalecân*, &c. *Vid. etiam D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 347, 769.*

(2) *Khondemir*, *D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 119, 925, 946.*

a him, "He reflected a lustre upon the throne of the kingdom of wit, and conquered the whole extent of the region of immortality." In Dr. Hunt's MS. copy of *Ebn Shobnah's* history, *Tacash* is corruptly called *Bacshi*. This writer relates, that *Togrol Ebn Arslan Shâb* was killed in battle; and that the *Shâb* of *Khowârazm*, after his death and defeat, obliged the country of *'Ajem*, or *Persia*, to make its submission to him ^a.

THE 591st year of the *Hejra*, which commenced Dec. 10th, 1194, was rendered memorable to all succeeding ages by a signal victory, gained by the *Magrebian*, or *Mogrebian*, *Moslems* over the *Christians* of *Spain*, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. *Alfonfus*, *Alonso*, or *Alonso IX.* king of *Castile*, surnamed *The Good*, and *The Noble*, who married the princess *Eleanor*, daughter to our king *Henry II.* having written an insulting letter to *Yakûb Ebn Yusef Ebn Abd'almûmen*, king of the *Al Moâbedûn*, in *West Barbary* and *Spain*; that monarch marched against him at the head of a formidable army, overthrew him with incredible slaughter, and acquired an immense quantity of spoil. Some authors pretend, that the *Moslems* killed 146,000 of the *Christians* upon the spot, and took no less than 20,000 of them prisoners. But this exceeds all manner of belief. *Alfonfus*, continues *Abul Faraj*, was carried on a mule, after this defeat, to *Toledo* (M), then his capital; swearing that he would not mount a horse, before he had received succours from the neighbouring *Christian* princes. Nay, if M. *Renaudot's* authors may be depended upon, he made a vow never to sleep in bed, nor ride on horseback, nor lie with his wife, till he had revenged himself of his enemies. To which others add, that he shaved his head and his beard, and inverted the cross, in token of mourning; which seems to be too romantic, and to favour too much of the *Moorish*, or *Arab*, genius, to merit any regard. The *Spanish* historians themselves indeed own the defeat of the king of *Castile*, but they are far from admitting the loss of any such number of men as that mentioned here. Nor did this blow hinder *Alfonfus* from obtaining several victories afterwards over the *Al Moâbedûn*, particularly at the battle of *Na as de Tolosa*, wherein 200,000 of the *Moslems* are said to have been slain, and, by that means, recovering many cities and strong places from them. The action, that proved so disadvantageous to the king of *Castile*, happened near *Alarcos*; tho', if M. *Renaudot* in this point may be depended upon, it is denominated the battle of *Zulaca* by some of the *Arab* writers ^b.

Alfonfus or *Alonso IX.* king of *Castile*, is overthrown by *Yakûb Ebn Yusef Ebn Abd'almûmen* king of the *Magrebian Moslems* of *Spain*.

d THE *Khân* of *Saganak* having made some motions, towards the beginning of the spring, this year, in the *Transoxana*; *Tacash*, the *Shâb* of *Khowârazm*, found himself obliged to take the field with a powerful army. The *Khân* was no sooner apprized of this, than he waited in person upon *Tacash*, in order to obtain a peace; which the *Shâb*, or *Soltân*, at the request of the principal lords of his court, granted him, and then immediately returned to his capital. At the same time, *Malec Shâb*, *Tacash's* son, being come to his father's court, and having left his own son *Arslân Shâb* to command in *Khorasân* during his absence; *Sanjar Shâb*, the *Soltân's* brother-in-law, excited thereto by some turbulent and seditious spirits, who solicited him to avail himself of *Malec Shâb's* absence, and occupy a post that then seemed to be vacant, unluckily entered into a dangerous conspiracy, formed by a wicked cabal, against the *Soltân*. But he had scarce given his consent to the measures projected by these factious people, when *Tacash*, who had been apprized of the whole affair, commanded him to repair with all possible expedition to *Khowârazm*. As the conspiracy was only in embryo, and nothing yet had been openly undertaken against the *Soltân*, and consequently *Sanjar Shâb* was not apprehensive of his having incurred *Tacash's* displeasure; he punctually, without the least reluctance, obeyed the order he had received. But he was no sooner arrived at court, than *Tacash* deprived him both of his liberty and his sight, and by that means rendered abortive all his designs. 'Tis true, the *Soltân* not long after restored him to his liberty, at the intreaty of his sister, whom *Sanjar* had espoused. But he was obliged to content himself with a large pension, which the *Soltân* settled upon him, to comfort him in his disgrace. About this time it happened, that *Yûnos Khân*, *Tacash's* son, who commanded for him in *Irâk*, fell into a distemper, for which he could meet with no relief in the city of *Al Ray*, where he resided. He therefore took a resolution to change the air, and for that purpose went to *Khorasân*; leaving for his lieutenant in *Irâk* *Miagen*, in whom he reposed great confidence, but who was a secret enemy to the *Atâbek Enbancj*, governor of *Esfahân*, and a confidant of *Soltân Tacash*. *Yûnos Khân* had not long-

Other events of the present year.

^a KH'NDEMIR, AL EMIR YAHYA EBN ABD'OLLATIF, AL KAZWINI, in *Lebtârikh*, p. 45. ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad. an. Hej. 590. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 540. D'HERBEL. *Biblioth. orient.* p. 836, 1029, 1030. RENAUD. ubi sup. ^b GREG. ABUL FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 422, 423, 424. AL NOWAIRI, *MARIAN. gen. hist. of Spain*, b. xi. c. 7. p. 185. Lond. 1699. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 557, 558.

(M) *Toledo* was the capital and residence of the the Franks. The city of *Toledo* is denominated *Toledo* above-mentioned *Alfonfus*, king of *Castile*, called by the *lailata* by the Arab writers (1). Arabs, *Al Fonsh Malec Al Franj*, or *Alfonfus* king of

(1) Greg. *Abul Faraj*, ubi sup. p. 422, & alib. Ism. *Abulfed.* *Al Nowair.* *Al Makim*, alique scriptor. Arab.

been gone, before the *Khalif Al Nâser Ledinî'llab*, who was not a little disturbed at the approach of the *Khowârazmians* so near his frontiers, sent his orders to *Ebn Cassab*, his *Wazîr*, to enter with a formidable army the territories of *Yûnos Khân*. The *Atâbek Kilij Enbanej*, one of the best friends and most faithful servants of *Tacash*, was no sooner informed of the motions of the *Khalif's* forces, than he marched in person, and joined *Miagen* with his troops, to hinder *Ebn Cassab* from making an irruption into *Irâk*. *Miagen*, far from treating the *Atâbek* with the respect and affection his fidelity deserved, being jealous of him, caused his person to be seized, and his head to be cut off, which he instantly sent to *Tacash*; giving him at the same time to understand, that he had been forced to this execution by the treason the *Atâbek* had been guilty of, in keeping a correspondence with the *Khalif*. *Tacash* easily saw through the artifice of *Miagen*, and began to be afraid lest that general should betray him. He nevertheless took care to avoid every thing which might induce *Miagen* to believe, that he entertained any suspicion of him; and set out, with the utmost diligence, in order to attack *Ebn Cassab*, who died just at the time that the *Khalif's* forces and those of the *Khowârazmians* were going to engage. His death, however, which was kept so secret in the *Khalif's* army, that *Tacash* heard nothing of it before the end of the action, did not prevent a battle; which, after an obstinate dispute, terminated in the defeat of *Al Nâser's* troops. This obliged the *Khalif* to come to an accommodation with *Tacash*, and to leave him in peaceable possession of *Irâk*. But, before the *Soltân* returned home, he insisted upon having the head of *Ebn Cassab*; which he sent as a trophy of his victory to *Khowârazm*, and afterwards deprived *Miagen* of his government, for putting to death, without any just cause, the *Atâbek* his friend. That general, some time after, attempted to raise commotions in *Irâk*; he was seized, and thrown into prison, where he miserably ended his days^c.

The most material occurrences of the year 592.

In the 592d year of the *Hejra*, beginning Dec. 6th, 1195, *Al Malec Al 'Adel Abu Becr*, *Salâb'addîn's* brother, the *Sâkeb* of *Al Carac*, and *Al Malec Al 'Azîz*, *Othmân*, the *Soltân's* younger son, who reigned in *Egypt*, having formed a design to dispossess *Al Malec Al Afdal Nûro'ddîn Ali*, *Salâb'addîn's* successor, of the territories that had been assigned him in *Syrîa*; they laid siege to *Damascus*, and obliged *Al Malec Al Afdal* to retire to *Sarkhod*. Both the city and the castle being surrendered to *Al Malec Al 'Azîz*, he resided some days in the latter, and then delivered it up to *Al Malec Al 'Adel*; after which, he returned to *Al Kâbirab*. Some authors write, that *Damascus* was betrayed to the *Egyptian* troops. Be that as it will, *Al Malec Al Afdal* was forced to cede that capital, with all its dependencies, to his brother and uncle, and acquiesce in the possession of *Sarkhod*, with the prefecture appertaining to it. *Al Malec Al 'Azîz*, after the cession of the kingdom of *Damascus*, was mentioned in all the mosques there, had money coined in his name, and was honoured with all the ensigns of royalty; notwithstanding which, the supreme authority was solely vested in *Al Malec Al 'Adel*, so that he was in reality the absolute master of the kingdom of *Jerusalem* and *Damascus*. *Al Malec Al Afdal*, being a good poet, wrote a letter to the *Khalif Al Nâser Ledinî'llab*, of the house of *Al Abbâs*, after his dominions had been ravished from him, in verse, to the following effect. "My lord, you very well know, that *Abu Becr* and *Othmân* deprived *Ali* by violence of the *Khalifat*; which of right belóngen to him, after the death of his father-in-law *Mohammed*. See then the fatality of the name of *Ali*, since I, who bear that name, have the same justice done me, by *Abu Becr*, my uncle, and *Othmân*, my brother." The *Khalif Al Nâser Ledinî'llab*, having received this letter, sent him the following answer to it likewise in verse. "*Ali* was deprived unjustly of his right, because he wanted a *Nâser*, or protector, at *Medina*. But be of good courage; they shall soon give an account of what they have done, and you shall find in me, who am *Al Nâser*, or the protector, every kind of succour and protection." This poor prince had deposited his father's corpse in the tomb erected by him near the *Jâma'*, or temple, in *Damascus*, the 9th of *Al Moharram*, before he was driven from that city. He himself preceded the corpse, conducted from the castle, by *Dâr Al Hadîth*, to the *Bâb Al Barid*, and placed for some time within the temple, opposite to the pulpit. We are told by certain writers, that another battle was fought between the *Christians* and the *Moslems* in *Spain*, and that *Toledo* was besieged by the latter, the present year^d.

and of the year 593.

THE following year, being the 593d of the *Hejra*, commencing Nov. 24th, 1196, *Malec Shâb*, *Tacash's* son, governor in chief of the whole province of *Khorasân*, being dead; *Tacash* bestowed that government upon *Mohammed Kotbo'ddîn*, his other son, and gave him *Sa'ido'ddîn Mas'ûd* for his *Wazîr*. This *Mas'ûd* was surnamed *Nodbâm Al Molc*, as well as that famous *Wazîr* who had been prime minister to *Malec Shâb I. Soltân* of the *Seljûks* of *Irân*. The victory *Tacash* had gained over the *Khalif's* troops gave him an opportunity

^c KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Tacash*, p. 836. ^d GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 424. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 592. AL MAKIN, in oper. part. inedit. ad an. Hej. 592. MS. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 592. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 745. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 558.

a of purging at this time *Adberbijân* of the *Ismaelians*, or *Affassins*, who had made themselves masters of any castles and places of strength in that province. He chased them from the castle of *Arslân Kufshâi*, which they had occupied, and constrained them to take refuge in that of *Calâat Al Mût*, their principal fortress, which he did not think fit to attack. Before his departure, he conferred the government of the *Persian Irâk* upon a third son of his, named *Tâjo'ddîn Ali Shâb*. This year, according to some of the eastern writers, died *Saif Al Islâm Tagtakîn Ebn Ayûb*, *Salâb'addîn's* brother, at *Zabîd*, in *Al Yaman*, where he had amassed immense riches, by fleecing his subjects; all which he left to his son and successor *Al Moezz Shamsalmolûc Ismael*, who assumed the title of *Khalîf*. This so incensed his subjects, who looked upon *Al Nâser Ledînî'llah* as the only true *Khalîf*, or rightful successor of *Mohammed*,
b that, in the 599th year of the *Hejra*, they conspired against him, and slew him; vindicating, as they imagined, by such conduct, the honour of their religion. After which, the *Emîrs* saluted his younger brother *Sâbeb* of *Al Yaman*, and dignified him with the title, or surname, of *Al Nâser*. As this prince was incapable of holding the reins of government himself, by reason of his tender age; he remained, for a certain time, under the tutelage of his mother. But being poisoned, by some of the people about him; she thought fit to marry *Solimân Ebn Takîo'ddîn Omar Ebn Shâbînshâb Ebn Ayûb*, who had lived from his infancy amongst the *Fakîrs*, or poor religious, and still lived as one of them at *Mecca*. *Solimân*, being by no means qualified for the sublime station to which he had been advanced, was afterwards deposed by his subjects; and the family of *Ayûb* at last, according to some of *M. Renaudot's*
c authors, lost all their power and influence in *Arabia* (N). Every thing remained quiet on the side of *Khûzistân*, the *Susiana* of the antients, this and the two preceding years; *Mowayyado'ddîn*, surnamed *Ebn Cassab*, the *Khalîf Al Nâser Ledînî'llah's* *Wazîr*, having extinguished a rebellion there, in the 600th year of the *Hejra*, by defeating in several rencounters the revolted troops, and reduced that province entirely to the obedience of the *Khalîf*. We must not forget to remark, that *Al Malec Al 'Adel* took *Tâfâ*, *Tâffâ*, or *Joppa*, from the *Franks*, as they did *Bayrût*, or *Berytus*, from the *Moslems*, in the year that we are now upon*.

THE next year, being the 594th of the *Hejra*, which began Nov. 13th, 1197, *'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki Ebn Mawdûd Ebn Zenki Ebn Aksankar*, the *Sâbeb* of *Senjâr*, or *Sinjâr*, *Nasîbîn*,
d cities, and the districts appertaining to them, by *Kotbo'ddîn Mahmûd*, his son. *Nasîbîn* was, however, soon after occupied by one *Nûro'ddîn*, perhaps another of *'Amâdo'ddîn's* sons, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. The same year, *Tacash Ebn Arslân*, the *Shâb* of *Khowârazm*, marched to *Bokhâra*, then possessed by the *Katayans*, and laid siege to that city. The inhabitants, supported by the *Katayans*, had so little apprehension of the *Shâb*, who was blind of one eye, that they led a dog with one eye, dressed in a vest and tunic, with a cap or turban on his head, round the walls; saying at the same time, by way of derision and contempt, "This is the *Khowârazm Shâb*, or *Shâb* of *Khowârazm*." After which, they discharged him out of one of their military engines upon the besiegers; crying out aloud, "This is your king." *Tacash* nevertheless, in a few days, made himself master of the town; and, notwithstanding the high provocation he had received, treated both the people and the garrison with great lenity and moderation. Nay, if in this point we may depend upon *Abu'l Faraj*, he behaved more like a benefactor than a conqueror to them. About this time, *Al Malec Al 'Adel Abu Becr Ebn Ayûb* came to an open rupture with *Hosâmo'ddîn Tûlak Arslân*, the *Sâbeb* of *Mâredîn*, and advanced at the head of his forces to that city. Soon after he had presented himself before the place, the suburbs were betrayed to him; which he permitted his troops to pillage, in a shameful manner. He had no sooner possessed himself of the suburbs, than he formed the siege of the castle; which, notwithstanding all his efforts, he found himself obliged to raise, the following year†.

f THE 595th year of the *Hejra*, which commenced November 3d, 1198, produced several remarkable events; the principal of which, that have been taken notice of by the oriental writers, and of the year 595.

* KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 599. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Tacash*, p. 836, 837. art. *Ismael Ben Seifal-Islam*, p. 503. & art. *Al Nâser Ledînî'llah*, &c. p. 663. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 424. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 593. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 558. † GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 424, 425.

(N) Notwithstanding what is advanced here, from *M. Renaudot*, we are told, with no small appearance of truth, that the present reigning family in *Al Yaman* is probably that of *Ayûb*; a branch of which reigned there in the thirteenth century, and took the title of *Khalîf* and *Imâm*, which they still retain. They are not possessed of the whole province of *Al Yaman*, there being several other independent kingdoms there, particularly that of *Fartach*. The capital of this kingdom bears the same name, and its principal port at present is that of *Sheer*, or *Shîbr*, a town situated between the city of *'Aden* and cape *Fartach*. This tract produces the frankincense, gums, and all the most esteemed spices. A considerable part of the sea-coast likewise does not recognize the authority of the king of *Al Yaman*, as sufficiently appears from the modern traveller referred to here (1).

(1) *La Roque, voyage de l'Arab. Heur. p. 153, 255, 273. &c.*

writers, we shall beg leave just to touch upon. The 20th of *Al Moharram* (O), died *Al Malec Al 'Aziz*, the *Sáheb* of *Egypt*. Upon his demise, the *Omrá*, or *Emírs*, sent to his brother *Al Malec Al Afdal*; desiring he would repair to *Al Kábirab*, without delay, that they might place him upon the throne. Hastening, therefore, to the capital, his authority was recognized by people of all ranks and denominations there. So far we are informed by *Abu'l Faraj*. But other authors relate this affair in a different manner. According to them, *Al Malec Al 'Aziz* left behind him a son, named *Al Mansúr*, then only nine years of age, to whom the *Asadian* and *Salábian Emírs* (P) took the oath of allegiance; but insisted, that *Al Malec Al Afdal* should be nominated regent, and govern the kingdom of *Egypt*, during the minority of the young prince. This being notified to him, he came immediately to *Al Kábirab*, put himself at the head of the administration, and entered into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with his brother *Al Malec Al Dháber*, the *Sáheb* of *Aleppo*; the effects of which, with regard to their uncle *Al Malec Al 'Adel*, very soon appeared. For, uniting their forces, they formed the siege of *Damascus*; which obliged *Al Malec Al 'Adel* to draw off from before *Máredin*, a city that he had long besieged, and march with the utmost expedition to the relief of his capital. Some time after his arrival, *Al Malec Al Dháber* having lost a beautiful *Turkish* boy, the object of his unnatural lust; *Al Malec Al 'Adel* sent a messenger to acquaint him, that his brother *Al Malec Al Afdal* had carried off the young *Turk*, and to discover to him the place where he lay concealed. This intelligence so incensed *Al Malec Al Dháber* against *Al Malec Al Afdal*, that he ordered the *Emír*, employed by him on this occasion, to be immediately thrown into irons, reproached his brother in the sharpest terms, and returned to *Aleppo* with his troops; which constrained *Al Malec Al Afdal* to retire, with great precipitation, to *Al Kábirab*, when *Damascus*, which had been so long pressed by him and his brother, was upon the point of surrendering to them. *Takúb Ebn Yusef Ebn Abd'almúmen*, the fourth monarch of the *Al Moábedún*, surnamed *Al Mansúr*, likewise departed this life, if *Ebn Shohnab* may be credited, the present year. He was forty-eight years old, of which he had reigned fifteen, at the time of his death; being succeeded by his son *Al Náser* (Q) *Mohammed*, who assumed the title of *Emír Al Múmenín*, as his ancestors had done before. The famous *Abd'almalec Ebn Zabar*, or *Zohar*, known amongst us by the name of *Avenzohar*, a *Spanish*, or *Andalusian*, physician, by religion a *Mohammedan*, also paid the common tribute to nature, according to *Ebn Shohnab*, before the close of the present year^e.

Tacash dies.

In the 596th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *October* 23d, 1199, *Tacash* having received advice, that *Nodbám Al Molc*, whom he had appointed to serve his son in the capacity of *Wazír*, had been murdered by some *Ismaelians*, or *Assassins*, who after the execrable action had retired to the castle of *Tarshíz*; he sent orders to his son *Kotbo'ddín Mohammed*, the governor of *Khorasán*, to undertake the siege of that place, and intirely to extirpate the race of those robbers. *Mohammed*, in obedience to those orders, set out upon the expedition; when a vessel full of water, which was brought him, that he might make the necessary ablutions, broke to pieces of itself. This he interpreted as an ill omen, and thereupon was persuaded that some signal misfortune would in a short time happen to him. Accordingly he was soon after apprized of the death of his father *Tacash*; who died, in the month of *Ramadán*, at *Tshab-Arab*, upon the confines of *Khowárazm*. He reigned, according to *Khondemir*, twenty-

^e ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 595. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 425. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 595. TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in *Mawredo'llatáf*. IBRAHIM EBN MOHAMMED EBN DAKMAK, in *Al Jawhar Al Thâmín*, EBN AL ATHIR, in *Al Câm. AL MAKIN*, ad an. Hej. 595. in oper. part. inedit. MS. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. EBN KHALECAN, D'HERBEL. *Biblioth. orient.* p. 745. RENAUD. ubi sup.

(O) *Al Malec Al 'Aziz* was grievously wounded by a fall from his horse, that he got in hunting; which, according to an author followed by M. Renaudot, occasioned his death. (1).

(P) The *Asadian Emírs* were those old officers who had served *Asado'ddin Shairacúb*, and the *Salábian* those who entered the service in the time of *Saláh'addin Yusef Ebn Ayúb*. The former had but little regard for the family of *Saláh'addin*, whom they considered as an upstart; and one that had acquired his power by perfidy and fraud. Nor did the latter, consisting chiefly of *Mamlúks*, or purchased slaves, retain a very grateful sense of the favours they might at any time have received from him; nor consequently entertain any real affection, or esteem, for his sons. These *Emírs*, therefore, unanimously agreed to invest with the supreme authority *Al Malec Al 'Adel*, upon his arrival in *Egypt* (2).

(Q) The name of this prince has been omitted by the author of the *Nighiariján*, who has been followed by M. D'Herbelot, in his list of the kings of the *Al Moábedún*. The latter of these writers, however, in another part of his work, tells us, that *Ebn Zehar*, or *Ebn Zohar*, whom he calls *Mohammed Ebn Abd'almalec*, the *Arab* physician of *Andalusia*, lived in the reign of *Al Náser*, the son of *Takúb Al Mansúr*, *Soltán* of the *Al Mohades*, or *Al Moábedún*, in *Africa* and *Spain*; and that he died, of the plague, in the year of the *Hejra* 594. But, in this, if *Ebn Shohnab* is to be credited, he has been guilty of a double mistake. For, according to that author, *Ebn Zohar* departed this life, the following year, about the very time that *Al Náser Mohammed*, the son of *Takúb Al Mansúr*, ascended the throne (3).

(1) Renaud. ubi sup. p. 556.

(2) Renaud. ubi sup. p. 556—559.

(3) Ebn Shohn. ad an. Hej. 595.

Abmed Ebn Mohammed Abd'alazfar Al Kazwini, in *Nighiariján*. D'Herbel. *Biblioth. orient.* p. 586, 925,

- a eight years; or twenty-eight years, and six months, if we chuse to follow the author of the *Lebtârikh*. In the *Nighiaristân*, he has only eight years assigned him for the space of his reign; the writer of that history placing the commencement of it in 589, after his brother *Soltân Shâb*'s demise, and the end of it in 597. *Tacash* being one day in company with *Kemâlo'ddîn Ismael*, a most celebrated doctor and poet, and an intimate friend of *Soltân Togrol*, whom he had vanquished, could not forbear expressing his astonishment to him, that this *Soltân*, who had acquired so great a reputation for his bravery, could not sustain the first shock of his arms; *Kemâlo'ddîn* answered him instantly with a *Persian* distich, deduced from the *Shâb Nameh*, the royal book, or royal history, of *Ferdûsi*, importing, "That *Haman* was overcome by *Pigen*, though he surpassed him in strength; as valour itself is feeble, when
- b "abandoned by fortune." The same *Kemâlo'ddîn* composed a poem in praise of *Tacash*, in which he was followed and imitated by another poet, not less famous, named *Khâcâni*. Amongst other elogies bestowed upon him, they affirm, "That he had at the same time the fortune of *Feridûn* (R), and the virtues of *Alexander the Great*." He left for his successor *Kotbo'ddîn Mohammed*, his son, who was made one of the most unfortunate princes of *Asia* by *Jenghiz Khân*. For it was under him, that the monarchy of the *Khowârazmians* was dissolved by that conqueror, in the same manner as that of the *Seljûks* had been by his father *Tacash Khân*¹.

- THE siege of *Damascus* being raised, *Al Malec Al 'Adel* found himself at liberty to march into *Egypt*; which he accordingly did, and advanced to *Al Kabirah*. After eight days' siege, that capital surrendered to him; and a treaty of peace was concluded between him and *Al Malec Al Mansûr Mohammed*, *Al Malec Al 'Azîz*'s son, or rather *Al Malec Al Afdal*, upon the following terms. 1. All the *Egyptian* provinces shall be ceded to *Al Malec Al 'Adel*. 2. *Al Malec Al Afdal* shall have in lieu thereof *Mayyâfâraîn*, *Hâni*, and *Jebâl Jawr*. After the conclusion of the treaty, *Al Malec Al Afdal* retired to *Sarkhod*, and took possession of *Hâni* and *Jebâl Jawr*. But as for *Mayyâfâraîn*, *Nojmo'ddîn Ayûb*, *Al Malec Al 'Adel*'s son, who commanded there, in conformity to his father's order, refused to deliver it up to him. With regard to *Al Malec Al 'Adel* himself, he first ruled the *Egyptians* in *Al Malec Al Mansûr Mohammed*'s name; but afterwards caused (S) himself to be acknowledged the sole and absolute *Sâheb*, or *Soltân*, of *Egypt*. We must not forget to observe, that *Al Kâdi Al Fadl*, one of *Salâh'addîn*'s greatest favourites, who was with that prince when he expired, departed this life, at *Al Kâbirah*, on *Friday*, the 17th of the latter *Rabî*, the day before *Al Malec Al 'Adel* made his public entry into that city. *Al Kâdi Al Fadl*, who took the name of *Abd'alrahîm*, was about seventy years old, at the time of his decease; and, according to *Ebn Al Athîr*, as cited by *Ebn Shohnah*, one of the most learned and virtuous men of the age in which he lived².

THE following year, being the 597th of the *Hejra*, commencing O^r. 12th, 1200, *Rocno-* The principal
'ddîn Solimân Ebn Kilij Arslân attacked the city of *Malatiya*, belonging to his brother *Moez-* events of the
zo'ddîn Kayfar Shâb; which, after a few days defence, he forced to surrender to him. From year 597.

¹ KHONDEMIR, AL EMIR YAHYA EBN ABDO'LLATIF. AL KAZWINI, in *Lebtârikh*, AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABDA'LJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nighiaristân*. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. KEMALO'DDIN & KHACANI, apud D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 837. ut et ipse D'HERBEL. ibid. * ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 596. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 425, 426. EBN SHOHNAH, ad an. Hej. 596. TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in *Mawrodo'llatâf*. IBRAHIM EBN MOHAMMED EBN DAKMAK, in *Al Jawhar Al Thamîn*, AL MA-KIN, ad an. Hej. 596. EBN AL ATHIR, in *Al Câm*. EBN KHALECAN, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 745. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 558, 559.

(R) This *Feridûn*, or *Frayhdûn*, called by some writers *Afridûn*, and *Fridûn*, was the seventh, or, as some will have it, the sixth, king of *Persia* of the race of *Pishdad*. He is supposed to have been cotemporary with *Abraham*. He defeated in a pitched battle *Zobak*, who usurped the crown of *Persia*, took him prisoner, and kept him confined under a good guard in a cave, or grotto, of mount *Damarwand*. The day he gained this famous battle, which delivered *Persia* from the tyranny of *Zobak*, was called by the *Persians* *Mihrijan*, and fell in with the autumnal equinox; which, in the *Persian* kalendar, bears the same name. For a farther account of this prince, our readers may have recourse to the *Persian* historians, and to what has been extracted from them on this head by M. D'Herbelot (1).

(S) *Al Malec Al 'Adel*, in order to carry his point

with an air of religion, convoked the *Mohammedan* doctors; and first asked them, Whether the younger ought to govern the elder? To which they answered, No. He then demanded of them, Whether the elder could legally rule in the name of the younger? To which the abandoned villains likewise replied in the negative; assigning as a reason for this decision, that no one could transfer to another a power that in reality he had not. Upon which, without any farther ceremony, he assumed the supreme authority to himself. As he had, therefore, before procured by fraud, or rather violence, *Damascus* for his son *Al Malec Al Moadhem*, or *Moadhem*, *Isa*, that is, for himself; he now occupied almost all the extensive territories his brother *Salâh'addîn* had possessed, not above six or seven years after the death of that prince (2).

(1) *Mirkhond*, *Khondemir*. *Al Emir Yahya Ebn Abd'ollatif*. *Al Kazwini*, &c. Vid. etiam D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. art. *Feridoun*, p. 347, 348. (2) *Renaud*. ubi sup. p. 556, 559.

Malatiya he marched to *Arzan Al Râm*, or *Erzerum*, in the *Greater Armenia*, at present the seat of a *Beglerbeg*, in order to lay siege to it. At a small distance from the town, he was met by the son of *Al Malec Mohammed Ebn Salik*, the last of his family, who was *Sâheb* of the place. Depending upon *Rocno'ddin's* faith, he came to make overtures of peace; but was seized, and thrown into irons. After which, *Rocno'ddin* possessed himself of that city. The same year, *Al Malec Al Dbâber* and *Al Malec Al Afdal*, joining their forces, formed the siege of *Damascus*, then subject to their uncle *Al Malec Al 'Adel*. That city, according to *Ebn Shobnah*, when reduced, was intended to be put into the hands of *Al Malec Al Afdal*; and, upon the cession of it to him, *Al Malec Al Dbâber* was to be fixed upon the throne of *Egypt*. In the mean time, *Al Malec Al 'Adel* incamped with his forces at *Nâblos*, or *Nâbolos*, not daring to approach *Damascus*. But an accommodation being brought about between these contending princes, by virtue of which the two brothers had several cities assigned them; *Al Malec Al Dbâber* returned to *Aleppo*, and *Al Malec Al Afdal* to *Someisât*. The places ceded on this occasion to *Al Malec Al Dbâber* were *Manbij*, *Afâmiyâ*, *Casar Tâb*, and *Al Maarra*, or *Al Moarra*; and those to *Al Malec Al Afdal* *Someisât*, *Sarij*, *Râs 'Ain*, *Jamlin*, and the castle of *Nojm*. *Al Malec Al 'Adel*, who remained in *Damascus*, therefore, now enjoyed the sovereignty of the kingdoms of *Egypt*, *Damascus*, and *Jerusalem*, or *Al Kuds*, without any fear, or danger, of a competitor. In the first year of his reign over *Egypt*, the people there were so afflicted with a famine, that they fed upon carrion; and even carried off the children exposed at the doors of the mosques, in order to kill and eat them. A dreadful pestilence then likewise raged in that country, which swept away an infinite number of men. Before the close of the year 597, died the poet *Al Anwari*, and *Al Emâd Al Câteb Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Sâmed Al Esfabâni*, an illustrious author, and native of *Esfabân*, mentioned oftener than once in the life of *Salâb'addin Yusef Ebn Ayûb*. The village of *Bedenab*, or *Badanab*, in the plains of *Dasht Kbaweran*, near the city of *Aliwerd* in *Khorasân*, where *Anwari* was born, produced likewise three other very great men. The first was *Abu Ali Shadan Al Kbawerani*, *Wazîr* and minister of state to *Togrol Bek*, the first *Seljukian Soltân* of *Irân*. The second was the famous doctor *Abu Sa'id Mehenab*, or *Mabanab*, who frequently disputed with *Al Ghazâlî*, in the presence of *Malec Shâb*, the third of the *Seljukian* monarchs; and the third *Sûfi*, the chief of the *Sûfis*, or religious, who bore the name of *Abu Sa'id*, and was by way of eulogy surnamed *Soltân Al Tharicat* i. e. the king, or master of the spiritual life. *Anwari*, on account of the excellency of his poetry, was denominated, by way of eminence, *Soltân Al Khorasân*, or the king of *Khorasân*. When *Soltân Sanjar* undertook a journey to *Radekan*, he met with *Anwari*; who making some verses, in honour of that prince, which pleased him, he gave the poet his option, either to receive a reward in money for them, or to be admitted into his service. *Anwari* chose the latter, and ever afterwards remained near the *Soltân's* person to the day of his death. But for a farther account of this celebrated poet, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to what has already been said of him, and to some of the writers cited here. With regard to *Al Emâd Al Câteb*, it may not be improper to observe, that he composed many fine works in the *Arabic* tongue; the principal of which were the *Jeridât Al Cassar*, or the palm and most precious jewel of the age, and the *Bark Al Shâmi*, or the lustre of *Syria*. The latter of these is the history of *Salâb'addin* in seven volumes, in which he enlarges much upon the praises of that *Soltân*. He is said by *Ebn Shobnah* to have been a person adorned with singular virtues, which attracted universal esteem. The former of the pieces above-mentioned is considered as a supplement to the *Yetimat Al Deber* of *Al Thâ'lebi*, who departed this life either in 429, or 430, and is to be met with in the *French king's* library, N^o 1:67¹.

THE next year, being the 598th of the *Hejra*, which began Oct. 1st, 1201, was rendered remarkable by two or three events, which are not to be passed over in silence here. *Al Malec Al Dbâber* either left *Damascus*, or reached *Aleppo*, according to *Ebn Shobnah*, the 1st of *Al Moharram*; though it seems to be intimated by *Abu'l Faraj*, that he departed from *Damascus* the preceding year. *Ebn Shobnah* likewise remarks, that a dissention broke out between the two brothers *Al Malec Al Dbâber* and *Al Malec Al Afdal*, when *Damascus* was upon the point of surrendering to them; the former desiring the latter to take *Egypt*, and cede to him *Damascus*, when reduced, to which he would by no means agree. This ending in a sort of rupture, they concluded a peace with *Al Malec Al 'Adel*, upon the terms above-mentioned, and immediately raised the siege of that capital. If the last mentioned author may be depended upon, *Al Malec Al Afdal's* troops took the route of *Hems*, and were soon after followed by that general himself. This year, if *Ebn Shobnah* merits our regard, died *Sokmân Ebn Mohammed Ebn Karâ Arslân Ebn Dawd Ebn Sokmân Ebn Artok*, the *Sâheb* of *Hishn Caifâ*

and of the year
598.

¹ GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 426. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 597. TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI. AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in Mawredô'llatâf. IBRAHIM EBN MOHAMMED EBN DAKMAK, in Al Jawhar Al Thamîn, EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 597. EBN AL ATHIR, in Al Câm. EBN KHALECAN, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 118, 119, 313, 745, 1020.

- a and *Amed*, of the hurt he received by a fall from the top of an house; as did also *Abu'l Faraj Abd'alrahmân Ebn Ali Al Jawzi Al Hanbali*, a celebrated *Moslem* preacher, born in the year of the *Hejra* 510. He has been represented by *Soltân 'Amâdo'ddin*, says that historian, as a person of great erudition, who was engaged in many controversies with other learned men. The throne of *Hisn Caifâ* remained for some time vacant, after *Sokmân Ebn Mohammed's* death; but was filled at last by his son. About this time, *Gayâtho'ddin Abu'l Fateh Ebn Sam Ebn Al Hosein*, the third *Soltân* of the house of *Gaur*, paid the common debt to nature, after he had separate the province of *Gaur* from *Hindostân*; or, according to some, form one part of that vast region. He also retook from the *Seljuks* the cities of *Badghis* and *Herât*, in 571; the latter of which was then the capital of *Khorasân*. In 573, he forced the city of *Fâshanj* in the same province; and, four years after, marched with his troops to the gates of *Shadbagh*, near *Nisâbûr*, reduced that place, and took *Ali Shâh*, the son of *Tacash Khân*, the *Shâh* of *Khow-ârazm*, and many other princes, who had shut themselves up therein, prisoners. The following year, he carried by assault the city of *Merû*; and, in fine, having finished the conquest of all *Khorasân*, by the reduction of that important place, he returned to *Gazna*, covered with laurels, and full of glory. At the time of his demise, he was about sixty-three years of age. The country of *Syria* was also visited, the present year, by a dreadful famine and an earthquake; the terrible effects of which were severely felt, in several places there^m.
- c THE 599th year of the *Hejra*, beginning Sept. 20th, 1202, was distinguished by the commencement of the empire of the *Moguls*, founded by *Tamûjin*, *Temujin*, or *Jenghiz Khân*; which happened in it, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. *Tamûjin*, the son of *Tesukâi Babâder*, if we chuse to follow *Khondemir*, or *Bisukâi*, according to *Mohammed Ebn Emîr Khouandshâh*, descended in a right line from *Tumenab Khân*, king of the *Moguls*, first asserted his independency this year. He had from his childhood been engaged in the service of *Ung*, *Wang*, *Onk*, *Awank*, or *Awonak*, *Khân*, styled by the *Arab* writers *King John*, and by the *European* travellers *Prester John*, of whom we have spoken above. But having distinguished himself on several occasions against that prince's enemies, and thereby excited the envy of his principal courtiers, some of them calumniated him to his sovereign; who thereupon, at their instigation, resolved to throw him into irons. Of which being apprized by two boys, servants or slaves of *Ung Khân*, he left his tents standing empty, and posted a body of his troops in ambuscade towards the middle of the night, at a small distance from them; which, with *Tamûjin* himself at their head, rushing out upon a party of the *Khân's* men, the next morning entered the abandoned tents without opposition, cut many of them to pieces, and put the rest to flight. This action happened near a well, or fountain, denominated *Balciva*, or *Beljiân*, by *Abu'l Faraj*. Several battles were afterwards fought between them, which proved fatal to *Onk*, or *Awank*, *Khân*; he, with all his most valiant commanders, being at last killed, and his whole family carried by *Tamûjin* into captivity. The two slaves, to whom he owed his preservation, he honoured in a most particular manner. He enacted a law in their favour, the benefits of which were to extend to their latest posterity. By this law they, as well as all their descendants, were declared to enjoy all the plunder they should acquire in war, without being obliged to give any part of it to the *Khân*, allowed to appear before him without asking leave, and rendered incapable of being punished with death even for capital crimes. The chief of those who had adhered to him he made general officers, and principal lords of his court. As a particular *Aymak*, or tribe, of the *Moguls*, named *Avirathæans* (T), had exerted themselves more than any others of that nation in his favour, he permitted their leading men to contract a perpetual alliance by intermarriages with his own family; which, if we will credit that author, continued to the days of *Abu'l Faraj*. In the mean time, a certain *Mogul Khân*, or *Emîr*, who had spent several days in traversing deserts and mountains barefoot and naked, in the middle of winter, returned to *Tamûjin's* camp; protesting that God had said to him, "I have given the whole earth to *Tamûjin* and his posterity, and have named him *Jenghiz Khân*." In consequence of which declaration of *Tubt Tancri*, for so was this *Khân* called, *Tamûjin* assumed the name of *Jenghiz Khân*, and vast crouds of people came in to him. Being now arrived at a superior degree of power, he dispatched messengers to all the *Turkish* tribes; requiring their submission, and an

The commence-
ment of the
empire of the
Moguls,
founded by
Tamûjin, or
Jenghiz
Khân.

^m AL SOLTÂN 'AMÂDO'DDIN, apud Ebn Shohn. ad an. Hej. 598. ut et ipse EBN SHOHN. ibid. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, MIRKHOND, AHMED EBN MOHAM. ABD'ALJA'AFAR AL KAZWINI, in Nighiarist. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 357. 765.

(T) The privileges mentioned here were not granted the whole tribe of the *Avirathæans*, but some of their leading men, of the family of *Awonak Khân*; on whom the Great *Khâns* of the *Tartars*, or *Moguls*, after the time of *Jenghiz Khân*, frequently bestowed their daugh-

ters in marriage. This we learn from *Paulus Venetus*. *Vincentius Bellouacensis* denominates the aforesaid tribe *Vidirath*. They were probably the *Virats*, of whom we shall speak more largely hereafter (1).

(1) Greg. Abu'l Far. in Chron. Syriac. ad an. Hej. 599. Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 495, 496, 497. Marc. Paul. Venet. lib. i. c. 61. Vincent. Bellouacens. Specul. lib. xxxi. c. 9.

immediate recognition of his authority. Those who paid a proper regard to this requisition he a treated as friends, and the others in a different manner. The four sons that he had by *Al Khâtûn Awîsînajîn*, the most noble of his (U) wives, he appointed to preside, under him, over the affairs of his empire; assigning each of them a particular department, for this purpose. *Tûshi*, the eldest of them, had the management and direction of every thing relative to hunting, which the *Moguls* hold in the highest esteem, committed to his care. When the empire of the *Moguls* was in its meridian, and completely formed, he governed the immense tract extending from *Kambâlîg*, perhaps the *Khân Bâlîk* of the *Tartars*, to the farthest limits of *Saksîn* and *Bolgâr*, or *Bulgaria*. On *Jagatâi*, the second of these sons, *Jenghîz Khân* conferred the province of superintending the due execution of the laws, and all judicial matters. He ruled the *Belâd Al Igûr*, near *Mâligh*, and all the adjacent country as far as *Bokbâra* and b *Samarkand*. *Awcatâi*, or *Ogatâi*, the third of them, he placed at the head of the administration, as his excellent judgment and consummate prudence qualified him for so sublime a post. He also made this prince, who had the region bounded by *Aymîl*, or *Yamil*, and *Kûtâk*, allotted him, his executor, some time before his death. *Tûli*, the youngest of them, he constituted generalissimo of his forces, and bestowed upon him territories near those of his brother *Awcatâi*. His own brother *Awtakîn* this great conqueror settled in *Katay*, which contained the northern provinces of *China*, and a great part of *Tartary*, to the north and north-west of it. He had, however, more children than those mentioned here; as his sons and daughters were pretty numerous, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. Some authors write, that all the c family of *Onk*, or *Awank*, *Khân*, whose name was *Dawd*, or *David* (W), were put to the sword, except one daughter; who, if they may be depended upon, was married to *Jenghîz Khân*. That prince, who professed the *Christian* religion, was styled by the *Syrians* *Yohannan Malca*; being dignified by them with a title equivalent to the *Al Malec Yohannâ*, or King *John*, of the *Arabs*. The dissolution of his monarchy and his death have been ascribed by *Abu'l Faraj* to a desertion of *Christ* his lord (X), to a taking a *Katayan*, or *Karakatayan*, lady to wife, and to an introduction of idolatry into his kingdom. *Marcus Paulus Venetus* refers the violent death of *Dawd*, or *Onk Khân*, to the year of *Christ* 1187, nearly coincident with the year of the *Hejra* 583; but it has been placed in the 599th year of the *Moslem* æra by *Vincentius Bellovacensis*, *Nangius*, and *Marinus Sanutus*, as well as by *Abu'l Faraj* ⁿ.

Other occurrences of the year 599.

THE same year, in the month of *Al Moharram*, *Al Malec Al 'Adel* sent an army against d *Mâredîn*, under the command of his son *Al Malec Al Ashraf Mûsa*, in order to lay siege to that city. And so sure did he think himself of carrying his point, that he constituted deputies to preside over all the districts appertaining to it. But *Al Malec Al Ashraf* having for a considerable time carried on the siege, without any prospect of success; a peace was at last concluded between *Al Malec Al 'Adel* and the *Sâheb* of the place, under the mediation of *Al Malec Al Dhâber*, the *Sâheb* of *Aleppo*. The principal terms of which were, that the prince of *Mâredîn* should remit to *Al Malec Al 'Adel* 150,000 *dinârs* of *Emîrin* gold, weighing ten

ⁿ GREG. ABU'L FAR. p. ubi sup. 427, 428, 429, 430. KHONDEMIR, MOHAMMED EBN EMIR KHOAND-SHAH, GREG. ABU'L FAR. in chron. Syriac. ad an. Hej. 599. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. in Bibl. Orient. Clem. Vatic. tom. tert. par. secund. p. 495—499. Romæ 1728. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. VINCENT. BELLOVACENS. Specul. tom. 4. lib. 31. NANGIUS, MARINUS SANUTUS, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Genghizkhan*, p. 378, 379. Vid. etiam PET. DE LA CROIX, hist. de Genghizcan, l. I. c. ii. p. 30. & JO. LAUR. MOSHEM. hist. Tartaror. ecclesiastic. p. 27. Helmstadii, 1741.

(U) This lady, in some MSS. of *Abu'l Faraj*, is called *Ozîsûlujîn*. She is said to have been the daughter of *Wang*, or *Awank*, *Khân*. She seems to have been made the greatest, most noble, or at least the best beloved, of all the wives of *Jenghîz Khân* by *Abu'l Faraj*; who asserts her to have been the mother of those four sons that were distinguished, in a most particular manner, from all the rest of his children by *Jenghîz Khân*. He also relates, that amongst the *Moguls* the rank of the mother determined that of the sons, when the father had more wives than one. As this lady's sons were, therefore, preferred so greatly to all his other children by *Jenghîz Khân*; from hence it seems evidently to follow, that he looked upon her as the first and most considerable of his wives. Nevertheless, according to the *Chinese* historians, *Hyu-chen*, daughter

of *Te-in*, lord of the *Honkirat*, or *Kongorat*, tribe, was the chief of this conqueror's wives; and the mother of *Ogatâi* and *Tuli*, two of his favourite sons. Which of these jarring accounts is the most to be depended upon, we leave to our learned readers, who have been the most conversant with the oriental historians, to decide (1).

(W) This prince, according to *Pet. de la Croix*, was at first called *Togrol*, or *Togrul*; but this appellation, says that author, he afterwards quitted, because it was the name of a bird deemed ominous by the *Moguls* (2).

(X) That this prince's life, though he professed the *Christian* faith, did not in all points correspond with the doctrine laid down by *Christ*, may be inferred from his having several wives. For that this was really the case, we are assured by *Abu'l Faraj* (3).

(1) Greg. Abu'l Far. hist. dynast. p. 429. Ed. Poc. Oxon. 1663. Ant. Gaubil, ubi sup. p. 53. (2) Pet. de la Croix, hist. de Genghiz. l. I. c. ii. Jo. Laur. Moshem. hist. Tartaror. ecclesiast. p. 27. (3) Greg. Abu'l Far. in Chron. Syriac. ad an. Hej. 599. Jos. Sim. Asseman, ubi sup. p. 497. Jo. Laurent. Moshem. ubi sup. p. 33. not. (O).

- a *kîrâts* apiece (Y); that the money of *Mâredîn* should be coined in *Al Malec Al 'Adel's* name; and that all the forces of that city should be at his devotion as often as required. About this time, *Al Moezz Shamsalmolûc Ismael Ebn Saif Al Islâm Tagtakîn Ebn Ayûb*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Yaman* pretended to deduce his origin from the house of *Ommiyah*; and, in consequence of this pretension, wore a vest of a green colour, with a sort of sleeve or train twelve spans long, called by several of the eastern writers the sleeve of the *Khalîfs*, and caused himself to be prayed for in all the mosques under the title of *Khalîf*. This giving great disgust to his subjects, who considered it as an affront offered to their religion; some of them entered into a conspiracy against him, and soon after assassinated him. *Ismael* being removed, the *Emîrs* of *Al Yaman* elected his younger brother, then a child, to succeed him. But he, being under the
- b tutelage of his mother, was in a short time poisoned, by their order and direction; upon which, an interregnum ensued. In the mean time, his mother retired to *Zabîd*, with the vast treasures she had amassed; expecting, that some prince of the family of *Ayûb* would make his addresses to her. Whereupon *Solimân*, the son of *Al Malec Al Modhaffer Omar Ebn Shâhin-shâh Ebn Ayûb*, who strolled about with the *Derwîshes*, or *Fakîrs*, and carried on his shoulders the alms that were given him, being conducted by one of her slaves to her; she thought fit to marry him, and by that step to make him king of the *Belâd Al Yaman*. This country he filled with tyranny and injustice, repudiated his wife *Omm Al Nâser*, and rendered himself so obnoxious to the people he governed, that they found themselves obliged to depose him. Whereupon *Solimân*, according to *Ebn Shobnah*, wrote a letter to his great uncle *Al Malec Al 'Adel* for succours against his revolted subjects. But, in his letter, which he began with these words, "From *Solimân*, IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD," he placed his own name before the *Bismi'llah* (A); by which he clearly betrayed his want of understanding, and insanity of mind. *Al Malec Al 'Adel*, therefore, paid no manner of regard either to his letter or his person. We must not forget to remark, that *Al Malec Al 'Adel Mohammed Ebn Al Mansûr Ebn Al Azîz Othman*, with his mother and sister, departed from *Egypt*, and came to *Al Malec Al Dhâber* at *Aleppo*, if *Ebn Shobnah* in this point merits any regard, before the close of the present year ⁿ.
- c

- In the 600th year of the *Hejra*, which commenced Sept. 16, 1203, the *Franks*, or *The most memorable events of the year 603*, *Latins*, took *Constantinople* from the *Greeks*, after they had continued the siege of that city from the month of *Shaabân* to that of the former *Jomâda*, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. We are farther informed by this author, that 30,000 *Franks* were enabled by the vast extent of that capital, to live there concealed; who, when their brethren made a general assault, set the town on fire, by which about a quarter of it was consumed. The *Greeks*, adds he, being, by this accident, employed within the walls, in extinguishing the flames, the *Franks* without any great difficulty entered the place, and slaughtered the miserable inhabitants for three days together; putting even the bishops, monks, and priests, who came in procession from the church of *St. Sophia* to implore mercy, with crosses and the Gospels in their hands, to the sword. After which, continues he, they plundered that church, and proceeded to the election of *Baldwin*, earl of *Flanders*, who was placed on the *Greek* imperial throne, and to the division of the territories of the *Greeks* amongst the princes of the crusade; of which a full and ample account has already, in a place to which it more properly belongs, been given. In the month of *Dhu'l-kaada*, died *Soltân Rocno'ddîn*, or *Rucno'ddîn*, the *Sâheb* of the *Belâd Al Rûm*, and was succeeded by *Kilij*, or *Kelij Arslân*, then a minor, his son. This year, as well as the preceding, proved favourable to the arms of *Jenghîz Khân*. In it likewise happened a dreadful earthquake, which by its terrible concussions shook a considerable part of *Mesr* and *Sham*, or *Egypt* and *Syria*, the island of *Cyprus*, *Irak*, and the *Belâd Al Rûm*, and almost intirely destroyed the city of *Tyre*. As the 599th year of the *Moslem* æra corresponded with the latter part of the 1202d and the former part of the 1203d years of *CHRIST*, Sig. *Assemani* asserts the death and defeat of *Awank Khân* to have been placed in the year of our *LORD* 1203, by
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- e

ⁿ GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 427. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 599. TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in *Mawredol'latâf*. IBRAHIM EBN MOHAMMED EBN DAKMAK, in *Al Jawhar Al Thamîn*, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 503, 745.

(Y) The *kîrât* is half of a *danck*, or grain; six of which make up the *dirhem*, or *Arabic* drachm. Twelve *kîrâts*, therefore, must be equal to a *dirhem*. From the *Arabic kîrât* the term *carat*, used by us to denote the weight of four grains, was perhaps originally taken. The *Emîrîn* gold was probably the purest and finest gold, called by way of eminence the gold of the *Emîrs*; or such as that of which the *dinârs* consisted, with the *Khalîf's*, or *Emîr Al Mumînîn's*, name impressed upon them (1).

(A) This solemn form, in the *Arabic* original *Bismi'llah Arrâhman Arrahîm*, from the first word of it denominated the *Bismi'llah*, is constantly placed by the *Mohammedans* at the beginning of all their books and writings in general, as a peculiar mark, or distinguishing characteristic, of their religion; so that amongst them, it is deemed a sign of either folly or impiety to omit it (2).

(1) D'Herbel. *Biblioth. orient.* p. 959.

(2) Sale's *prelim. disc.* p. 59.

Abu'l Faraj; which, however, notwithstanding the authority of that learned man, does not a certainly appear °.

and of the year
601.

THE following year, being the 601st of the *Hejra*, beginning *Aug.* 29th, 1204, *Kaykhusru*, *Rocno'ddin's* brother, then residing in a castle not far from *Constantinople*, receiving advice of his nephew *Kilij Arslan Ebn Soliman's* accession to the crown of the *Belad Al Rum*; he returned home, assembled a body of troops, subdued all the provinces that had been subject to *Soltan Rocno'ddin Soliman*, occupied his capital, and in fine drove his son *Kilij Arslan* from the throne. All which happened in the month of *Rajeb*, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. The same year the *Corj*, or *Georgians*, made an incursion into *Adherbijan*, advanced first to *Akblat* and *Arjish*, and penetrated afterwards as far as *Malazkard*, without opposition. Having thoroughly pillaged the province, they returned home, with a large number of prisoners, and an immense quantity of spoil. About this time, and not the former year, if *Ebn Shohnab* may be credited, *Constantinople* fell into the hands of the *Franks*, who sixty years afterwards were expelled from thence by the *Greeks*; with whom the western writers, as has been already observed, extremely well agree. It seems likewise to appear from this author, that the *Franks* now possessed themselves of the city of *Fowwab*, not far from *Alexandria*, and plundered it for five days together. About the same time, *John*, the *Jacobite* patriarch of *Alexandria*, ordained *Kilus*, the bishop of *Fua*, metropolitan of *Ethiopia*, at the requisition of the *Najashi*; who sent ambassadors to the patriarch at *Al Kabirah*, to beg that favour in their master's name of him. Soon after *Kilus's* arrival in *Ethiopia*, when he had first officiated as metropolitan there, the *Abissins* were in part delivered from a great drought they had been visited with, by a copious shower that fell, and vastly refreshed them. This they attributed to the metropolitan's prayers, who was treated with uncommon marks of distinction on that account. The *Najashi*, or king of *Ethiopia*, frequently visited him at his own house; and, together with the noblesse, supplied him with a proper number of men and maid servants to take care of his domestic affairs, camels, and all kinds of household furniture which he then stood in need of. We must not forget to remark, that *Tamijin*, or *Jenghiz Khan*, is said to have subdued the tribes of *Kashin* and *Merkit*, or *Markat*, in the year that we are now upon ?

The principal
transactions of
the year 602,

THE next year, being the 602d of the *Hejra*, commencing *Aug.* 18th, 1205, *Gayatho'd-din Khaykhusru* continued to strengthen himself in the *Belad Al Rum*, and arrived at a higher degree of power there. This year was slain *Shahabo'ddin Abu'l Modkaffer Ebn Sam Ebn Al Hosein*, the fourth *Soltan* of the dynasty of *Gaur*, and brother of his predecessor *Gayatho'ddin Abu'l Fatah Ebn Sam Ebn Al Hosein*, after he had reigned about four years. In 571, whilst his brother sat upon the throne, he conquered the kingdoms of *Multan*, or *Moltan*, and *Debeli*, called by the *Europeans* *Delli*, or *Debli*, at this day, in *Hindustan*, and settled *Kotbo'd-din Ibek*, who had been one of his slaves, in the latter of those kingdoms. He was, however, afterwards overthrown by *Mohammed Khowarazm Shah*, and obliged to retreat into the country of *Zablestan*; where he staid some time, in order to recover the losses he had sustained. Having extinguished a rebellion, by the punishment of the ring-leaders, and the massacre of a vast number of the most guilty of the rebels, in the province of *Jild*; he set out for the royal city of *Gazna*, well-pleased with the success of his expedition. But, upon his arrival at *Debeli*, he was assassinated by an *Indian* idolater, who had devoted himself to the perpetration of this horrid fact. When this tragical event happened, *Shahabo'ddin* was, according to *Khondemir*, sixty-two years old. A general diet, at which all the *Mogul* and *Tartar* lords were summoned to attend, was held, by the order of *Jenghiz Khan*, with a view to introduce several regulations both into the army and the state, on the first day of spring, when the sun entered *Aries*, either this or the former year ?

and of the year
603.

THE 603d year of the *Hejra*, which began *Aug.* 8th, 1206, did not expire without producing two or three remarkable events. *Sanjar*, who had been brought up one of the *Khalif Al Naser Ledini'llah's* slaves, but was afterwards manumitted by him, having gone through the principal offices of the state, by his own merit, and his master's favour, at last obtained the government of *Khuzistan*; in which post he subdued all the people of the most southern part of *Persia*, extending to the coast of the *Persian* gulph and the *Indian* ocean. The troops at *Akblat* in *Armenia*, this year, seized upon *Mohammed Ebn Boftemar*, the *Sahib* of that city, deposed him, and substituted *Balaban*, one of *Shah Armen's* slaves, in his room. The same

° GREG. ABU'L-FAR. ubi sup. p. 430, 431. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 600. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 588. & ad an. Hej. 600. Univ. Hist. vol. XVII. p. 170, 171, 172. Lond. 1748. JUS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. p. 487. PET. DE LA CROIX, ubi sup. c. v. ANT. GAUBIL, Hist. Gentchisc. &c. p. 10, &c. P GREG. ABU'L-FAR. ubi sup. p. 431. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 588. & ad an. Hej. 601. EBN. SHOHN ad. an. Hej. 601. Univ. Hist. vol. XVII. p. 170, 171, 172. ISM. ABU'LFED. in descript. Diyar. Mistr. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 559, 560, 561. ABU'LKAYR, apud Pet. de la Croix, ubi sup. p. 74. ut et ipse PET. DE LA CROIX, ibid. GREG. ABU'L-FAR. ubi sup. MIRKHOND, KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 361, 781. ABU'LKAYR. ap Pet. de la Croix, ubi sup. p. 76—90. ut et ipse PET. DE LA CROIX, ibid.

a year was also rendered memorable by the intire defeat of *Pologu*, or *Boyrak*, brother of *Tayyân*, *Kbân* of the *Naymans*; which, if the *Chinese* historians followed by *F. Gaubil* may be depended upon, happened in some part of it.

In the 604th year of the *Hejra*, which commenced July 28th, 1207, the *Khalif Al Nâser* suppressed in every part of his dominions all the imposts, which had been usually raised on merchandises, or commodities, sold by retail. Nor would he permit any other duties to be paid than those of the custom-house, levied on goods sold by wholesale only. This year, *Al Malec Al Awhad*, or *Awhed*, *Nojmo'ddin Ayûb*, *Al Malec Al 'Adel's* son, occupied the city of *Akblât*; and was proclaimed king, or *Sâheb*, there. From thence he marched to *Malâzkerd*, in order to receive the homage of the inhabitants of that place; but they sallied out of the town upon him, at his approach, obliged him to retire, and openly rebelled against him. They also convoked a general assembly in the name of *Shâb Armen*, though he had been long dead; intimating by this, that they were extremely desirous of being under the power and jurisdiction of one who had formerly born some relation to him. However, *Al Malec Al Awhad* soon returned with a superior force, and put many of the principal citizens to death. He also deprived the noblesse of *Akblât* of the authority they had lately exercised; they having disposed of the sovereignty of their city, for a short time past, in an arbitrary manner, cutting some of their princes off, and elevating others in their room, just as absolute will and pleasure dictated to them. The same year *Sheikh Shabâbo'ddin Al Shabarûdi*, brought a crown and the *Kaftân* of *Soltân* from the *Khalif Al Nâser* at *Baghdâd* to *Al Malec Al 'Adel* at *Damascus*, if the *Oxford MS.* copies of *Ebn Shohnab* may be depended upon. The *Kaftân*, according to these MSS. he himself put on; and the crown was placed successively on the heads of *Al Malec Al Ashraf* and *Al Malec Al Moaddhem*, his sons. It appears from some authors of good repute, that *Jenghîz Khân* completed the conquest of *Mogulestân*, of which our readers may expect a distinct and particular relation, in a proper place, the present year.

The following year, being the 605th of the *Hejra*, beginning July 16th, 1208, the metropolitan *Kilus*, to the great regret of the *Jacobite* patriarch of *Alexandria*, returned to *Egypt* from *Ethiopia*, and deserted the church there committed to his care. Hereupon the patriarch dispatched a priest named *Moses*, to *Adafa* (B), the residence of the *Najâshi*, in order to inquire into *Kilus's* conduct, and discover, if possible, the true motive of his departure. This was done with the approbation of the *Sâheb*, or *Soltân*, of *Egypt*. The same year *Al Malec Al Ashraf Mîsa*, *Al Malec Al 'Adel's* son, went from *Damascus*, to the eastern provinces; and, according to *Dr. Hunt's MS.* copy of *Ebn Shohnab*, took *Aleppo* in his way, where he met with a most gracious reception from *Al Malec Al Dbâher*, the *Sâheb* of that place. The latter of these princes, if that copy may be credited, caused the canal of *Hailân* to be now continued to *Aleppo*, at a vast expence. The king of *Hya*, whose territories were situated near the great wall separating *China* from *Tartary*, towards the close of this year, became a tributary to *Jenghîz Khân*.

The next year, being the 606th of the *Hejra*, commencing July 6th, 1209, *Al Malec Al 'Adel Abu Becr Ebn Ayûb* made himself master of *Al Khâbûr* and *Nasîbîn*, with their respective dependencies, and laid siege to *Senjâr*; which the garrison defended with so much bravery, that he found himself obliged to retire. Whilst *Al Malec Al 'Adel* was employed in this expedition, the *Franks* landed a body of troops at *Dimiyât*, *Dimyât*, or *Damiata*, and penetrated as far as *Al Jizab*, within sight of *Al Kâbirah*, the capital of *Egypt*; laying all the country through which they moved waste with fire and sword. As *Al Câmél*, *Al Malec Al 'Adel's* son, had not forces enough to oppose them, he kept himself shut up within the walls of *Al Kâbirah*; whereupon they formed the siege of *Dimiyât*, but were not able to reduce the town. They, therefore, went on board their ships, and returned to *Palestine*. Amongst other ravages that they committed, they plundered the monastery of the *Melchites*, in the neighbourhood of *Al Kâbirah*, before they retired. Either this or the following year, *Moses* returned from *Ethiopia*, accompanied by some ambassadors, sent by the *Najâshi* to the *Jacobite* patriarch of *Alexandria*, to beg he would immediately ordain a new metropolitan, in the room of *Kilus*, as he and his subjects had been long without rain; which they imputed to the

¹ KHONDEMIR, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. D'HERBEL Biblioth. orient. p. 663. ANT. GAUBIL ubi sup. p. 12. ² KHONDEMIR, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 431, 432. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 604. MIRKHOND, KHONDEMIR, & ABU'LKAYR, ap. Pet. de la Croix, ubi sup. p. 92, 93, 94. ut et ipse PET. DE LA CROIX, ibid. ³ RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 561. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 605. ANT. GAUBIL, ubi sup. DU HALDE's hist. of the Si-fan, or Tu-fan, in vol. I. p. 20—29.

(B) We find the capital of *Ethiopia* denominated *Adafa* only by the author referred to here. The *Arab* writers call that city *Jermi*, or *Jerma*, as we learn from *Golius*. Others name it *Axoum*. The last word

approaches near the *Auxuma*, or *Axuma*, of *Ptolemy*. For a description of this metropolis, our learned readers may have recourse to *Ludolf's* history of *Ethiopia* (1),

(1) Renaud. ubi sup. p. 563, 564. Goli not. ad Alfragan. p. 89, 90. Tellez. lib. i. Ptol. Geogr. l. iv. c. 8. Nonnosus, apud Photium Biblioth. n. 3. p. m. J. Ludolf. Hist. Ethiop. l. ii. c. 11.

non-residence of a metropolitan, and therefore most earnestly requested that one might be sent them without delay. With regard to *Kilus*, *Moses* informed the patriarch, that, having whipt to death a priest of some distinction, who had ten others under him, on suspicion of his having stolen a gold rod, belonging to the rich utensils of the metropolitanical church, he was pursued with so much violence by the friends of the deceased, that he was constrained to abandon *Ethiopia*, in the most precipitate manner. The *Abissine* ambassadors brought with them several valuable presents both for the patriarch and the *Soltán*. Amongst those designed for the patriarch, there was a crown of gold of exceeding great value. The person placed at the head of the administration, who was *Al Câmel*, his father *Al Malec Al 'Adel* being now engaged in the *Mesopotamian* expedition, besides several things of moment, received, as curiosities, from them an elephant, a lion, a beast resembling a panther, and a camel, or a *Girafa*, and a wild *Ethiopian* ass. *Al Câmel* could not forbear wondering at the value and elegant workmanship of the crown, sent by the *Abissine* monarch to the patriarch; which being perceived by one of the ambassadors, he said, "His master would have covered that crown with jewels, equal in value to the annual public revenues of *Egypt*, had he not been persuaded that the patriarch's extreme modesty would force him to decline wearing it." *Kilus* being deprived both of his metropolitanical and episcopal functions, one *Isaac* a monk was ordained metropolitan of *Ethiopia*; and met with a most gracious reception, on his arrival at *Adafa*, the residence of the *Najásbi*, who loaded him with honours. In order to give *Al Malec Al Câmel* a proper idea of the power of the *Ethiopian* monarch, the aforesaid minister assured him, that this prince reviewed, the day of his departure, an army commanded by one of his generals, consisting of 60,000 horse, besides a vast number of other soldiers not held in such esteem. The same year, died *Al Malec Al Mowayyad Nojmo'ddîn Mas'ûd*, one of *Salâb'addîn's* sons, and *Al Imâm Fakro'ddîn Mohammed Ebn Omar Ebn Khattib Al Ray Al Tamîmi Al Becri*, surnamed *Al Râzi*, if *Ebn Shobnah* may be depended upon. The latter of these was a native of *Al Ray*, though he was originally descended from a family in *Tabrestân*; for which reason, he is sometimes called *Al Tabrestâni* by the *Arab* writers. He was born, according to *Ebn Al Athîr*, in the year of the *Hejra* 543, and became a most celebrated doctor of the sect of *Al Shâfeî*. For he was not only well versed in the *Moslem* jurisprudence and theology, but likewise acquainted with most branches of learning in vogue amongst the *Greeks*. He preached also very eloquently both in *Arabic* and *Persian*. These shining qualities acquired him the favour of several princes, and particularly that of *Gayâtho'ddîn*, *Soltân* of the dynasty of *Gaur*; who founded a college purposely for him, at the city of *Herât*, in *Khorasân*. Here he one day engaged in a formal dispute with the *Kadi Abd'almajîd*, of the sect of the *Kerâmians*, or followers of *Mohammed Ebn Kerâm*, called also *Mojasssemians*, or *Corporealists*, by a certain oriental author. The *Kâdi Abd'almajîd Al Kadûb* being confounded in the dispute by the *Imâm Fakro'ddîn*, and supported by *Dhiâbo'ddîn*, the *Soltân's* cousin, took occasion from thence to calumniate that *Imâm* on the subject of religion. He made him pass to the *Soltân* for a philosopher, that is, in the language of the *Kerâmians*, who, by adhering to the strict letter of the *Korân*, not only admitted a resemblance between God and created beings, but declared God to be corporeal, a most impious person. However, the *Soltân* for some time continued to him his protection. But *Al Kâdi Abd'almajîd Al Kadûb*, who was his open and declared enemy, preached against him, representing him as a *Magician* and an infidel; and pressed his audience to defend the religion of *Islâm*, and the prophetic traditions, against the philosophy of *Aristotle*, *Ebn Sînâ*, and *Al Farâbi*, in so pathetic a manner, that he made all the people present burst out into tears. This excited such commotions amongst the inhabitants of *Herât*, especially as the *Kâdi* condemned the tenets laid down by *Fakro'ddîn*, whom he contemptuously styled *the Sheikh*, the day before, that *Gayâtho'ddîn* found himself obliged, in order to restore the public repose, to send this learned man out of the city. However, the *Soltân* afterwards recalled him, and distinguished him by his favours as much as he had done before. He is said by *Ebn Shobnah*, who has preserved a few of his verses, to have composed several poems held in good esteem. For a list of the principal of his works, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to *M. D'Herbelot*. The above mentioned blasphemous and monstrous notions of the *Kerâmians* were the consequence of the literal acceptance of those passages in the *Korân* which figuratively attribute corporeal actions to God, and of the words of *Mohammed*, when he said, that God created man in his own image, and that himself had felt the fingers of God, which he laid on his back, to be cold. Besides which, this sect are charged with fathering on their prophet a great number of spurious and forged traditions, borrowed chiefly from the *Jews*, to support their opinion. Before the close of the present year, died also *Abu'l Saadât Al Mobarec Majdo'ddîn Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd'alcarîm Al Shaibani*, known by the name of *Ebn Al Athîr*, a native of *Jazîra Ebn Omar*, from whence he is sometimes surnamed *Al Jazîri* by the *Moslem* writers. He wrote a book, intituled, *Jamé Al Ofsûl*; in which he has collected the sentiments of all the most celebrated doctors of *Islamism*, together with their qualities, ages, and the fundamental principles of their law. He likewise composed a piece bearing the title of *Kitâb Al Shâfeî*, wherein he attempts

to

- a to establish the foundations of the doctrine of *Al Shâfeï*; and a commentary upon the *Korân*, extracted almost intirely from those of *Al Thaalebi* and *Al Zamakhsari*. He was brother to the famous *Abu'l Hasan Ali 'Azzo'ddin Al Jaziri*, the author of *Al Câmel*, or *general history*, of whom we shall hereafter have occasion to speak. He is said to have been born in the year 544. *Ebn Shohnab* represents him as a most eminent *Fakih*, logician, and grammarian, well acquainted with the fundamentals of *Islâm*, and the traditions of *Mohammed*. *Al Majd Al Motarezzi*, the best *Arab* grammarian of his age, and the author of many excellent compositions, likewise departed this life, in the year of the *Moslem* æra 606. About the same time, the *Khân* of the *Igûrs*, *Oygûrs*, or *Vigûrs*, a very powerful *Turkish* tribe, put himself under the protection of *Jenghîz Khân*, and that conqueror reduced to his obedience the provinces
- b of *Karakitay*, or *Karakatay*, according to *Abu'l Faraj*."

THE 607th year of the *Hejra*, which began *June 25th*, 1210, was rendered remarkable ^{and of the year} by two or three events, that have been mentioned by the eastern historians. Towards the close of *Rajeb*, died *Nûro'ddin Arslân Shâh*, of the house of *Aksankar*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Maw-sel*, after he had reigned there about eighteen years. He was a brave and magnanimous prince, governed his subjects well, and restored the pristine discipline, power, and dignity of the *Atâbek* family; which had, for some time past, gone greatly to decay. When he perceived his end to approach, he appointed his son *Al Malec Al Kâher 'Azzo'ddin Mas'ûd* to succeed him; charging him to apply himself to business with the utmost diligence, to be indefatigable in distributing justice to his subjects, and to chuse *Bedro'ddin Lûlû* for his *Wazîr*, as

c he knew him to be a man of consummate prudence, a happy judgment, and thoroughly versed in the art of government. To his younger son *'Amâdo'ddin Zenki* he left the castle of *Al Akr Al Hamîdiya*, and that of *Shûsh*; ordering him, before his death, to retire to the former of those places. This year, the *Corj* made an irruption into the principality of *Akhlât*, and besieged *Al Malec Al Awhad Ebn Al Malec Al 'Adel* in that city. But their king being drunk, and approaching too near a party of the *Moslem* troops with only twenty horse; his horse threw him, and he was taken prisoner. However, he obtained his liberty, by releasing 5000 *Moslem* captives, paying 100,000 *dinârs*, and granting *Al Malec Al Awhad* a truce, or suspension of arms, for three years. Soon after this event, he gave his daughter in marriage to *Al Malec Al Awhad*; who repudiated her, and died, before the expiration of the present

d year. He was succeeded by his brother *Al Malec Al Asbraf Mûsa*, before possessed of some of the eastern provinces; who, by this accession of territory, became a very powerful prince. About the same time, *Gayâtho'ddin Kaykhusrû*, the *Sâheb* of the *Belâd Al Rum*, after whom reigned his son *Azzo'ddin Kaykûwas*, was slain. We must not forget to remark, that *Jenghîz Khân* with a formidable army invaded the *Kin*, before the end of the year that we are now upon *.

IN the 608th year of the *Hejra*, which commenced *June 15th*, 1211, *Al Câmel* treated ^{What happen-} the *Christians* with great equity and moderation in *Egypt*; not listening to the calumny of a ^{ed, in the East,} renegado monk, when he accused his brethren of having buried a large sum of money at ^{the following} the bottom of a well. As little regard did he pay to another monk, when he asserted the ^{year.} *Jacobite* patriarch of *Alexandria* to have amassed prodigious treasures; which he proposed to send by sea out of *Egypt*, as some of his predecessors had formerly done. Nay this prince permitted a *Christian*, who had embraced *Islamism*, to return to the faith he had left; though *Al Malec Al 'Adel* obliged him to renounce it again, threatening him otherwise with immediate death. Before the close of the present year, died *Al Kâdi Al Rayis Al Mashûr Behabî'al-labi Ebn Jaafar Shâh Al Malec*, the author of many good poems; a specimen of whose verses *Ebn Shohnab*, in the place referred to, has handed down to us. This year, *Jenghîz Khân* overthrew an army of the *Kin*, incamped near mount *Yebû*, under the orders of *Hûjakû* and *Wan-yen*, consisting of 300,000 men *.

THE following year, being the 609th of the *Hejra*, beginning *June 3d*, 1212, three mer- ^{The occasion of} chants of *Great Bukhâria* carrying a large quantity of cloth imbroidered with gold, rich silks, ^{the war be-} tiffany, and other valuable commodities, such as they apprehended might be wanted by the ^{between the} *Khân*, into the territories of the *Moguls*; one of them, named *Abmed*, demanded three *Bâl-lîshs*, or 225 *dinârs*, for every piece of imbroidered cloth, which did not cost him above ten, or ^{Shâh of Kho-} at most twenty, *dinârs*. This not a little incensed *Jenghîz Khân*; who thereupon could not ^{wârazm and} forbear saying, "This fool seems to imagine, that we never saw any fine cloaths before he ^{Jenghîz} arrived amongst us." He then ordered the clerk of his wardrobe to shew him some sumptuous robes, sent him as presents by the kings of the *Katayans*; and commanded

* GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 432. EBN SHOHNAB, ad an. Hej. 606. AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocock. in not. ad Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 226, 227, 228. ut et ipse Pocock. ibid. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 145, 712, &c. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 561, 562, 563, 564. * GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 432, 433. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 588. & in chron. ad an. Hej. 607. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 607. ANT. GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 13, &c. * RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 564, 565. EBN SHOHNAB, ad an. Hej. 608. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 608. GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 14, & seq.

Abmed to be thrown into prison, for setting so extravagant a price upon his goods. After a which, sending for the two other merchants; he asked them how they sold their wares? They replied, they came not thither to sell them, but to present them to his majesty, as a mark of their profound veneration for, and close attachment to, him. But, notwithstanding this, he insisted upon their fixing some valuation on the costly merchandize they had brought with them; which they, however, refused to do. This pleasing *Jenghîz Khân*, he ordered a *Bâlîsh* (A), or purse, of gold to be paid them for every piece of embroidered cloth, and one of silver for every two pieces of cotton. His wives, sons, and the principal lords of his court, having then, at his command, made a collection of *Bâlîshs*, both of silver and gold; he dispatched several of the officers of his household, attended by 150 *Mogul* merchants, with those of *Great Bukhâria*, when they returned home, in order to buy every thing fine and valuable, b that was proper for them, to be met with there. Of these *Mogul* merchants some were *Christians*, others *Pagans*, and others *Mohammedans*; and that they might meet with a more favourable reception from the governors of *Mohammed Khowârazm Shâh*, they were accompanied by a *Mogul* ambassador from *Jenghîz Khân* to that prince. This minister carried presents, and letters of credence, to *Soltân Mohammed*, with orders to acquaint him, that his master desired nothing more than to enter into a new alliance with him; that he had dismissed the merchants of *Khowârazm*, who came to trade in his dominions, with their purses full of money, and well pleased with the security they had enjoyed; and that he therefore flattered himself his subjects, who came to purchase some of the most elegant and valuable of the manufactures of his kingdoms, would find with him all manner of protection, and be permitted to return safe c to *Mogulestan*; especially, as their principal design in undertaking so long a journey was, to perpetuate that union and friendship which then so happily subsisted between them. The *Mogul* merchants and ambassador were, however, no sooner arrived at *Otrâr*, than *Gâyer Khân*, who thirsted after the riches they had brought with them, dispatched an express to *Mohammed Khowârazm Shâh*, to inform him of their arrival, and to procure his permission to murder them; which having obtained, he assassinated all of them, except one, who escaped out of prison, made the best of his way to *Mogulestân*, and acquainted the *Grand Khân* with what had happened. In the mean time, *Gâyer Khân* confiscated all the money and effects belonging to the massacred *Moguls* to *Soltân Mohammed's* use. The relation of that prince's barbarous conduct so affected *Jenghîz Khân*, that he could not sleep till he had formed a proper plan of d action against the *Shâh* of *Khowârazm*. Nay, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, whom we follow here, he fasted and prayed to Almighty God three days and nights together, without intermission, on the top of a hill, with his head uncovered; imploring the divine assistance, in the most fervent and suppliant manner, against so faithless and perfidious a prince. The third night, continues this writer, a monk clothed in black, with a staff in his hand, standing at the gate of his palace, appeared to him in a dream; bidding him fear nothing, for that he should be successful in all his undertakings. Being struck with this dream, and not a little animated by it, he returned to his palace, and communicated it to his wife, who was the daughter of *Awank Khân*. This princess, having attentively heard him, assured him, that the monk he had seen in his sleep, and described to her, was a bishop, who sometimes used to visit her father, and give him his benediction. Whereupon *Jenghîz Khân* inquired of the *Christian Igûrs*, at his court, if they had not a bishop amongst them? They answered, the bishop of *Mar Denha* was there. That prelate then, by his command, approaching him with a black mitre on his head, he said, that his habit was indeed the same with that of the monk who appeared to him, but his face different. Whereupon the bishop replied, that the person seen by his majesty was undoubtedly one of the *Christian* saints. From this time, adds our author, that conqueror was always well disposed to the *Christians*, entertained a good opinion of them, and treated them with particular marks of affection and esteem. 'Tis worthy observation, that M. *Pet. de la Croix*, in his history of *Jenghîz Khân*, explodes this dream as a fiction, similar of that of *Alexander the Great*, desirous of chastising the *Tyrians*, for putting his em- f bassador to death, when he persuaded his troops, that *Hercules* had appeared to him, and introduced him by the hand into the city of *Tyre*; the *Arab* historian, according to our *French* compiler, meriting no regard in this particular, because he assigns the *Khân* of the *Moguls* an effeminate character, and represents him as shedding tears. This is the more remarkable, as such a representation does not occur in any part of the relation, to which he refers, handed down to us by *Abu'l Faraj*. Nor is it less surprizing, that this gentleman, in order to make his notion pass the more glibly amongst his unlearned and less intelligent readers, has not scrupled to foist in the following spurious passage, as penned by *Abu'l Faraj*; though not a word of it is to be found in that author: "And that he failed not to publish this vision to

(A) A *Bâlîsh*, or purse, of gold consisted of 75 *ânârs*. The *Bâlîsh* of silver must be valued according to the difference between the two metals mentioned here, in weight and value (1).

(1) *Pet. de la Croix, ubi sup. l. ii. c. 4 p. 144.*

- a “ the soldiery, who were more confirmed by it in the opinion they had already conceived that
 “ this prince had a communication with God.” Besides, the instances produced on this
 occasion by *M. Pet. de la Croix* and *Abu'l Faraj* are by no means parallel. *Alexander's* soldiers
 paid at least a sort of divine honours to *Hercules*; whereas, from the account he himself has
 given us, it seems clearly enough to appear, that the *Moguls* in general were far enough from
 being prejudiced in favour of the *Christian* religion, when this event is said to have happened.
 Instead, therefore, of a supposed fiction, transmitted down to us by *Abu'l Faraj*, the *French-*
man has been pleased to present us with a real one of his own. The above-mentioned
 interpolation, without other proofs of *M. de la Croix's* fidelity, that might, with equal facility,
 be produced, will probably enable our curious and learned readers to determine what degree
 b of credit at least some part of his performance now before us may deserve.

THE same year, *Mahmūd Ebn Gayātho'ddīn*, the *Soltān* of *Gaur* and *Gazna*, was assassi- Other events
 nated in bed, by some ruffians who entered his palace secretly by night, unperceived by his of the year 609.
 domestics, for that purpose. *Ali Shāh*, the son of *Tacash Khān*, having rebelled against his
 brother *Mohammed Khowārazm Shāh*, and afterwards taken refuge at *Mahmūd's* court; that
 prince, under the pretext of the strict alliance subsisting between him and *Soltān Mohammed*,
 delivered him up into his brother's hands. This infidelity so irritated the *Khawārazmians* and
Irākians in the interest of *Ali Shāh*, that they hired the aforesaid assassins to murder him. His
 corpse was first interred in the castle of *Firūz-Ghūc*, where he presided, and afterwards trans-
 ported to the great mosque at *Herāt*; which his father had begun, and he had finished. He
 c succeeded his uncle *Shahābo'ddīn* in the sovereignty of *Gaur*, *Gazna*, *Zablestān*, *Hindostān*, and
 a large part of *Khorasān*, in 602. He left behind him a son, named *Sam*; who soon entered
 into a war with *Atsir*, or rather *Atsiz*, the son of *Jehānsūz*, his relation, who disputed the
 crown with him. But neither of these princes possessed what they contended for. *Moham-*
med Khowārazm Shāh growing daily more and more powerful, the dynasty of the *Gaurids*,
 which terminated in the person of *Mahmūd Ebn Gayātho'ddīn*, was swallowed up by that of
 the *Khawārazmians*. It continued, according to *Khondemir* and *Mirkhond*, about sixty-four
 years. *Al Malec Al Dbāher*, the *Sāheb* of *Aleppo*, espoused the daughter of *Al Malec Al*
Adel, who had assigned her for her dower 50,000 *dinārs*, met her with a grand retinue on
 the road from *Al Shām*, and conducted her with great pomp and magnificence to the castle
 d of *Aleppo*, the present year^a.

THE next year, being the 610th of the *Hejra*, commencing May 23d, 1213, *Jenghiz* The most re-
Khān's forces being joined in *Turkestān* by *Al Emīr Arslān Khān* from *Ghiyālik*, *Al Emīr Idi* markable oc-
 (or rather *Aydi*) *Kūb* from *Bīsh Bāligh*, and *Al Emīr Softāk* from *Al Māligh*, with their currences of the
 respective contingents; he detached his eldest son with a body of 20,000 men towards *Kho-* year 610.
jenda, or *Khojanda*, took himself the route of *Bokhāra*, and sent his sons *Jogatāi* and *Ogatāi*,
 or *Awcatāi*, with a powerful army to form the siege of *Otrar*, according to *Abu'l Faraj*.
 The *Mogul* and *Turkish* troops, commanded by the two last mentioned princes, took the city
 of *Otrār*, though defended by a numerous garrison of *Khawārazmians*, under the orders of
 the *Hājeb Karājā* and *Gāyer Khān*, after a very vigorous resistance of about five months. Other
 e authors, however, particularly *Mirkhond*, *Ebn Khalecān*, *Abu'l kayr*, and *Abu'l Ghāzi Bahā-*
der Khān, place the reduction of *Otrār* in the year of the *Hejra* 616. The same year, if *Dr.*
Hunt's MS. copy of *Ebn Shobnah* may be depended upon, *Kaykāwas*, the *Sāheb* of the *Belād*
Al Rūm, killed his uncle *Togrol Bek*, and occupied the territories he had possessed. Before
 the close of it, according to that copy, died *Malec Al Garb* (or *Al Gareb*) *Al Nāser Mo-*
hammed Ebn Yakūb, the king of the *Al Moābedun* in *Africa* and *Spain*, after he had reigned
 near sixteen years; and was succeeded by *Yusef* (B), who assumed the title, or surname, of *Al*
Mostanser Beamri'llah, his son. *Isa Ebn Abd'alaziz Al Jozūli Al Jazri*, denominated *Al Nabūi*,
 or the grammarian, the author of a book from him deriving the title of *Al Jozūliab*, which
 contained a very good system of grammar, and a native of *Jozūlab*, a place of some note in
 f the heart of *Barbar*, or *Barbary*, also departed this life, as the aforesaid manuscript informs
 us, in the year that we are now upon^b.

THE 611th year of the *Hejra*, which began May 12th, 1214, seems not to have been and of the year
 rendered very remarkable by many actions of *éclat*. Towards the close of it, however, the 611.
 city of *Tong-chew*, on the river *Pe-ho*, about twelve miles east of *Pe-king*, in *China*, and its

^a GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 433, 434, 435, 436. PET. DE LA CROIX, ubi sup. l. II. c. v. p. 149, 150.
^b KHANDEMIR, MIRKHOND, EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 609. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 361, 532, 533.
^c GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 436, 437. MIRKHOND, EBN KHALECAN, & ABU'LKAYER, ap. Pet. de la
 Croix, ubi sup. p. 164—172. ABU'LGHAZI BAHADER KHAN, in his genealogic. hist. of the Tat. &c. p. 111,
 112. Lond. 1730. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 610.

(B) This prince, as well as his father, has been pas- dun, extracted from that writer, which we meet with in
 sed over in silence by the author of the *Nighiarištān*; M. D'Herbelot (1).
 as appears from the list of the kings of the *Al Moābe-*

(1) D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. art. *Moahedoun* & *Moahedin*, p. 585, 586.

port, a very important post, is said to have surrendered to the *Moguls*. *Al Sheikh Ali Ebn a Abu Becr Al Harûi*, who was killed in *Al Simiâ* (C), or magic, also died, and was buried without the city of *Aleppo*, where his sepulchre remained in *Ebn Shohnab's* days, the present year ^c

The most material trans-
actions of the
year 612,

IN the 612th year of the *Hejra*, which commenced May 2d, 1215, *Soltân Mohammed Khowârazm Shâh* made himself master of the city of *Gazna*; being possessed before of the greatest part of *Khorasân*, and the kingdom of *Bâmiân*. This, as we are told by *Abu'l Faraj*, happened in the month of *Shaabân*. The same year, *Al Malec Al Câmél*, the son of *Al Malec Al 'Adel*, sent his son *Al Malec Al Mas'ûd Yusef* upon an expedition against *Al Yaman*; who subdued that fine country, took *Solimân Ebn Shâhinsâh*, the *Sâheb* of it, prisoner, and ordered him to be conducted under an escorte to *Mesr*. Upon his arrival there, he met with a favourable reception from *Al Malec Al Câmél*, who supplied him with all kinds of provisions in a very copious manner. This year died *Al Wajiah*, the son of *Ebn Al Mobârek Ebn Abu'l Azbar Sâid Al Dahân Nabûi Al Dbarîr*; who first professed the tenets of *Abmed Ebn Hanbal*, afterwards those of *Abu Hanîfa*, and lastly those of *Mohammed Ebn Edrîs Al Shâfêi*. *Ebn Shohnab* has preserved a specimen of a poem, written by *Abu'l Baracât Zeid Al Tecriti*, in praise of him, held in considerable esteem. About this time, *Yen-king*, called *Khân-bâlik*, or the city of the *Khân*, by the oriental writers, the capital of the emperor of the *Kin*, was occupied, according to the *Chinese* historians, by the forces of *Jenghîz Khân* ^d.

and of the
year 613.

THE following year, being the 613th of the *Hejra*, beginning April 20th, 1216, *Al Soltân Al Mâlec Al Dhâber Gâzi*, the son of *Al Soltân Salâh'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb*, and the *Sâheb* of *Aleppo*, departed this life, the 20th of the latter *Yomâda*, if *Ebn Shohnab* may be depended upon. He was born, according to that author, at *Al Kâbirab*, in the middle of *Ramadân*, and the year of the *Hejra* 568; and was consequently almost forty-five lunar years old, at the time of his death. He reigned at *Aleppo*, if we compute from the time that his father first constituted him governor there, thirty-one years; and was succeeded by his son *Al Malec Al 'Azîz Mohammed*, whose mother was *Al Malec Al 'Adel's* daughter, then only in the third year of his age. The care of this young prince *Al Malec Al Dhâber* committed to the eunuch *Shabâbo'd-dîn*, one of his slaves; who accordingly, after the *Sâheb's* demise, was declared *Atâbek*, or tutor, to *Al Malec Al 'Azîz*, and gave him an education suitable to his high rank. *Al Malec Al Dhâber*, in his last illness, settled the succession, if *Ebn Shohnab* may be credited, in the following manner. He obliged the people of *Aleppo* to acknowledge his youngest son *Al Malec Al 'Azîz Mohammed* for his next and immediate heir; to recognize the authority of his eldest son *Al Malec Al Sâleh Salâh'addîn Abmed*, in case he survived his brother; and finally to own for their sovereign his nephew *Al Mansûr Mohammed Ebn Al 'Azîz Othmân*, if *Al Malec Al 'Azîz* and *Al Malec Al Sâleh* died before him. *Kaykâwas*, the *Sâheb* of the *Belâd Al Rûm*, was no sooner apprized of *Al Malec Al Dhâber Gâzi's* decease, than he proposed a treaty of alliance to *Al Malec Al Afdal*, the *Sâheb* of *Someisât*; which, with its territory, was then the only place under the jurisdiction of that prince. In consequence of this treaty, the two *Sâhebs*, uniting their forces, penetrated into the *Belâd Al Sharkîa*, or eastern country; which they took from *Al Malec Al Asbraf Mûsa*, *Al Malec Al 'Adel's* son. From thence they marched to *Aleppo*, which ^e

^c ANT. GAUBIL, hist. de Gentchisch. p. 23, 24. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 611. ^d GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 437. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 612. ANT. GAUBIL, hist. de Gentchisch. p. 25, 26.

(C) The word *Simiâ* amongst the *Arabs* denotes properly one part of chemistry, when the latter of these terms is taken in its most extensive signification. For, according to the most received idea of chymistry amongst them, that art confines itself to the extraction of the juices and essences of plants; though, by extension, it is sometimes supposed to comprehend the preparation of metals and minerals, the proper object of *Simiâ*, as the *Arabs* primarily define that art. However, when they, and the other orientals, talk of chymistry, or chemistry, in general, and the wonderful effects it produces; they always join the words *Kimîâ* and *Simiâ*, in order to comprehend all the operations performed by fire, upon metals and minerals, as well as plants and animals. The *Arabs* also apply the word *Simiâ* frequently enough to another art, which has for its object names and numbers; from whence they draw a species of divination, in the same manner as they do one likewise from points and lines, by the assistance of geomancy. This knowledge, or rather science, of names goes a good deal further, as it includes the names of spirits, and their invocation; and, in the book intitled, *Kitâb Al Anwâr*, the book of lights, we find twenty-eight alphabets of

Simiâ, of which the *Arabs* form *Talisman*s, in order to draw down superior spirits and their virtues, or powers, and make divers superstitious uses. This they define, The art of knowing superior spirits, and bringing down their virtues, or powers, to us, that we may learn of them what we desire. It is divided into three parts, *Tarji*, *Thalsam*, and *Salhamûs*. We must not forget to remark, that the term *Kimîâ* does not only signify amongst the *Arabs* chemistry, taken in the proper acceptation of the word, but likewise a magical and superstitious science, denominated by them, the knowledge of inferior, or terrestrial, spirits, to draw what is the most subtle and acute from them, in order to serve some particular purpose. The origin of the word *Simiâ*, according to its former signification, is deduced from the *Arabic*, *Sam*, and *Samat*, denoting the veins of gold and silver in mines; and, according to the latter, from *Sim*, and *Isim*, a name. The *Arabs* attribute the invention of *Simiâ*, to *Ammonius*, and that of *Kimîâ* to *Kirûn*, or *Carûn*, that is, *Chiron* the Centaur, the preceptor and governor of *Achilles*; whom they assert to have been the *Korah* of *Moses*, according to M. D'Herbelot (1).

(1) *Ebn Cassim Al Cathobi*, in *Sim*. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. art. *Simia*, p. 810. & art. *Kimia*, p. 1005.

by

a by one of the articles of the last convention was to be put into *Al Malec Al Afdal's* hands, and laid siege to it; but were repulsed in all their attacks, and at last forced to draw off, after having sustained a very considerable loss. As for the *Belád Al Sharkia*, *Kaykâwas* occupied the whole tract; and *Al Malec Al Afdal* returned to *Someisât*, where his affairs were in a declining condition, having been duped by the *Sâheb* of the *Belád Al Rûm*. This year, according to the *Chinese* historians, the city of *Ton-quan* was forced, and other advantages obtained over the emperor of the *Kin*, by the *Moguls* ^c.

THE next year, being the 614th of the *Hejra*, commencing April 9th, 1217, *Mohammad*, <sup>The most memorable even-
of the year 614,</sup> the *Soltân* of *Khowârazm*, commonly called *Mohammed Khowârazm Shâh*, after the reduction of *Gazna*, having found amongst the treasures and in the archives of *Shabâbo'ddin*, *Soltân* of the dynasty of the *Gaurids*, the original patent of the investiture sent by the *Khalîf Al Nâser Ledini'llab* to that prince, and read it, was so incensed against the *Moslem* pontiff, that he formed a design to depose him. The *Khalîf*, in this instrument, had not only given *Shabâbo'ddin* the most magnificent elogies and titles, but likewise exhorted him to make war with the utmost vigour upon the *Khowârazmians*, who were declared enemies of the *Khalîfat*. In order, therefore, to be revenged on the *Khalîf*, he convoked a general assembly of all the *Imâms*, and principal doctors of *Islamism*, in his dominions; who unanimously declared, that the *Khalîfat* of full right belonged to the descendants of *Hosein*, the second son of *Ali*, the last *Khalîf* of the family of *Mohammed*; that the house of *Al Abbâs* had, for a long time, usurped the supreme authority, both in temporals and spirituals, at *Baghdâd*; and that the members of that house had rendered themselves unworthy of the high dignity they had enjoyed, not only by their usurpation, but likewise by the many other violations of the *Mohammedan* law they had been guilty of, and the frequent wars they had unjustly excited amongst the faithful. They, therefore, formally deposed *Al Nâser*, and elected *Alâo'ddin*, surnamed *Al Malec Al Termedi*, in his room. *Mohammed*, having caused this great schism in *Islamism*, and withdrawn the religious obedience he owed to *Al Nâser*, moved with an army of 300,000 men, towards *Baghdâd*, in order to make himself master of that capital, and consequently of the *Khalîf's* person there. *Al Nâser*, having received advice of the *Soltân's* march, dispatched *Al Sheikh Shabâbo'ddin Shabarzûri*, as his ambassador to him, in order to appease him, and prevail upon him to desist from the enterprize he had undertaken. But he was very ill received by the *Soltân*; who refused him an audience, and continued his march towards the frontiers of *Irâk*. The *Khalîf* hereupon endeavoured to put the city of *Baghdâd*, his residence, in as good posture of defence as the shortness of the time would permit; imagining that he should soon be obliged to sustain a siege, as he was not able to make head against the *Soltân's* numerous army, that now began to draw near. In the mean time, happily enough for the *Khalîf*, so deep a snow fell in the narrow passages and defiles of the mountains of *Hamadân*, as in the beginning of the autumn had never before been known in the memory of man. Those defiles being by this means shut up, the *Khowârazmian* army could neither advance nor retreat, insomuch that the greatest part of it perished miserably in that route; and the *Soltân* himself, after having been in the most imminent danger, was obliged to make the best of his way home, and leave almost all his equipages in the middle of the snow. This misfortune, however, did not induce him to lay aside this design. On the contrary, he was determined to carry it into execution, at a more favourable season. But he was constrained to drop all thoughts of undertaking another expedition to *Baghdâd*, though his late disaster had irritated him more than ever against the *Khalîf*, by the dreadful irruption of the *Moguls*, under the conduct of *Jenghîz Khân*, that soon after happened, into the territories of *Khowârazm*; of which a full and ample account will be given in a subsequent part of this work, to which it will more properly belong ^f.

THE 615th year of the *Hejra*, which began Mar. 30th, 1218, was far from being altogether destitute of memorable events. *Al Malec Al Kâber 'Azzo'ddin Mas'ûd Ebn Arslân Shâh*, <sup>and of the
year 615.</sup> of the house of *Zinki*, or *Aksankar*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Mawfel*, departed this life, on Monday, the 27th of the former *Râbi*, after he had reigned nine years, and nine months; being succeeded by his eldest son *Nûro'ddin Arslân Shâh*, then about ten years of age. As this young prince was incapable of holding the reins of government, *Al Malec Al Kâber* constituted *Bedro'ddin Lûlû* his guardian; and ordered that minister to act at the head of the administration, during the minority of his son. Soon after *Nûro'ddin's* accession to the crown, his uncle *'Amâdo'ddin Zenki Ebn Arslân Shâh*, the *Sâheb* of *Al 'Aker*, entertained hopes of placing himself upon the throne of *Al Mawfel*; but he was frustrated of them by the prudent conduct of *Lûlû*, which wonderfully conciliated the affections of the people he governed, both to him and his pupil. Some time after, the patent of investiture arrived from the *Khalîf* at *Baghdâd*; by which *Nûro'ddin* was confirmed in the prefecture of *Al Mawfel*, and *Lûlû* in the post of prime minister there. The same messenger likewise brought with him magnificent *Kaftâns*,

^c GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 437, 438. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 613. ANT. GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 27—30. ^f KHONDEMIR, PET. DE LA CROIX, ubi sup. l. II. c. vii, viii, ix, x. ABU'LKAYER, apud eund. ibid. MIRKHOND & FADLALLAH, ibid. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 442—450. ABU'L GHAZI BAHAD. par. III. c. xiii, xiv, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii. Lond. 1730.

or vests, both for the young *Sâheb* and his *Wazîr*. Notwithstanding which, *Modbaffero'ddîn* a *Cûcabri*, or *Cûcheri*, *Ebn Zîno'ddîn*, the *Sâheb* of *Arbel*, delivered up the castle of *Al Ammâdiya*, and the others of the *Al Haccâriya*, or *Haccârite Curds*, as well as that of *Al Zawzân*, into the hands of ' *Amâdo'ddîn Zenki Ebn Arslân Shâh*; whose interest, in opposition to that of the young *Sâheb* of *Al Mawfel*, he had espoused. Nor could he be prevailed upon by *Bedro'ddîn* either to take the oath of allegiance to *Nîro'ddîn Arslân Shâh*, or to stand neuter in the quarrel between that prince and the *Sâheb* of *Al 'Akr*. Being determined, therefore, to assist the latter with all the force he was master of; *Bedro'ddîn* found himself obliged to apply for succours to *Al Malec Al Asbraf Mûsa*, the son of *Al Malec Al 'Adel*, now the *Sâheb* of *Diyâr Al Jaz'ra* and *Akblât*. Upon which, *Al Malec Al Asbraf* wrote to *Modbaffero'ddîn*; threatening to march with an army against him, if he did not return to his duty. But this made b so little impression upon *Modbaffero'ddîn*, that he did not so much as answer that letter. However, an accommodation between the *Sâhebs* of *Al Mawfel* and *Arbel* was at last effected, before they came to an open rupture, by the mediation of the *Khalîf Al Nâser* and *Al Malec Al Asbraf*. Not long after which event, died *Nîro'ddîn Arslân Shâh*; who was succeeded at *Al Mawfel* by his brother *Nâsero'ddîn Mahmûd*, then only three years old. The army having taken the oath of fidelity to the infant prince, *Bedro'ddîn* caused him to be presented to their view on horseback; with which, as all the troops retained the highest veneration for *Zenki's* family, they were extremely well pleased. The same year *Al Malec Al 'Adel* (D) *Abu Becr Ebn Ayûb Sâlah'addîn's* brother, according to *Al Makrîzi*, *Ebn Shohnab*, the author of the (E) *Mawredo'llatîfa*, and other *Moslem* writers, paid the common tribute to nature, when he was c upon the point of going to pillage a particular district, the 7th of the latter *Jomâda*; being, at the time of his decease, seventy three years of age, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. But, if *Ebn Shohnab* in this point merits any regard, he was born in the year of the *Hejra* 540; and must consequently have been about seventy-five lunar years old, when he expired. From what has been already related of him, as well as from *Ebn Shohnab*, it appears, that he reigned twenty-three years at *Damascus*, and nineteen in *Egypt*. The last-mentioned author gives him the character of a wise, mild, and indefatigable prince. The following list of his sons, that survived him, has been handed down to us by *Abu'l Faraj*, *Al Malec Al Câmêl*, the *Sâheb* of *Egypt*; *Al Malec Al Moadbâhem*, or *Moadbâham*, the *Sâheb* of *Damascus*; *Al Malec Al Asbraf Mûsa*, the *Sâheb* of *Harrân*, *Al Robâ*, and *Akblât*; *Al Malec Al Modbaffer Shabâbo'ddîn* d *Gâzi*, the *Sâheb* of *Mayyâfârakîn*; *Al Malec Al Hâfedh*, the *Sâheb* of the castle of *Ja'bar*; *Al Malec Al 'Azîz*, the *Sâheb* of *Bânîâs*; and *Al Malec Al Sâleh Ismael*, the *Sâheb* of *Basra*; as also *Al Malec Al Fâyez Takûb*, *Al Malec Al Amjed*, or *Amjad Abbâs*, *Al Malec Al Afdal*, and *Al Malec Al Kâber*. We are told by *Ebn Shohnab*, that *Al Malec Al 'Adel* left behind him sixteen sons, besides several daughters; and that no prince had ever more reason to be delighted with his children, however happy in this respect he might be, than had *Al Malec Al 'Adel*. None of his sons attended him, during his last illness; but *Al Malec Al Moadbâhem* came from *Nabolos*, soon after his death, which for some time he kept concealed, interred him at *Damascus*, seized upon all the jewels, horses, arms, &c. he found in the palace there, and constrained the people of that capital to take the oath e of allegiance to him. He then communicated to his brothers, of whom *Al Malec Al Awhad Nojmo'ddîn Ayûb* occupied *Akblât*, according to M. D'Herbelot, though this city and its dependencies have been assigned *Al Malec Al Asbraf* by *Abu'l Faraj*, the news of their father's demise. The money *Al Malec Al 'Adel* had deposited in his treasury, which remained for his successor's use, amounted to 100,000 *dinârs*. *Ebn Shohnab* mentions a poem, written in praise of that powerful monarch; but has neither preserved the name of its author, nor favoured us with the true character of that performance. This year, likewise, died *Al Imâm Afdal Addîn Mohammed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Mohammed Al 'Amûdi*, a follower of *Abu Hanîfa*. He was a great and excellent person, and composed a book intituled, *Al Arshâd fi Al Khalâf*. ' *Amâdo'ddîn Zenki Ebn Arslân Shâh*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Akr*, and *Modbaffe-* f

(D) That this prince caused his face, or effigies, to be imprinted at least on some of his coins, appears from a brass Arabic one, now in the possession of the Rev. John Savinton, A. M. of Christ-church, Oxon. F. R. S. which is adorned with the legend *Al Malec Al 'Adel Saifuddîn Abur Becr Ebn Ayûb*. This coin is of the size of the middle Roman brass, and has been tolerably well preserved (1).

(E) This book was composed by the Emir Abu'l

Mahassin Yusef Ebn Tangri Wirdi and contains the history of Egypt, from the birth of Mohammed to the reign of Al Malec Al Dhâber Jakmek, the Circassian. We must beg leave to inform our readers here, that the words AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, which ought to have been inserted in the references, or citations, immediately after AL MAKRIZI, have been omitted from P. 1, to P. 20, Vol. II. through inadvertency rather than mistake (2).

(1) For the draughts of such coins as this, as well as those of Arabic medals of other kinds, our learned readers may consult Honorius Arigonius's nine plates of Arabic coins. Honor. Arigon. Numismat. quæd. cujusq. form. et met. &c. tom. tert. sub fin. Turvisii, 1745. (2) D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 567. Vid. etiam Edw. Poc. Supplement. Hist. dynast. &c. Oxon. 1663.

- a *ro'ddin Ebn Zinnu'ddin*, the *Sâheb* of *Arbel*, having received advice of the recognition of *Nâse-ro'ddin Mahmûd's* authority at *Al Mawfel*; they entered into an alliance against him, excited thereto by his tender age, assembled all their forces, and made the necessary dispositions for attacking that city. Of which *Bedro'ddin Lûlû* having been apprized, he solicited succours of *Azzo'ddin Aybec*, the commander of *Al Malec Al Asbrâf's* troops at *Nasîbîn*, who thereupon began his march for *Al Mawfel*, at the head of a considerable corps, the 4th of *Rajeb*; and having passed the *Tigris*, posted himself on the eastern bank of that river, at the distance of about a parasang from *Al Mawfel*. The *Sâhebs* of *Al 'Akr*, and *Arbel* also, with their forces, crossed the *Zâb*, and took post on a spot of ground about two or three parasangs from the army under the orders of *Lûlû* and *Aybec*. The two armies had not been long in this position, before
- b an engagement ensued. *Azzo'ddin Aybec* with his right wing fell upon the enemy's left, commanded by *Zenki*, the *Sâheb* of *Al 'Akr*, broke it, and put it to flight; whilst *Modbaffero'ddin's* right wing treated *Bedro'ddin's* left in the same manner. This being observed by *Modbaffero'ddin*, he charged with his main body that of *Al Mawfel*, under the conduct of *Bedro'ddin* himself, with so much bravery, that he routed and dispersed it; obliging *Bedro'ddin* to fly first to *Al Mawfel*, and afterwards to a castle on the other side of the *Tigris*. Hither *Modbaffero'ddin* having pursued him, he posted himself behind the hill of *Nineveh*; where he remained three days, and retired from thence undiscovered, by favour of the night. The late action was, however, by no means decisive. For though *Amâdo'ddin Zenki Ebn Arslân Shâh* made himself master of the castle of *Al Cawâshi*, yet *Bedro'ddin* reduced to his obedience *Tel A'far*, and *Al Malec Al Asbrâf*
- c *Senjâr*. Nay, it seems to appear from *Abu'l Faraj*, that all the contending parties being soon tired with this war, a treaty of peace was concluded between them, by the intervention of the *Khalîf Al Nâser*, the following year. About this time, as some of the eastern writers relate, the *Khalîf Al Nâser*, dreading the resentment of *Mohammed Khowârazm Shâh*, sent an envoy to *Jenghîz Khan*, in order to excite that conqueror to invade the *Shâh* of *Khovârazm* on one side, whilst he attacked him on the other. Nevertheless it does not certainly appear, that *Al Nâser*, however his conduct on this occasion may have been censured by the *Moslem* historians, ever gave any assistance of moment to the *Grand Khân* of the *Moguls*. But it would be superfluous to expatiate upon this affair here, as our readers may expect to meet with a particular and circumstantial account of it, when we come to the reign of *Jenghîz Khân*, to which it more properly
- d belongs.

- In the 616th year of the *Hejra*, which commenced *Mar. 19th, 1219*, *Soltân 'Azzo'ddin* The chief currencies of the year 616; *Kaykâwas Ebn Kaykhusrû Ebn Kiliç Arslân*, the *Sâheb* of the *Belâd Al Rûm*, departed this life. As none of his sons had arrived at puberty, the army elected his brother *'Alao'ddin Kaykobâd Ebn Kaykhusrû*, who had been confined in the castle of *Al Menshâr* near the *Euphrates*, at a small distance from *Malatiya*, to succeed him. Being, therefore, brought out of the prison wherein for some time he had been incarcerated, he was inaugurated in form, and his subjects took the oath of allegiance to him. This prince has been represented as an excellent ruler, though strict and rigid in his deportment, as a person of uncommon gravity, magnanimity, and resolution, by *Abu'l Faraj*. The same year, if *Ebn Shohnab* merits any regard, died also *Al Malec Al Mansûr Mohammed Ebn Al Malec Al Modbaffer Takîo'ddin Omar Ebn Shâhînschâh Ebn Ayûb*, the *Sâheb* of *Hamah*, in his castle there. He was a valiant and learned prince, supported at his own expence 200 grammarians and *Fakîhs*, and wrote a considerable number of books. One of these is intituled, *Al Midhmâr*, that is, *the space of forty days*, or, as other manuscripts have it, *Al Dhamâr*, or *what is uncertain in chronology*; and another bears the title of *the classes of the poets*. He had a taste for poetry, and is said to have been the author of several poems of some note. *Al Mâlec Al Sâleb Mahmûd Ebn Karâ Arslân Ebn Samkîn Ebn Artak*, or *Artok*, the *Sâheb* of *Amed*, paid likewise the common tribute to nature, in 616. He was succeeded by *Al Malec Al Mas'ûd*, his son; who reigned at *Amed*, till he was dispossessed of his territories by *Al Malec Al Câmel*, the *Sâheb* of *Egypt*. This year,
- f *Kitâda*, or *Katâdab*, *Ebn Edrîs Al 'alawi Al Hasani*, the *Emîr* of *Mecca*, sent an army, under the command of his brother and his son *Al Hasan Ebn Katâdab*, to reduce *Medina*. But this expedition did not meet with the desired success. For *Al Hasan* found means to assassinate his uncle, whilst they were upon their march; after which, he returned to *Mecca*, and hanged his father *Katâdab*. Not content with the perpetration of two such horrid facts, he decoyed his brother, then absent from that city, to *Mecca*, and barbarously put him to death. *Katâdab* lived about ninety years, and left behind him the character of a good poet. One of his poems was an answer to a reprehension he met with for his refusal to wait upon the *Emîr* of the *Hadji's* of *Irâk*. The *Franks* made themselves masters of *Dimiyât*, or *Damiata* in *Egypt*, in the month of *Shaabân*; to which place they laid siege, in the former *Rabî*, the preceding year. The citizens of *Al Kâbirab* were struck with such terror on this occasion, that they once proposed, after they had received advice of the devastation of the maritime towns, to have aban-

^s GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 438—442. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 615. EBN KATIR, in Innikh. Salat. NISSAWI, MIRKHOND, PET. DE LA CROIX, ubi sup. l. II. c. ii. p. 132—138.

done that capital. Nay, *Al Malec Al 'Adel* himself, who, in his wars with the *Christians*, a through the whole course of his life, had met with almost an uninterrupted success, was so affected by this invasion of the *Franks*, that he fell into a distemper, through grief, which carried him off in about three months time. Before the surrender of *Dimiyât*, a body of about 10,000 *Moslems*, an undisciplined rabble, that plundered all the *Christian* churches they came to in their march, advanced to the camp of the *Franks*, and attacked it with incredible fury; but they were entirely defeated in this battle, and most of them put to the sword. This excited the *Egyptian Moslems* to treat the *Christians* settled amongst them, and particularly the *Melchites*, whom they utterly abhorred, in the most cruel manner; either forcing even the priests into the service, that they might be constrained to act with the *Moslem* troops against the *Franks*, or extorting large sums of money from them. Nay, the fine church of St. *Mark* in the sub- b urbs of *Alexandria*, denominated *Kamsba*, was, by *Al Câmel's* order, soon after the above-mentioned defeat, laid level with the ground; lest, as it was an exceeding high edifice, the *Franks* should use it as a tower, and from thence make a formal attack upon that city. In fine, all, both *Christians* and *Jews*, who could not buy themselves off with money, were compelled to take on in the service, and the tribute now exacted of them was much higher than it had formerly been. At this time, *Al Malec Ad Moadbdehem Isa*, the *Sâheb* of *Damascus*, being alarmed at the progress of the *Franks*, commanded the walls of *Jerusalem* to be demolished, that they might not take post there. Nor was *Al Malec Al Câmel* less solicitous at this juncture for the security of his subjects. He rebuilt and fortified the city of *Al Mansûrah*, c seated upon the *Nile*, on a spot where that river divided itself into two principal branches, in order to cover all the neighbouring country from the invasion of the *Franks*. One of the aforesaid branches took its course towards *Dimiyât*, and the other towards *Ashmûn*, *Soltân Mohammed Khowârazm Shâh* having been overthrown with prodigious loss, the last year, by the *Moguls*; *Jenghîz Khân* arrived (F), about the middle of this, with his numerous forces, in the plains of *Bokhâra*, and incamped before that city, after he had reduced *Zarnuk* and *Nâr*. Nay, *Ebn Shohnab* relates, that the *Tartars*, or *Moguls*, penetrated as far as *Nisâbûr*, in *Khorasân*, and cut to pieces *Al Sbeikh Nodhâmô'ddin Ahmed Ebn Mahmûd Al Hadhîri*, a person of considerable learning and worth, there, in the year that we are now upon ^e.

and of the
year 617,

THE following year, being the 617th of the *Hejra*, beginning *Mar. 8th*, 1220, the per- d secution of the *Christians* and the *Jews* still continued in *Egypt*; large sums of money being extorted from them, and the tribute levied on them, in order to carry on the war against the *Franks*, being extremely high. As corn was likewise exceeding dear, they found themselves so grievously oppressed, that a considerable number of them undertook for sustenance the most servile offices, many out of desperation destroyed themselves, and not a few of them turned *Mohammedans*. The merchants were not only deprived of the corn and provisions they had laid up for their own use, but had likewise their houses thoroughly plundered by the soldiery. Nor could a stop be put to these licentious proceedings, before a peace was concluded between the *Moslems* and the *Franks*; which happened, the following year. Towards the beginning of *Al Moharram*, *Jenghîz Khân*, with his army of *Moguls*, besieged in form the city of *Bokhâra*, then defended by a garrison of 20,000 men, reduced it, and e afterwards laid it in ashes. A little before the reduction of *Bokhâra*, which gave much satisfaction to *Jenghîz Khân*, that prince's sons *Jogatâi* and *Awcatâi*, or *Ogatâi*, had made themselves masters of *Otrâr*, with a body of *Tartar* or *Mogul* troops. In the former *Rabî*, *Jenghîz Khân* invested *Samarkand*, into which *Soltân Mohammed Khowârazm Shâh* had thrown a body of 110,000 horse, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. Having obliged that city to surrender to him, he gave it up to his soldiers to be plundered, notwithstanding its brave defence, to make them some amends for the great fatigues they had sustained. His troops also took *Saganâk*, *Uškend*, *Urkend*, or *Uzkant*, *Al Shâsh*, *Jund*, *Tonkât*, *Kbojand*, and *Zâveh*. As for *Nisâbûr*, it thought fit to submit, at the approach of some of the *Mogul* generals. The *Grand Khân* likewise sent a detachment of 30,000 men to pursue *Soltân Mohammed*, who, according f to the advices he had received, was fled by way of the *Amû* to the country of *Termed*; and

^e GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 442. TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in *Mawredo'llatâf*. IBRAHIM EBN MOHAMMED EBN DAKMAK, in *Al Jawhar Al Thamîn*, EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 616. ABU'L GHAZI BANAD. KHAN, gen. hist. of the Turks, Moguls and Tartars, &c. p. 109. Lond. 1730. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 572, 573.

(F) *Al Soltân 'Amado'ddin* relates, that the *Moslems* never sustained so great losses, nor were deprived of so many cities, as at this time; when they were harrassed on one side by the *Tartars*, and on the other by the *Franks*. *Ebn Shohnab* represents them as struck with the utmost terror and consternation, principally on account of the dreadful massacres and devastations of

Jenghîz Khân, whom he styles the *Sâheb* of *Sîn*, or *Chîna*; intimating, that he wrested this delightful region, by force of arms, out of the hands of *Altûn Khân*. He farther observes, that this conqueror entered *Al 'Ajem*, or *Persia*, that is, the *Persian Irâk*, put all that opposed him to the sword, and at last made himself master of *Marwarâ'nabr* (1).

(1) *Al Soltân 'Amado'ddin*, ap. *Ebn Shohn. ad an. Hej. 616. ut et ipse Ebn Shohn. ibid.*

pushed

a pushed on his conquests further in that prince's territories, with surprizing rapidity, this glorious campaignⁱ.

THE next year, being the 618th of the *Hejra*, commencing Feb. 25th, 1221, *Jenghîz Khân*, ^{What happened of note in 618.} having passed the *Jihûn* with his numerous forces, advanced to the city of *Balkh*. The principal inhabitants were no sooner informed of his approach, than they hastened to meet him, with many valuable presents, and all kinds of refreshments for his troops; notwithstanding which, he cruelly massacred them all, on account of their attachment to *Soltân Jalâlo'ddîn*, the son of *Mohammed Khowârazm Shâh*. From *Balkh* he marched to *Talakân* in *Tokhârestân*, possessed himself of that fortress, slew most of the garrison and the people he found therein, and carried many of them away with him into captivity. He then moved to *Al Bâmîyân*, formed the siege of that place, b and at last took it by storm. As his favourite grandson, one of *Jogatâi's* sons, was killed with an arrow, during the operations of the siege, which was extremely sharp; he put all the people he found in the town, without distinction of age or sex, to the sword. Nay, he did not spare so much as the cattle and beasts of burden, belonging to the place, nor even the very infants, whom he had caused to be cut out of their mothers wombs. After which, he entirely destroyed the city, and laid waste the whole territory appertaining to it. Some authors relate, that the *Moguls* reduced and ruined *Corcânj*, the capital of *Khowârazm*, after they had butchered either 100,000 or 200,000 persons there before the close of the present campaign; though the reduction of that metropolis, and the district belonging to it, has been placed in the preceding year by *Abu'l Faraj*. Be that as it will, after *Corcânj* had been carried by assault, *Kât Farabr*, c *Darkân*, or *Dargân*, *Zamakhshâr*, and other places of note in *Khowârazm*, surrendered without making any resistance to the *Moguls*. *Termed*, *Nesâ*, or *Nisâ*, the citadel of *Kaendar*, *Dâmagân*, *Ray*, *Kom*, *Dinawar*, *Sîrvân*, *Holwân*, *Nahawend*, *Kazwîn*, *Merû*, *Nisâbûr*, which had returned to *Soltân Jalâlo'ddîn*, *Tûs*, and *Herât*, were also obliged to submit to the arms of *Jenghîz Khân*. It is computed, that above two millions of the *Moslems* lost their lives before the end of this bloody campaign; which was concluded by the battle at the *Indus*, fought in the month of *Rajeb*, wherein *Soltân Jalâlo'ddîn* was overthrown by *Jenghîz Khân*. But, for the particulars of all the great actions barely mentioned here, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to a subsequent part of this work. This year, *Al Malec Al Moadhdbem*, *Al Malec Al Ashraf*, *Al Malec Al Nâser*, the *Sâheb* of *Hamab*, *Al Malec Al Mojâbed*, the *Sâheb* of *Hems*, d together with the *Sâhebs* of *Mâredîn* and *Haleb*, or *Aleppo*, assembled all their forces, and joined *Al Malec Al Câmél*, the *Sâheb* of *Mesr*, or *Egypt*, in order to recover *Dimiyât*, or *Damiata*, from the *Franks*. After this junction, those princes led the *Moslem* troops against the common enemy; whom they at last reduced to such straits, that they found themselves constrained to sign a treaty of peace with them upon the following terms: I. The *Franks* shall restore *Dimiyât*, with its dependencies, to the *Sâheb* of *Egypt*. II. They shall release all the *Moslem* captives in their hands. III. The *Moslems* shall on their part deliver up all the *Christian* prisoners they have taken. The pope's nuncio, the king of *'Accâ*, the masters of the *Hospitalers* and *Templars*, and other princes of the *Franks*, attended at the signing of this treaty; in consequence of which, *Al Malec Al Câmél* took possession of *Dimiyât*, on Wednesday the 19th of *Rajeb*, the present year. The cession of that important place, after the *Franks* had remained masters of it near two years, is attributed by some writers to the dissensions which prevailed amongst the commanders of the *Christian* troops; who, by acting with unanimity and vigour, at this juncture, might have conquered the kingdom of *Egypt*, with inconsiderable loss^k.

THE 619th year of the *Hejra*, which began February 15th, 1222, proved favourable to the *Moguls*; who, after they had subdued *Great Bukhâria*, *Khowârazm*, *Khorasân*, and the *Persian Irâk*, entered the province of *Adherbijân*, took *Ardebîl*, *Tauris*, and *Marâgha*, and obliged *Hamadân*, whose governor, *Jamâlo'ddîn*, or *Jemalo'ddîn*, had thought fit to revolt, to submit to the *Grand Khân*. They also reduced *Kûi*, or *Koy*, and *Salmâs*, in the most western part of *Adherbijân*, as well as *Nakhshiwân*, or *Nakhjimân*, *Pilkân*, and *Ganja*, in the province of *Arrân*, f and defeated an army of *Georgians* that pretended to oppose them. After which, partly under the orders of *Jenghîz Khân*, and partly under those of his generals, they made themselves masters of *Khandabâr*, *Mîltân*, or *Moltân*, and *Gazna*. *Jogatâi* likewise subjugated *Kermân*, and the *Khân* of *Tangût* submitted, and became tributary to *Jenghîz Khân*. *Al Malec Al Mas'ûd Yusef*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Yaman*, dispossessed *Al Hasan Ebn Kitâda*, or *Katâdab*, according to *Ebn Shohnab*, of the city of *Mecca*, in 619. *Al Sheik Yûnos Ebn Yusef Ebn Si'ad*,

ⁱ TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI & IBRAHIM EBN MOHAMMED EBN DAKMAK, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 442,—447. MIRKHOND, FADLAL. & ABU'L KAYER ap. De la Croix, pass. ut et ipse DE LA CROIX, ibid ABU'L GHAZI BAHAD. KHAN, ubi sup. p. 110—123. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 573, 598. ^k GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 446.—450. ABU'L GHAZI BAHAD. KHAN, ubi sup. p. 123—138. et seq. DE LA CROIX, ubi sup. p. 237—317, & seq. NISSAWI, MIRKHOND, FADLAL. MARAHUSH. ABU'L KAYER, apud de la Croix, ibid. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chorasmia, &c. descript. pass. Edit. MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in Mawredo'llatâf. IBRAHIM EBN MOHAMMED EBN DAKMAK, in Al Jawhar Al Thamîn, RENAUD, ubi sup. p. 573.

the *Sâbeb* of *Carâmât*, and the reputed author of the *Yunosiah*, a very great and good man, also departed this life, if that writer may be credited, the same year ¹.

The most remarkable transactions of the year 620,

In the 620th year of the *Hejra*, which commenced Feb. 4th, 1223, the *Mogul* generals defeated the *Tartars* of *Daghestân*, and, having crossed the *Wolga*, by favour of the *Kalmûks*, entered *Kipjâk*, *Kipchâk*, or *Kipshik*. They also subdued *Astrakhân*, called *Haji Tarkan* by the *Mohammedans*, situated in an island of the *Wolga*, near the *Caspian* sea. The same year, died *Al Mostanser*, the king of *Garb*; who, leaving no son behind him, was succeeded by *Abd' alwâhed Ebn Yusef Ebn Ad' almu'men*, his father's uncle. *Abd' alwâhed* being a very corpulent person, and much attached to his pleasures, concerned himself but little with the affairs of government. His subjects, therefore, after he had sat upon the throne nine months, deposed him, and substituted *Abd' allah Ebn Yakûb Al Mansûr Ebn Yusef Ebn Abd' almu'men*, who assumed the surname of *Al Adel*, in his room ^m.

and of the year 611.

THE following year, being the 621st of the *Hejra*, beginning Jan. 24th, 1224, died *Al Malec Al Afdal*, the eldest son of *Salâb' addin Yusef Ebn Ayûb*, a prince of considerable learning and genius; but inconstant, regardless of the welfare of his people, indolent, and not a little deficient in point of judgment. He was dispossessed successively both of the kingdoms of *Damascus*, including that of *Jerusalem*, and *Egypt*; and was obliged to content himself with the city of *Someisât*, or *Samosata*, and the district appertaining to it. His father had given him rather a learned than a polite education. He, therefore, made a good progress in the knowledge of the *Arabic* tongue, and poetry; to the latter of which he applied himself, if an eminent *Arab* author may be credited, as much as it was proper for a person in his high station. He likewise wrote verses well, a specimen of which has been preserved by *Ebn Shohnah*; who asserts him to have been endued with several amiable virtues, to have discovered on many occasions marks of an excellent disposition, and to have expired suddenly, if Dr. *Hunt*'s MS. copy may be depended upon, in the year of the *Hejra*, 622. We are told, that, about this time, the *Nogays* acknowledged *Tûshi Khân* for their sovereign, and *Jenghîz Khân*, his father, for their *Grand Khân*. The *Mogul* monarch held a dyet in the plains of *Tonkat*, with uncommon pomp and magnificence; after which, *Tûshi Khân*, to whom the grant of that kingdom had been confirmed by *Jenghîz Khân*, returned to *Kipjâk*. *Sun*, the emperor of the *Kin*, according to the *Chinese* historians, also departed this life, and was succeeded by his son *Shew-su*, before the close of 621. The new monarch of the *Kin*, continue those historians, concluded a peace with the *Hya*, soon after his accession to the crown. *Al Soltân Jalâlo' ddin Ebn Mohammed Khowârazm Shâh* having received advice that *Jenghîz Khân* had repassed the *Jibûn* with his *Moguls*, and taken the route of *Tartary*; he repassed the *Indus* likewise, with his troops. After which he re-entered *'Ajem*, or *Persia*, by the southern provinces of *Kitshe* and *Macrán*. Upon his arrival in the *Persian* territories, he was welcomed by the principal lords, as well as the governors of *Fârs*, the *Persian Irâk*, and *Adberbijân*, who came to pay again their homage to him. The people also, in every place through which he passed, received him with all possible demonstrations of joy. *Ebn Shohnah* seems to intimate, if Dr. *Hunt*'s MS. copy of that author merits our attention in this particular, that *Gayâtho' ddin Ebn Mohammed Khowârazm Shâh*, *Jalâlo' ddin*'s brother, extended the conquests in *Hind*, or *Hindustân*, whilst *Jalâlo' ddin* himself was employed in the reduction of *Fârs*. He also relates, that *Jalâlo' ddin* drove from *Shîráz*, the capital of *Fârs*, the *Atâbek Sa'id*, or *Saad*, *Ebn Daclâ*, the *Sâbeb* of that city, and fixed his residence there ⁿ.

The Khalif Al Nâser Ledi-nillah dies.

THE next year, being the 622d of the *Hejra*, commencing Jan. 13th, 1225, the *Khalif Al Nâser Ledi-nillah* died at *Baghdâd*, in the night of the *Id Al Fetr*, i. e. *The Feast of breaking the fast*, which begins the first of *Shawâl*, immediately succeeding the fast of *Ramadân*. He was about seventy years old, at the time of his death; of which he reigned forty-seven; a term at which none of his predecessors arrived. This *Khalif* is said to have amassed immense riches, though he expended in buildings exceeding large sums. It has been farther remarked of him, that he was the first prince who appropriated to himself the succession of all the foreign merchants that died in his dominions; which was the only stain that tarnished the lustre of his reign. Notwithstanding which, he has been greatly celebrated by some of the eastern writers, for his grandeur and magnificence. It has not been observed, that he was a very considerable encourager of learned men; though several, who made no small figure, flourished (G), whilst

¹ FADLAL. NISSAWI, ap. de la Croix, p. 323, & seq. p. 331, & seq. ABU'L GHAZI BAHAD. KHAN, ubi sup. p. 139. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 619. Vide etiam NASSIR AL TUSI & ULUGH BEIK, ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. & ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. pass. DE LA CROIX, ubi sup. p. 348, & seq. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 620. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 450, 451. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 621. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 621. EBN AL ATHIR, in Al Câmél, DE LA CROIX, ubi sup. p. 349, 350. GAUBIL, hist. Gentch. Kan, p. 44, 45. KEMALO'DDIN ISMAEL, apud D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 371. ut et ipse D'HERBEL. ibid.

(G) The principal persons eminent for their erudition, in the *Moslem* world, whilst the *Khalifs Al Nâser Ledi-nillah* and *Al Dhabir Bi'llah* sat upon the throne of *Baghdâd*, were the following.

1. *Abd'*

- a whilst he sat upon the *Moslem* throne. *Ebn Shohnab* barely mentions *Al Nâser Ledini'llab's* demise, without descanting upon his character. From what will be related of him hereafter, when we come to the conclusion of the *Khalifat* of his grandson *Al Mostanser Bi'llab*, it will appear, that he was a prince of a very covetous and rapacious disposition °.

S E C T. LV.

- T**HE *Khalîf Al Nâser Ledini'llab's* decease was no sooner publicly known, than his son *Oddato'ddîn Abu Nasr Mohammed* was saluted *Khalîf*. This prince, who assumed the title, or surname, of *Al Dhâher Bi'llab*, was inaugurated, in form, the 2d of *Shawâl*, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. The old *Khalîf*, in his life-time, had caused him to be acknowledged heir apparent of the crown of *Baghdâd*, and to be prayed for as such in the mosques, throughout

° GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 451. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 622. AL MAKIN, in *Târikh Al Moslemîn*, ad an. Hej. 622. MS. inedit. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 622. EBN AL ATHIR, in *Al Câm*. KHONDEMIR, *MIRKHOND*, apud Teixeira. p. 306. D'HERBEL. *Biblioth. orient.* art. *Nâser Ledini'llab*, &c. p. 663.

1. *Abd'alsalâm Ebn Jinkidûst Al Jabali Al Baghdâdi*, a famous physician, who made so great a progress in ancient literature, that he thereby excited the envy of several malevolent persons; who accused him to the *Khalîf* of being a *Môattalite*, or *Môazzalite*. That prince, therefore, sent a party of his guards to seize both him and his books; which they accordingly did. The books, many of which were written upon philosophical subjects, were burnt publicly, by the *Khalîf's* order, in a place called *Al Rabbâ*, at *Baghdâd*. Whilst this was doing, one *Obeid'allah Al Taimi*, commonly called *Ebn Al Mârestâniya*, ascended a sort of pulpit, erected there for that purpose; from whence he harangued the people, declaimed against the philosophers, loaded with invectives both *Abd'alsalâm* and his works, and then threw his books successively into the hands of those who were appointed to burn them. Amongst other pieces, committed to the flames on this occasion, an astronomical treatise of *Ebn Al Haithem*, after *Ebn Al Mârestâniya* had poured out his reproaches most copiously upon it, met with the same fate; who filled with indignation *Yusef Al Sebtî*, another physician, who observed, that astronomy ought by no means to be branded with infidelity, since it rather paved the way to faith, by displaying the infinite wisdom and power of the Great Creator of the universe. *Abd'alsalâm* himself was also sent to prison, by *Al Nâser's* express command; and remained there till the 589th year of the *Moslem* æra, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. *Ahmed*, his grand-son, a celebrated *Fakîh*, composed two pieces upon the *Mohammedan* law; the first of which is intitled, *Abhajalâin*, and the second, which is an explication of the first, has for its title *Abia Al Mobhaje*. He died, according to some of the eastern writers, in the year of the *Hijra* 647.

2. *Yakya Ebn Sa'id Ebn Mâri*, a *Christian* physician, and the author of sixty discourses, a very elegant composition, who was extremely well versed in all kinds of ancient literature. He also perfectly understood the *Arabic* language, was a good poet, and practised physic to the day of his death; which happened, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, who has preserved a specimen of his poetry, in the year 589.

3. *Saad Ebn Hebatallah Ebn Al Mowammel Abu'l Hasan Al Hadiri*, a *Christian*, whose brother *Abu'l Khair* was an arch-deacon, and his other brother *Ebn Al Masîhi* a catholic, or ecclesiastical officer next in dignity to the patriarch, who was physician in ordinary to the *Khalîf Al Nâser Ledini'llab*, and one of the greatest favourites of that prince. He acquired a vast reputation in his profession, and was master both of physic and logic. He composed a small piece, intitled, *Al Sofava*, that is, *of health*, or *the most select part of physic*; in which he has collected every thing material relative both to the theory and practice of physic, as it then prevailed, in the most concise manner. To this he added three sections concerning circumcision, an

operation then performed by the physicians at *Baghdâd*. He wrote his physical treatises out with his own hand, and died towards the end of the year 591. His brother the arch-deacon was also an excellent physician, and practised with good success. He explained and abridged the *Al Kanûn* of *Ebn Sinâ*, at that time held in the highest esteem, as we learn from *Abu'l Faraj*.

4. *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alsalam Al Kudsi*, denominated likewise *Al Mâredini*, having been born at *Jerusalem*, or *Al Kuds*, and lived at *Mâredin*, of which place his father was the *Kâdi*, as his grand-father had been at *Donaisar*, who studied physic under *Ebn Al Talmîd*; and arrived at such skill in his profession, that he was sent for by kings reigning in different and remote parts of the world. He read much, and instructed others, in his more advanced years. *Abu'l Khair* and *Ebn Al Masîhi* entertained a very high opinion of him. He departed this life, as it should seem, at *Mâredin*, in the year 594.

5. The famous *Moses Maimonides*, called by the *Arab* writers *Mûsa Ebn Maimûn*, or *Maimon*, was a *Spanish Jew*, who applied himself to the study of ancient literature in *Spain*. For this he laid a solid foundation in the mathematics, and attained to a very considerable degree of knowledge in physic; though, being diffident of his own abilities in that art, he abstained from practice. He was compelled to embrace *Islamism*, but remained still in his heart a *Jew*. Travelling afterwards, with his family, in *Egypt*; he settled, amongst the *Jews*, at *Al Fostat*. Here he became a jeweller, and made open profession of his former religion. After the abolition of the *Khalifat* of the *Fâtemites*, *Al Kâdi Al Fâdel Abd'alrahîm Ebn Ali Al Baisâni* took him under his protection, and allowed him a salary. Upon which, he ranked himself amongst the physicians of *Egypt*; though, as he laboured under a want of experience, he would never depend upon his own opinion. He was extremely well versed in the *Jewish* law, and wrote a very remarkable book upon that subject; which some of the *Jews* speak well of, but others condemn it. His letter upon the resurrection of the body giving great offence to the *Jewish* elders, he caused it to be in a manner suppressed; permitting only a few, who were of the same sentiments with himself in this particular, to peruse it. Several of the *Jews* at *Antioch* and *Tripoli*, who repaired thither from the remoter territories of the *Franks*, says *Abu'l Faraj*, cursed him, and called him an infidel. He was the author likewise of some fine books in the mathematics, as well as in physic. Towards the end of his life, a *Spanish Fakîh*, named *Abu'l Arab*, coming into *Egypt*, reproached him with having deserted the *Mohammedan* faith; intending if possible, to bring him into trouble. But his friend and patron *Al Kâdi Al Fâdel* screened him, at this perillous juncture; saying, "If he professed *Islamism* by compulsion, his profession of it was not real."

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out all the provinces under his jurisdiction; but, finding him bold, valiant, hasty, and of an enterprising genius, he was afterwards afraid of him, and therefore not only forbade the *Khoiba* to be made in his name, but likewise imprisoned him. This being done, *Al Nâser* cast his eyes upon his younger son *Al Emîr Ali*, as the most proper person to succeed him. That prince, however, dying before his father, and *Abu Nafr Mohammed* being now the only surviving son; *Al Nâser* declared him again his successor, and bequeathed the *Khalifat* to him. Upon that monarch's demise, he was therefore taken out of prison, and placed upon the throne.

A little before his death, he commanded his heirs to carry his body, after proper precautions had been taken to hinder it from being offensive, to the lake of *Tiberias*, and bury it there, because many pious men of his own nation were there interred; which was accordingly done. As he was born at *Cordova*, or *Corduba*, in *Spain*, he sometimes goes under the denomination of *Abu Amrân Mûsa Ebn Maimon Al Kortobi Al Yebûdi* amongst the *Arab* writers. He is said to have composed several pieces upon the *Jewish* law in *Arabic*, that were afterwards translated into *Hebrew* by *Joseph Ben Tibbon*; of which a catalogue has been exhibited by *Buxtorf*, in his *Bibliotheca Hebraica*, and other authors. But beside these, he left behind him several others, upon physical and mathematical subjects, which have never been translated from the original *Arabic*. The most famous of his works is the treatise intitled in *Hebrew*, *Moreh Nevochim*, and in *Arabic*, *Al Delâhlah*, i. e. *The Guide of those that are out of the way*, or *The Index, The Directory*, &c. which is the piece first mentioned here. *M. D'Herbelot*, enlarging upon the text of *Abu'l Faraj*, relates, that this book was condemned by the synagogues of the *Frank Jews* at *Antisch* and *Tripoli*; the *Rabbins* there looking upon it as the height of impiety, that he should pretend to apply the *Aristotelian* philosophy, in which he was a most profound adept, to the explication of the most essential points of their law. He finished one of his works in the year of the *Hejra* 595; and expired, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, in the year 605. For a more particular account of this celebrated doctor, and his works, our learned and curious readers may consult the authors referred to at the end of this note.

6. *Al Imâm Al Fakhr Al Râzi Mohammed Ebn Omar*, called at *Al Ray*, for the most part, *Ebn Al Khattîb*, who was a native of *Al Ray*; tho' he deduced his origin from *Tabrestân*, and had for that reason the surname of *Al Tabrestânî* assigned him by some of the *Arab* writers. To ancient learning he added a perfect knowledge of the *Mohammedan* law, was a most eloquent preacher both in *Arabic* and *Persian*, and very strenuously opposed the pernicious tenets of *Ebn Sinâ*. When he rode out on horse-back, he was armed with two drawn swords, and attended by a large multitude of slaves. His great qualities procured him the favour of several of the *Shâhs* of *Khowârazm*, as well as other powerful princes, particularly *Gayâtho'ddin*, *Soltân* of the dynasty of the *Gaurids*; who entertained so high an opinion of his merit, that he founded a college in *Herât* for him. He spent very considerable sums in chymical operations, without reaping any manner of advantage from them. His works, says *Abu'l Faraj*, are dispersed over the whole world, and studied with great attention by the learned. He undertook a journey into *Marwarâ'nahr*, in order to have a conference with the *Banu Mârah* at *Bokhâra*. But meeting with no success in this affair, he went from thence to *Khorasân*; where he became acquainted with *Mohammed Ebn Tacaf*, *Khowârazm Shâh*, who treated him with uncommon marks of distinction and esteem, and amply supplied him with every thing he stood in need of. At last he fixed his residence at *Herât*; where he acquired large possessions, married and got several children, and remained till the day of his death. He performed the journey to *Bokhâra* in 580; and was very hospitably received on the road by *Abû'alrahmân Ebn Abd'alcarîm Al Sarkhâsi*, a physician of considerable note. As an instance of his gratitude, therefore, he published an exposition of the *Al Kânûn* of *Ebn Sinâ*, explaining all

the most difficult terms in that book, and inscribed it to him. He also prefixed to this piece, written solely to oblige his benefactor, a preface, wherein he made the most honourable mention of him. *Al Imâm Al Râzi*, who is named by some writers *Al Imâm Fakhrô'ddin Mohammed Ebn Omar Ebn Khattîb Al Râzi Al Tamîni Al Bâri Al Tabrestânî*, according to *Ebn Al Athîr*, was born in the year of the *Hijra* 543, and became in process of time one of the most eminent doctors of the sect of *Al Shâfi'i*. The principal of his works were *Erfhad Al Nachar Ela Latâif Al Asrâr*, *An Introduction into the most sublime mysteries, for men of genius*, in which the author endeavours to produce philosophical reasons, in order to prove, and explain, the principles of *Mohammedism*; *Mohafel Al Asfâr*, a book of metaphysics, and scholastic theology, which has been commented upon by several writers; *Ofûl Addin*, *The Principles of Faith*, divided into fifty questions, which equally regard philosophy and divinity; *Ekkhtiarât Al Najûmi-yeh*, *A treatise of astronomical elections*; and *Arbâin fi Ofûl Addin*, besides another piece, intitled, *Mabsûl*, which is likewise attributed to him. He died at *Herât*, according to both *Ebn Shohnah* and *Abu'l Faraj*, in the month of *Dhu'lhajja*, 606. As he was looked upon in some points as heterodox, his body was buried in his own house, lest it should be insulted by the populace, who entertained the most unfavourable sentiments of him. A MS. copy of the *Mohafel Al Asfâr* is in the *French* king's library, Numb. 932; and another of the *Ofûl Addin* in the same library, Num. 620. The first question of this piece is drawn up against the eternity of the world; from whence it appears, that *Al Imâm Al Râzi* was not so much an *Aristotelian* as his enemies, in order to discredit him, represented him to be.

7. *Masîhi Ebn Abu'l Bakâ Al Nîli*, an inhabitant of *Baghdâd*, surnamed *Abu'l Khair*, and commonly called *Ebn Al 'Attâr*, who was an excellent physician, very much in the good graces of *Al Nâser Ledinî'llah*, the *Khalif* of *Baghdâd*; whose ladies he used frequently to visit, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. He amassed great wealth, and left a son behind him, denominated *Abu Ali* by that historian; who likewise practised physic, but was not a person of much learning or note. This *Abu Ali*'s intrigues with *Setti Sharaf* and *Eshîâk*, two *Mohammedan* courtezans, the latter of which was wife to *Ebn Al Bobhâri*, first lord of the treasury, being discovered; the women, by the *Khalif*'s order, were immediately incarcerated in the prison appointed for common bawds, and he obliged to make up matters by paying down instantly 6000 *dinârs*. *Ebn Al 'Attâr* was by religion a *Christian*, and departed this life, in a very advanced age, in the year of the *Hejra* 608.

8. *Ali Ebn Ahmed Abu'l Hasan*, a physician of *Baghdâd*, generally going under the denomination of *Ebn Habal*, who was extremely well acquainted both with the principles of the art he professed and all kinds of polite literature. He was born and educated at *Baghdâd*; but travelled from thence first to *Al Marwef*, and afterwards into *Adherbijân*. At last he settled at *Akhlût*, and was made physician in ordinary to *Shâh Armen*. Here he instructed several young men, who pursued their studies under his direction; but being disgusted by a frivolous accident, of which we meet with an account in *Abu'l Faraj*, he returned to *Al Marwef*. Here he remained till the day of his death, after he had been blind, and incapable of stirring out of his house, about two years. He nevertheless continued to teach, and direct the studies of, young people to the last. He composed a most celebrated work in physic, intitled, *Al Mokhtâr*,

a throne. At his inauguration he is reported to have said, "It is something absurd, that a person should open a shop in the evening. I am now above fifty years old, and shall I at this age be created *Khalif*?" It must be here observed, that, notwithstanding his father's displeasure, the people of *Baghdād* were always extremely well affected to him^p.

THE same year, if *Ebn Shohnab*, or rather Dr. *Hunt*'s MS. of that author, may be depended upon, *Al Soltān Jalālo'ddīn* possessed himself of the *Persian Irāk*, and restored *Shīrāz* to *Saad Ebn Daclā*, the former *Sāheb* of that city. He also made himself master of *Tabrīz*, or *Tauris*, and put to flight *Modbaffero'ddīn Azbec Ebn Albab'awān*, the *Sāheb* of *Adberbijān*, who pretended to oppose him. After which, he married *Azbec*'s wife; who had been divorced from her husband in form, by the *Kādi* of *Tabrīz*. That lady, according to *Ebn Shohnab*, was the daughter of *Togrol Bek*, the last of the princes of the house of *Seljuk*. In fine, *Al Soltān Jalālo'ddīn* had so aggrandized himself by the conquests he had made, that his power gave umbrage to the *Khalīf* of *Baghdād* himself, who was now afraid of him. About this time, *Al Malec Al Nāser Salāb'addīn Dawd*, the son of *Al Malec Al Moadhbhem Isa*, the *Sāheb* of *Damascus*, at the invitation of the inhabitants, took upon him the government of *Hamab*. The emperor *Jengkīz Khān*, having passed through *Tartary*, arrived at the river *Tūla*, if the *Chinese* historians may be depended upon, in the beginning of the year that we are now upon^q.

THE 623d year of the *Hejra*, which began *Jan. 2d*, 1226, proved fatal to the *Khalīf Al Dhāher Bi'llah*; who, before the close of it, died at *Baghdād*. He sat about nine months and sixteen days upon the throne, and left behind him the character of an excellent prince; being justly admired by all his people, for his love of justice. In consequence of which disposition, he ordered several of his subjects properties, of which they had been forcibly deprived, to be restored to them. He also remitted the tribute that had been lately imposed, and constructed a very large new bridge over the *Tigris* at *Baghdād*, at a vast expence. He ruled with much more lenity and moderation than his father, conciliated to himself the affections of all his people, and departed this life, the fourteenth of *Rajeb*, the present year^r.

^p GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 460, 461. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 622. EBN KHALECAN, EBN AL ATHIR, in Al Cam. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 622. AL MAKIN, in Tārīkh Al Moslemīn, ad an. Hej. 622. MS. inedit. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. KHONDEMIR, MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Dhāher Bi'llah*, &c. p. 944. ^q EBN SHOHN. ubi sup. GAUEIL, ubi sup. p. 45, & seqq. ^r GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 461. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 623. EBN KHALECAN, EBN AL ATHIR, in Al Cam. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 623. AL MAKIN, in Tārīkh Al Moslemīn, ad an. Hej. 623. MS. inedit. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. KHONDEMIR, MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. ubi sup.

Mokbtār, usually bound in four volumes; and died, after he had completed his ninety-fifth year, in the month of *Al Mobarram*, 610.

9. *Abu'l Carm Sā ed Ebn Tūmā*, a *Christian* physician of *Baghdād*, surnamed *Amīno'ddawla*, who was a person of uncommon humanity, and consummate skill, attended by an almost uninterrupted course of success in his practice. He was so highly esteemed by *Al Nāser Ledin'liān*, the *Khalīf* of *Baghdād*, that this prince committed to him intirely the custody of all his treasures; and for that reason gave him the title, or surname, of *Amīno'ddawla*. This person, who was in the highest credit with the *Khalīf*, lost his life through his own imprudence, for having discovered to the *Wazīr*, that *Setti Nāsim*, a woman of the seraglio, in concert with *Tājō'ddīn Rasbīk*, an eunuch belonging to the palace, taking advantage of the *Khalīf*'s age and infirmities, especially as he was then almost blind, counterfeited his hand so well, that by this means they absolutely governed the state; *Rasbīk*, knowing that such a discovery could be made by no other person, hired two soldiers of *Wāset*, the sons of one *Kamro'ddīn*, to assassinate him. Those ruffians, therefore, in pursuance of the agreement between them and *Rasbīk*, murdered him one night, as he was returning from the *Wazīr*'s palace to that of the *Khalīf*, at *Bāb Al Galla*, or *The Corn Gate*. He was first buried in his own house, where he expired, and nine months after removed to

the church at *Bāb Al Mohawal*, where the members of his family were interred. As for the assassins, they were immediately taken, and brought the next morning to the place of execution; where their bellies were first ripped open, and their bodies afterwards affixed to a gibbet, erected for that purpose, near *Bāb Al Medhbab*, or *The Shambles Gate*, opposite to *Bāb Al Galla*, where the murder had been committed. That tragedy was acted on *Thursday*, the 28th of the former *Jomāda*, 620.

10. *Yusef Ebn Yahya Ebn Ishak Al Sebtī Al Magrebi*, a *Jewish* physician of *Sebta*, or *Ceuta*, in *Africa*, who was tolerably well acquainted with some branches of philosophy, and made a laudable progress in the mathematics. He travelled into *Egypt*, concealed his religion, and contracted an intimacy with the famous *Mūsa Ebn Naïmon Al Kortobi*, or *Korthobi*, of whom we have already given a short account. With that learned man, he applied himself to the correction and emendation of *Ebn Aflab Al Andalusi*'s astronomy, a copy of which he brought with him from *Sebta*. He went afterwards to *Aleppo*, acquired possessions, or purchased an estate, in the neighbourhood of that place, married there, and became one of the physicians in ordinary to *Al Malec Al Dhāher*. He was a man of parts, and uncommon sagacity, as we learn from *Abu'l Faraj*; who informs us, that he paid the common tribute to nature in the year of the *Hejra* 623 (1).

(1) Greg. Abu'l Far. ubi sup. p. 451—463. Ebn Shohn. ad an. Hej. 606. & alib. Ism. Abu'lfed. in chron. ad an. Hej. 606, & alib. Ebn Al Athir, in Al Cam. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 10, 440, 730, 538, 712, 561, 894, & alib. Buxtorf. Biblioth. Hebraic. & præfat. ad vers. Latin. Maimonid. Moreh Newoch. Cunnæus, de Republ. Hebr. lib. i. Cap. aub. Voss. &c. Jo. Christoph. Wolf. Biblioth. Hebr. vol. I. III. IV. 1594. Hamburgi & Lipsæ, 1715.

S E C T. LVI.

His son Al
Mostanser
Bi'llah is ad-
vanced to the
Khalifat.

UPON the death of *Al Dhâber Bi'llah*, his son *Abu Jaasar Al Mansûr* was proclaimed *Khalif*. He was inaugurated the same day on which his father died, and assumed the title, or surname, of *Al Mostanser Bi'llah*, as we learn from *Abu'l Faraj*. As soon as the principal officers of state and of the army, together with the chief inhabitants of *Baghdâd*, had taken the oath of allegiance to him, he appeared in public on horse-back. And this he continued to do daily for a considerable time, in order to ingratiate himself with the people. All the eastern historians agree, that this *Khalif* surpassed all his predecessors in liberality; and that he far exceeded his father himself, though so highly celebrated for his excellency in that particular, in the distribution of justice. He caused several public edifices to be erected, for the conveniency of his subjects; and amongst others the famous college denominated from him *Al Madrasah Al Mostanseriyah*, which had not its equal in the *Moslem* world, whether we consider the large extent and elegance of its buildings, the materials of which they were composed, the number of students it contained, or the ample revenues assigned it by its founder. Here he settled a professor for each of the four orthodox *Moslem* sects, and seventy-five students in the *Mohammedan* law to be instructed by him in the principles he professed, amounting to 300 in all; for whom he appointed monthly salaries, and even more than a sufficient quantity of provisions. These students and professors had likewise a bath for their use within the college, a physician who visited them every day, an apothecary's shop wherein all kinds of medicines were prepared, and a kitchen to dress their meat in, provided for them by the *Khalif*. Some authors relate, that *Al Mostanser Bi'llah* had himself an apartment therein, as also a gallery which joined together the schools, where he came every day to learn what was done in the college, and from whence by means of lattice-windows he frequently heard the disputations both of the doctors and their disciples. He moreover kept a great number of good tables, extremely well served, principally during the nights of the month of *Ramadân*, the only time then in which the *Moslems* are allowed to eat and drink, by reason of the fast they are obliged to observe every day of that month, in the city of *Baghdâd*; at which every one of the citizens was well treated, and well received. As a farther instance of this prince's unparalleled liberality, we are told by *Mirkbond* and *Kbondemir*, that being one day on the highest gallery of his palace, he saw from thence most of the terraces of the houses of the city adorned with different sorts of habits. Upon which, he asked his *Wazîr*, what was the meaning of this? who thereupon replied, that the inhabitants of *Baghdâd*, having washed their cloaths, had placed them there to be dried by the sun, on account of the approach of one of their *Beirâms*, or principal annual feasts. *Al Mostanser*, hearing this, immediately answered; "I did not think, that the citizens of *Baghdâd* had been so poor, that they were forced to wash their old garments, for want of new ones, to celebrate the feast." At the same time, he ordered a vast sum of money to be converted into cross-bow bullets, and shot from the gallery of his palace upon all the terraces of the city where he had seen the habits exposed to the sun. This amazing instance of liberality induced the authors of this *Khalif's* life to remark, that in less than twenty years he distributed amongst the people the immense treasures which his predecessors had amassed during the space of five hundred years. With regard to the affairs of the *Moguls*, the *Chinese* writers inform us, that *Ogatâi*, or *Oktay*, *Khân*, penetrated into *Ho-nan*, and laid siege to *Kay-fong Fû*, the capital of that province, and residence of the emperor of the *Kin*, in 623. It likewise appears from those writers, that *Jenghîz Khân* himself invaded the territories of the king of *Hya*; and took *Yetsina*, a city of very good note. His troops also forced all the fortresses between that city, *Ning-hya*, *Kya-yu-quan*, and *Kan-chew*. *Sû-chew*, *Kan-chew*, and *Si-lyang Fû* also surrendered to them. The *Khân* moreover reduced *Ling-chew*, to the south of *Ning-hya*. These places, with the districts appertaining to them, fell into the hands of the *Moguls*, during the course of this campaign.

The principal
events of the
year 624.

In the 624th year of the *Hejra*, commencing Dec. 22d, 1226, *Al Malec Al Moadhdhem Isa Ebn Al Malec Al' Adel Abu Becr Ebn Ayûb*, the *Sâheb* of *Damascus*, departed this life, towards the close of *Dbu'lkaada*, in the castle there. He lived either forty-seven or forty-eight years, of which he reigned nine and some months at *Damascus*. He was a prince of an amiable disposition, of uncommon magnanimity, as well as great application, and extremely well-skilled in grammar. He professed the tenets of the sect of *Abu Hanîsa*, to which he adhered more strictly than any of his family. The person who instructed him therein was *Shahâbo'ddin Al Hofri*, a learned man of the same sect. His son *Al Malec Al Nâser Salâba'd-din Dawd* succeeded him in the sovereignty of *Damascus*, *Jerusalem*, or *Al Kuds*, and the

* GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 463. ISM. ABU'LFED. EBN KHALECAN, EBN AL ATHIR, EBN SHOHN. AL MAKIN, KHONDEMIR, & MIRKOND, ubi sup. D'HEREEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mostanser Billah*, p. 632. GAUBIL, ubi sup.

- a maritime part of Syria; whose uncles *Al Malec Al 'Aziz* and *Al Malec Al Sileh*, when he was settled upon the throne, carried the covering of his horse's harness before him. This year, according to the author of the *Nighiaristân*, the armies of *Soltân Jalâlo'ddin* and the *Moguls*, whom he calls *Tartars*, met in the neighbourhood of *Esfahân*; but without coming to blows, the *Tartars* retiring, as it were by agreement, into *Khorasân*, and *Gayâtho'ddin*, the *Soltân's* brother, flying with so much precipitation towards the borders of *Laristân*, without any apparent reason, that he abandoned his own equipage, and the baggage of his whole army. The inhabitants of *Esfahân*, seeing this deroute, immediately ran to pillage; but were prevented by *Al Kâdi Saedi*, who begged they would have a little patience, promising them, that if the *Soltân* did not appear within a short time, which he mentioned to them, they should be at liberty to do what they pleased. The *Soltân*, continues this writer, did not fail to return before the expiration of that term, marching with incredible celerity, in order to arrive at *Esfahân*; by which means he saved the baggage, that must otherwise have inevitably fallen into their hands. Some historians write, that the *Moguls* defeated *Jalâlo'ddin* in *Adherbijân*, and made themselves masters of *Tauris*, the preceding year; though they own, that afterwards rallying his forces, he had sometimes the better of them. They also relate, that he laid siege to *Akblât*, the capital of *Armenia*; whither the *Khalif* sent an ambassador, with presents, to him. From thence, according to them, he passed into *Anatolia*, to oblige the *Seljukian Turks*, occupying that country, to pay him the same respect they had done his father; but was overthrown by *'Alâo'ddin Kaykobâd*, the *Soltân* of *Koniya*, and other princes of *Al Rûm*. After which, he was finally surprized by the *Moguls*; who, having entirely routed his forces, plundered his camp. But notwithstanding this and other great advantages gained by the troops of *Jenghîz Khân*, that conqueror thought fit to make the best of his way to *Tartary*, or *Mogulestân*; and, having put a period to the kingdom of *Hya*, or *Tangût*, after he had nominated for his successor his son *Oktay Khân*, expired, in a forest on the road to *Ching*, the fourth of *Ramadân*, 624¹.
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- THE following year, being the 625th of the *Hejra*, beginning December 12th, 1227, a negotiation commenced between *Al Malec Al Câmel* and the *Franks*; the result of which was, that *Jerusalem*, or *Al Kuds*, should be ceded to the latter, together with several other places, seated in the maritime part of Syria. This cession was, however, made, if Dr. Hunt's MS. copy of *Ebn Shohnab*, which places it in 626, merits any regard, only upon condition, that the *Moslems* should be admitted into the temples *Affakbra* and *Al Akfa*, that the city should remain dismantled, and that the court of judicature in the forum *Al Rostak* should be under the direction of a *Moslem* governor. It must here be remarked, that *Al Malec Al Câmel* had seized upon *Jerusalem*, which formerly belonged to his brother *Al Malec Al Moadbdhem Isa*, after that prince's death. The *Franks* had received such large supplies both of men and money from *Europe*, that he found himself not capable of coping with them; and was therefore afraid of losing his territories both in *Syria* and *Egypt*, if he did not prevent this by clapping up a peace with them. In consequence of the late convention, the *Franks* took possession of *Jerusalem*, or *Al Kuds*, if the aforesaid manuscript of *Ebn Shohnab* may be depended upon, in the latter *Rabî*, 626².
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- e

- THE same year, *Jalâlo'ddin Ebn Mohammed Khowârazm Shâb*, being delivered from the fear of the *Tartars*, or *Moguls*, undertook the conquest of *Georgia*, or *Gurjestân*. But the king of that country, who found himself in a condition to sustain this war, took the field with an army, composed of *Georgian* and *Khozârian* troops, much more formidable than that of *Jalâlo'ddin Ebn Mohammed Khowârazm Shâb*. The latter of these princes, in order the better to reconnoitre the enemy, posted himself on a height, from whence he could discover the position of their whole camp. Perceiving from this height that their van was formed of the *Khozârs*, a people seated on the northern coast of the *Caspian* sea, called by the *Persians* *Desht-Kipjak*, who still retained a grateful sense of the great favour he had formerly done them, when he procured them a pardon from his father *Mohammed Khowârazm Shâb*, after they had rebelled against him; he resolved, being willing to avail himself of their good disposition at this juncture, to attempt detaching them from their ally. For this purpose, he sent them bread (H) and salt, in order to put them in mind of the good office he had formerly done
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¹ GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 464, 465. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 624. EBN AL ATHIR, in Al Câmel. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 624. AL MAKIN, in Târikh Al Moslemîn, ad an. Hej. 624. AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI. in Nighiarist. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 372. DE LA CROIX. ubi sup. p. 376, 377. GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 51, & seqq. ² GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 405. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 626. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 745.

(H) It may not be amiss here by the way to remark, that the ceremony of presenting bread and salt, as a mark of friendship, alliance, and hospitality, is still used in the East. To which the *Arabs* add another

particular circumstance. They give those persons who entertain any suspicion of them something to drink, in order to assure them of their sincerity and good faith (i).

(i) *Bobâo'ddin Ebn Shedi'âd*, ubi sup. p. 70, 71. ISM. ABU'LFED. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 583. & in excerpt. Alb. Schult. p. 41. Lugd. Bat. 1732. *Ebn Shohn*. ad an. Hej. 583. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 371.

them, and the alliance he had contracted with them. This produced the desired effect. For *a* the *Khozárs*, ashamed of being engaged in a war against their benefactor, abandoned the *Georgians*, and immediately returned home. After their departure, the *Soltán* gave the king of *Georgia* to understand, that, notwithstanding the defection of the *Khozárs*, he would grant him a cessation of arms for one day, to treat of an accommodation. During this short interval, in which several feats of arms were performed, *Jalálo'ddin* dismounted successively a valiant *Georgian* and three of his sons, and afterwards killed in a single combat another of the same nation of a gigantic size and strength; which struck the *Georgian* army, in whose fight the combat was fought, with terror. Whereupon the *Soltán*, taking advantage of the panic into which the enemy were thrown, fell upon them with such bravery, that he gained a complete victory, and reduced to his obedience the whole kingdom of *Gurjestán*, without striking *b* another stroke. However, having entered *Tessís*, the capital of that kingdom, he received advice that *Borák*, governor of the province of *Kermán*, who had formerly been one of his door-keepers, accustomed to live in a state of independency during the war of the *Tartars*, did not obey his orders there. He, therefore, took a resolution to march directly to *Kermán* with only a detachment of 300 horse; hoping by this means to be able to chastise him for his disobedience, before it broke out into open rebellion, and before he had put himself in a proper posture of defence. Having accordingly left *Tessís*, he reached that province with his detachment before *Borák* was apprized of his departure, in seventeen days; surprized the disaffected governor, before he was in a condition to oppose him; and, according to the historian now before us, inflicted upon him the punishment due to his temerity and presumption. We *c* must not forget to remark, that the *Kin*, commanded by a prince of the blood, about this time, overthrew the *Moguls*, with the loss of 8000 men; nor that *Awcatái*, *Ogatái*, *Ogtái*, or *Oktay*, *Khán* succeeded his father *Jenghíz Khán*, in the empire of the *Moguls*, towards the beginning of the present year^w.

The chief occurrences of the year 626,

THE next year, being the 626th of the *Hejra*, which commenced November 30th, 1228, *Al Malec Al Ashraf* and *Al Malec Al Cámel* formed the siege of *Damascus*; which, after a vigorous defence, surrendered to them. However, *Al Malec Al Náser Saláb'addin Dawd*, the *Sáheb* of that place, had in lieu thereof assigned him the cities of *Al Carac*, *Al Belká'*, or *Al Belkáa*, *Al Shawbec*, and some other places, with the districts belonging to them. The *Belúd Al Sharkia* was given to *Al Malec Al Cámel*, the *Sáheb* of *Egypt*; and *Al Malec Al Ashraf*, *d* by the consent of all parties, remained in possession of *Damascus*. This year, according to *Ebn Shohnab*, died *Al Malec Al Mas'úd Ebn Al Malec Al Cámel*, the *Sáheb* of *Al Yaman*, at *Mecca*; which, with the sacred territory appertaining to it, was now under his jurisdiction. His corpse having been carried to *Al 'Ala*, and there interred; his son *Yusef* was saluted *Sáheb* of *Al Yaman*, and without any difficulty, or obstruction, ascended the throne. About the same time, as this writer likewise informs us, *Al Malec Al Modhaffer Takio'ddin Al Amjad*, or *Amjed*, *Ebn Al Malec Al 'Adel*, the *Sáheb* of *Baalbec*, after he had been dispossessed of his capital by *Al Malec Al Ashraf*, was assassinated by one of his slaves, whom he had formerly imprisoned in a chamber; who having made his escape to the top of the palace, threw himself headlong from thence, and was killed. *Al Malec Al Amjad*, who is said by *Ebn Shohnab* *e* to have been one of the most famous of the descendants of *Ayúb*, reigned many years at *Baalbec*, and was buried in his father's college, erected on a very high eminence, in the city of *Damascus*. We must not forget to remark, that the authority of *Awcatái*, *Ogatái*, or *Oktay*, *Khán*, as *Grand Khán* of the *Moguls*, was unanimously recognized, at a general assembly of the great lords and princes of that nation, held at *Karákorom*, or *Ardúbálik*, the metropolis of the empire of *Jenghíz Khán*, in the year that we are now upon^x.

and of the year 627.

THE 627th year of the *Hejra*, which began November 20th, 1229, produced several remarkable events; the principal of which, as related by the *Arab* authors, we shall here beg leave to touch upon. *Soltán Jalálo'ddin Khowárazm Sháb* having shut up *Takio'ddin Al 'Abbás* and *Mojiro'ddin Takúb*, *Al Malec Al Ashraf's* brothers, together with *Al Emír Hofámo'ddin Al Kaymari*, and *Azzo'ddin Aybec*, one of *Al Malec Al Ashraf's* *Mamlúks*, or purchased slaves, in the city of *Akblát*; he played upon that part facing the sea, with twenty of his military machines, and at last, after the inhabitants had for some time fed upon dogs, and a *Damascene* pound of bread had been sold for an *Egyptian dinár*, obliged it to surrender to him. *Al Emír Hofámo'ddin Al Kaymari*, however, found means to escape on horse-back to the castle of *Kaymar*. As for *'Azzo'ddin Aybec*, *Takio'ddin*, and *Mojiro'ddin*, *Jalálo'ddin* made them prisoners of war, and carried them about every-where with him. Of which *Al Malec Al Ashraf*, who had lately reduced to his obedience *Al Rakka*, upon the *Euphrates*, having been informed; he immediately advanced at the head of a body of horse to *Abolostain*, and was joined by *'Aláo'ddin Kaykobád*, with the forces of *Al Rám*, a few parasangs *g*

^w AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nighiarist*. D'HERREL. ubi sup. p. 371, 372. GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 53. DE LA CROIX, ubi sup. p. 385. ^x EBN SHOHN. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 465, 466, 467. GAUBIL, ubi sup.

a from that place. Soon after this junction, the combined army came up with the *Khowârazmian* forces, consisting of 40,000 men, that had marched from *Akhlât*, with an intention to give them battle. Both armies one *Friday* coming in sight of each other, a bloody engagement immediately ensued; but the night intervening, nothing decisive happened that day, though the *Khowârazmian* troops were upon the point of being put to the rout. The following night the soldiers on both sides lay under arms. On *Saturday* morning, by day-break, the fight was renewed with the utmost fury, and ended in the intire defeat of the *Khowârazmians*; who, as we learn from *Abu'l Faraj*, lost a very considerable number of men. Many of the fugitives fled as far as the mountains of *Trabezond*; from the summits of which 1500 precipitated themselves, and were killed. The *Soltân* himself escaped first to *Khartabert*, and afterwards
b into *Persia*; having before sent *Takio'ddîn*, *Al Malec Al Asbraf*'s brother, bound, as a present, to the *Khalîf* at *Baghdâd*, who honourably released him, and sent him back to *Al Malec Al Asbraf*. After the end of the action, *Al Malec Al Asbraf* marched to *Akhlât*, and re-possessed himself of that place. From thence he dispatched an ambassador to *Jalâlo'ddîn*, to treat with him about an exchange of prisoners, and to beg he would use with humanity those he had taken. The ambassador had no sooner opened the purport of his commission to the *Soltân*, than the latter replied, "I have amongst my prisoners some of your master's relations, whereas he
c "has only a few of my slaves; nevertheless if he is desirous of peace, I am ready to conclude "one with him." Being afterwards upbraided by *Al Malec Al Asbraf* with the ravages and devastations he had committed in his dominions, and the blood he had spilt there; that prince
d said to his minister, "*Jalâlo'ddîn* has only my brother *Mojiro'ddîn* in his hands, who may now "be probably dead; and if this should be the case, I have other brothers, and many more "relations, the members of the house of *Ayûb*, together with all their domestics, at this time "amounting to 2000 souls; whereas the *Shâh* of *Khowârazm* is destitute of children, and has "a multitude of enemies behind him. If he is desirous of peace, let him abandon all the towns "of which he has so unjustly deprived us." The *Soltân* not relishing this answer, the negotiation vanished into smoke; upon which, he first commanded '*Azzo'ddîn Aybec*, who had been confined in the castle of *Aktamâr*, to be brought before him, and afterwards put him to death. Receiving, however, advice, not long after, that the *Tartars*, under the conduct of *Jûrmâgûn Nowayn*, had passed the *Ammawaib*, and were arrived at *Tauris*, in their intended expedition
e against him; he dispatched an ambassador to the *Khalîf* at *Baghdâd*, another to *Al Malec Al Asbraf*, and a third to '*Alâo'ddîn*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Rûm*, in order to solicit the assistance of these princes against the numerous forces of *Oktay Khân*. That they might execute their commissions with the greater success, they represented, in pursuance of their instructions, to the courts to which they repaired, that if the *Tartars* could once overwhelm the *Shâh* of *Khowârazm*, as the only barrier against them on that side would be thereby destroyed, they would easily subjugate all the neighbouring powers; who were therefore obliged, by their common interest, to support him, to act against them with all their forces, and to oblige them to return home, before they had made any farther progress in those parts of the world. But this representation not producing the desired effect, he fixed his winter-quarters at *Armîah*, and continued there till
f the following spring. It may not be improper to observe, that *Oktay Khân*, the emperor of the *Tartars*, or *Moguls*, sent the above-mentioned *Jûrmâgûn Nowayn*, with a body of 30,000 horse, to penetrate into *Khorasân*, *Sontây Babâder* with the same number of troops towards the frontiers of *Kipjâk*, and another army, under the orders of *Saksîn* and *Aylgâr*, to *Al Tobbat*; whilst he himself moved against *Katay*, or *Kbatay*, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, the preceding year^y.

In the 628th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *November* 9th, 1230, *Al Soltân Jalâlo'ddîn* *Khowârazm Shâh* retired to the province of *Diyâr Becr*, where he gave himself up intirely to wine, gaming, and all kinds of pleasures, as if, says *Abu'l Faraj*, he intended to take his final leave of the world, and the transitory government of it. But whilst he was immersed in this
g voluptuous course of life, *Bâymas Nowayn*, with an army of *Moguls*, penetrated into *Diyâr Becr*, and surprized him, though *Al Emîr Awrkhân*, by facing the enemy with a body of *Khowârazmian* troops, gave him an opportunity of making his escape. The next morning the *Khowârazmians* were put to the rout, and pursued for some time by the *Moguls*, who imagined that the *Soltân* himself was amongst them. But as soon as they were informed of their mistake, they left off the pursuit. In the mean time, *Jalâlo'ddîn* fled, with only three servants, to a mountain near *Amed*, where he was set upon by a party of *Curds*; who, taking him and his servants to be *Khowârazmian* soldiers, that had escaped the fury of the *Moguls*, for the sake of their horses, cloaths, and arms, put them all to the sword. This was discovered by a *Curd*, who appeared afterwards, with *Jalâlo'ddîn*'s arms, at *Amed*; and was executed there, for the part he had acted in the tragedy mentioned here. Others nevertheless relate, that it was not *Jalâlo'ddîn* himself, but his armour-bearer, that was killed near *Amed*; he and his companions

The most material transactions of the year 628,

^y GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 467, 468, 469, 470. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 372.

having disguised themselves, in order to avoid the *Moguls*, in the habits of *Súfis*. These writers pretend, that he wandered about from one place to another, till the 652d year of the *Hejra*; when passing the *Jibún*, with a caravan of merchants, he was seized, as a spy, by the *Al Kará-gúl*, or guards posted on the roads, put by them to the torture, though he confessed himself to be the *Sháh* of *Khowárazm*, and under it expired. According to *Ebn Shobnab*, *Jalálo'ddín* was so extremely affected with the death of a favourite slave, which happened this year, that his ideas were confused, and the use of his reason almost intirely lost. Nay, if this writer may be credited, he was so desperately enamoured with this slave, that he caused her body to be kept a long time, sent her provisions, after she was dead, every day, and commanded the persons who brought them to ask her, as if she had been alive, how she did, and whether she was better than she had been the day before. This author adds, that *Jalálo'ddín* was the eldest of *Soltán Mohammed Ebn Tacash*'s sons; that he had at first assigned him for his share of the succession the kingdom of *Gazna*, and its dependencies, as far as *Hind*; that *Mohammed* bequeathed his second son *Kotbo'ddín Iblágh Sháh* the kingdom of *Khowárazm*, together with the province of *Khorasán*; that he left to his third son *Gayátho'ddín* the kingdom of *Kermán*, *Macrán*, and other territories of a considerable extent; and lastly that he bestowed on his fourth son *Rocno'ddín Awr Sháh* the kingdom of *Al Irák*, that is, the *Persian Irák*. But, continues he, *Jalálo'ddín* in process of time grew as powerful as his father *Mohammed*, and consequently made himself master of all those countries of which *Mohammed* had been possessed. *Ebn Shobnab* farther relates, that *Jalálo'ddín* was defeated this year in a pitched battle by the *Moguls*; that he escaped out of the hands of the *Tartars*, or *Moguls*, who took him prisoner, and was at last dispatched by a *Curd*, that had imbrued his hands in the blood of his brother, as soon as he knew him; that, after this prince's death, a certain poet wrote some verses upon that tragical event, a specimen of which has been preserved by the same historian; that the consequence of *Jalálo'ddín*'s defeat was the absolute reduction of *Al 'Ajem*, or *Persia*, by the *Moguls*; and that those barbarians exercised greater cruelties upon the poor inhabitants, at this juncture, than they had ever done before. With regard to *Jalálo'ddín*'s grandeur and magnificence, it may not be amiss to remark, that the march of *Dhi'l-karnaim*, or *Alexander the Great*, was beat on twenty-seven drums, set with jewels, before him, twice a day, viz. at the rising and setting of the sun, after the manner of the *Seljúkian Soltáns*. The day on which this pompous ceremony commenced, according to *Ebn Shobnab*, twenty-seven sovereign princes beat the march of *Dhi'l-karnaim*, at his palace; the principal of which were *Togrol Bek Ebn Arslán*, of the family of *Seljúk*, *Al Malec 'Aláo'ddín*, the *Sáheb* of *Yámanán*, *Al Malec Tájo'ddín*, the *Sáheb* of *Balkh*, his son *Al Malec 'Adhem*, or *'Adham*, the *Sáheb* of *Termed*, and *Al Malec Sinjár*, the *Sáheb* of *Bokhára*. All his utensils were also covered with precious stones. His brothers had likewise marches beat on five drums each in honour of them, constantly at the stated times of public prayer. That *Jalálo'ddín* (I) was a general of invincible courage, as well as most excellent conduct, is asserted by *Ebn Shobnab*, and from an account of his exploits in a subsequent part of this work will more clearly appear. Besides other effects of almost inestimable value, *Jenghiz Khán* is reported to have plundered him of ten chests, full of precious stones; two of which, says *Ebn Shobnab*, were equivalent to the revenues of the whole earth. When he wrote to the *Sáhebs* of *Al Rúm*, *Mesr*, and *Al Shám*, the first of which was of the house of *Seljúk*, and the others descended from *Saláb'addín Yusef Ebn Ayúb*, as he enjoyed the sovereignty of all his father's vast dominions, and was of course a most puissant monarch, to the end of his letter he added his name, without subjoining either YOUR BROTHER, or YOUR SERVANT; when to the *Khalif* of *Baghdád*, he subscribed himself, YOUR SERVANT; but when to the *Sáheb* of *Al Mawfel*, and other such princes, he only affixed his seal; the inscription of which was, HELP IS FROM GOD ALONE. His troops he harangued with such persuasive eloquence, as made the deepest impression upon them. He assumed, after his father, the title of *King of the world*. His passage of the *Sind*, or *Indus*, by swimming over it on horse-back in the month of *Rajeb*, was looked upon as so wonderful an event, that it produced amongst the orientals the following proverb, "Live till *Rajeb*, and you shall see wonders." The *Sáheb* of *Al Túríkh*, which is the correction of the *Arab* and *Persian* kalendar, called also *Túríkh Al Neiran*, that it is to say, the calculation of the course of the sun and the moon, has by some been attributed to him. His mother *Tarcán Khátún*, a lady of consummate wisdom and prudence, who put her whole trust in God, was surnamed, *the strength of the world and of religion*, and *the queen of the women of*

(I) In the French king's library, N^o 845, there is a manuscript intituled, *Seirát Jalálo'ddín Mankberni*. This piece contains the life of *Jalálo'ddín Mankberni*, therein denominated *Jalálo'ddín Ebn Mohammed Ebn Tacash Ebn Il Arslán Ebn Atsíz Ebn Mohammed Kotbo'ddín Ebn Núsh*

Takin. It was written by *Mohammed Ebn Amed Al Monshi Al Nassáwi*, an author cited by *Ebn Shobnab* in that part of his chronicle, or history, now before us; who, amongst other things related of this *Soltán*, says, that he fought fourteen battles in eleven years (1).

(1) *D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 373. Moham. Ebn Ahmed Al Monshi, apud Ebn Shobn. ad an. Hej. 628. ut et ipse Ebn Shobn. ibid.*

^a *both worlds.* This year, died, at *Al Kâbirah*, *Abu'l Hasan Yahya Ebn Abd'alimoti Ebn Al Nâr Al Zawâwi*, a famous grammarian, of the sect of *Abu Hanîfa*, and the author of a book, intituled, *Al Alafiab*. His tribe inhabited a tract on the confines of *Nabâna*, where he was born, according to one of the *Arab* writers, in 552. The arms of *Oktay Khân* did not only make a great progress on the side of *Al'Ajem*, but likewise in *China*, reducing the most considerable part of *Sben-si*, and even penetrating into *Ho-nan*, before the close of the campaign².

THE following year, being the 629th of the *Hejra*, beginning *October* 28th, 1231, *Al Malec Al Cîmel*, the *Sâheb* of *Egypt*, took *Amed* and *Hisp Caifâ*, in *Mesopotamia*, from *Al Malec Al Mas'ûd Ebn Al Malec Al Sâleb Mahmûd*, of the house of *Artak*, on account of his dissolute and immoral life; he having debauched, as we learn from *Ebn Shohnab*, several of the female part of his subjects. However, *Al Cîmel* elevated *Al Malec Al Sâleb*, probably another prince of the same family, to the throne there. This affair has nevertheless been something differently related by *Abu'l Faraj*, who places it in the following year. He observes, that *Al Malec Al Cîmel* took *Amed* only then from its proper *Sâheb*, and bestowed upon him in lieu thereof several cities in *Syria*. Some writers pretend, that *Al Malec Al Cîmel* received the ambassadors of the emperor *Frederic II.* in *Syria*, this year, where that monarch himself then arrived; by whose intervention a treaty of peace was concluded between the *Christians* and the *Mohammedans*. By virtue of which treaty, *Jerusalem*, though intirely demolished, except *The Church of the Resurrection*, and a few buildings adjoining to it, as it had been left by *Al Malec Al Moadhahem Isa*, the *Sâheb* of *Damascus*, with the territory appertaining to it, *Bethlehem*, *Lydda*, *Al Ramla*, and the whole tract extending as far as *Nîffâ* and *'Accâ*, were ceded to the former. This memorable event has, however, been referred by *Ebn Shohnab* to the year 626. *Oktay*, the *Grand Khân* of the *Moguls*, reduced to great distress the emperor of the *Kin*, and entered into a negotiation, which terminated in a treaty, with the *Song* emperor, then reigning in the southern parts of *China*, the present year³.

IN the 630th of the *Hejra*, which commenced *October* 18th, 1232, *Al Soltân 'Alâo'ddîn*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Rûm*, sent an embassy to *Oktay Khân*, to tender his submission to him; which so pleased the *Grand Khân*, that he offered him a considerable post at his court. This, says *Abu'l Faraj*, clearly demonstrated to the people of *Al Rûm* the unparalleled haughtiness of the emperor of the *Moguls*. The same year, *'Alâo'ddîn* deprived *Al Malec Al Ashraf* of *Akhlât* and *Sarra Manrây*, and *Al Ashraf* himself attacked the city of *Hisp Al Mansûr*. *Modhaffero'ddîn Cîcbari Ebn Zîno'ddîn Ali Cûkboc*, the *Sâheb* of *Arbel*, departed this life in the month of *Ramâdân*, was carried to *Mecca*, and buried there; being succeeded in the government of that city by a certain nobleman, named *Abu'l Mûâli Mohammed Ebn Nasr Ebn Salâyâ*, who took possession of the place, in the name of *Al Mostanser Bi'llah*, the *Khalîf* of *Baghdâd*. This year, likewise died, at *Al Mawfel*, *Al Sheikh Abu'l Hasan 'Azzo'ddîn Ali Ebn Mohammed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd'alcarîm Ebn Abd'akwâhed Al Shaibânî*, known by the name of *Ebn Al Athîr Al Jazari*, a native of *Jazîrat Ebn Omar*, the isle of *Omar*, a city upon the *Tigris*, a little above *Al Mawfel*; where he was born, the 4th of the former *Jomâda*, 555. He also received his education there. He is said to have composed three histories. The first was intituled, *Al Cîmel*, or a general history, to which we have frequently referred in this work, beginning at the fall of *Adam*, and ending with the year of the *Hejra* 628; the second bore the title of *Ebrât Uli Al Absar*, examples for sages; the third was the history of the dynasty of the *Atâbeks*. The pieces intituled, *Nebaiat*, and *Affad Al Gabab*, are likewise attributed to him; but whether or no he was the real author of them, we have not been certainly informed. *Ebn Shohnab* farther relates, that *Abd'alazîz Ebn Omar*, an inhabitant of *Rak'id* in the territory of *Al Mawfel*, built a school, or college, and called it after his name. The *Grand Khân* of the *Moguls* met still with success in the war he carried on against the emperor of the *Kin*, this campaign⁴.

THE next year, being the 631st of the *Hejra*, which began *October* 7th, 1233, did not produce many actions of éclat. In it, however, died *Nâféro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Al Kâber Ebn Nîro'ddîn*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Mawfel*; and was succeeded by *Bedro'ddîn Lûlû*, to whom the *Khalîf* sent the patent of *Soltân*, and the *Khotba* was made throughout the district of *Al Mawfel* in his name. The same year, according to *Ebn Shohnab*, *Al Sheikh Saifo'ddîn Al Amedi*, generally denominated *Ali Ebn Ali Ebn Mohammed Ebn Sâlem Al Tha'lebi*, a native of *Amed* in *Mesopotamia*, and a doctor of the sect of *Al Shâfeî*, likewise departed this life. He first professed the Tenets of *Ahmed Abn Hanbal*, and is said to have introduced several innovations into the *Moslem* theology; upon which, the *Al Fakîh* of *Egypt*, and the doctors of *Al Kâbirah*, most vigorously opposed him, and attacked him upon the point of his faith. But his prin-

² GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 470—474. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 628. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 372. GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 58—62, & seqq. ³ EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 629. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 475. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 575. GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 63—73, & seq. ⁴ GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 474, 475. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 630. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 145. GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 73—78, & seqq.

ciples having been found, upon a strict examination of them, to be conformable to the doctrines of *Islâm*, and he having adopted the sentiments of *Al Shâfeï*, his adversaries desired to be reconciled to him. *Al Tba'lebi* nevertheless having been extremely ill used by them, particularly by a certain *Fakîb*, who wrote satyrical verses upon him, a specimen of which *Ebn Shohnab* has handed down to us; he quitted *Al Kâbirab*, and retired to *Hamah* in *Syria*. From thence he went afterwards to *Damascus*, where he continued to the day of his death. He has been represented by *Ebn Shohnab* as eminent for his skill in the sciences, and his knowledge of antient literature. He was born, if the last mentioned author may be depended upon, in the year of the *Hejra* 551. At this time, *Al Malec Al Câmél* permitted both the *Christians* and the *Jews* in *Egypt* to ride upon horses and mules, to adorn, repair, and even build as many churches and synagogues as they pleased, to have all their disputes determined in a judicial way by magistrates professing the same faith, and to enjoy the free exercise of their respective religions, and all the other privileges they could desire, in their utmost extent. Nor is this the only instance of that prince's equity and moderation, to be met with in history. About the 623d year of the *Hejra*, *Ebn Sirûn*, one of the *Egyptian Emîrs*, having visited the monastery of the valley of *Habib*, the monks of which had been wrongfully accused by a renegado, formerly a member of their convent, of defrauding the *Soltân* of the tribute due to him; that *Emîr* caused those religious to be whipped and tortured in a most cruel manner, without making the least inquiry into the affair, and extorted from them no less than 600 *dinârs*. *Al Malec Al Câmél* (K), however, disapproving of this iniquitous conduct, would not receive the money, when it was brought him by the *Emîr*; but ordered him to restore it to the monks, who had been so unjustly deprived of it. Nor would the same upright prince take a sum of money, offered him, as a bribe, by the friends of one *Dawd*, an *Egyptian* priest, to prevail upon him to command the *Jacobites* to ordain that priest their patriarch. He also refused an equal sum, when brought him, on the same account, by the adherents of another person who then aspired at the *Jacobite* patriarchate of *Alexandria*. He declared his intention never to concern himself in the ordination and election of a *Jacobite* patriarch, but to leave that matter intirely to those to whom it properly belonged; recommending at the same time, in the strongest terms, peace and unity to them. But neither the favourable disposition nor salutary advice of the *Soltân* could inspire the *Jacobites*, who were rent by parties and divisions, with more moderate sentiments, nor induce them to concur amicably in the election of a new patriarch; though *Al Câmél* had given his consent, in compliance with their request, that *Yahya Ebn Mûtmen*, a deacon in the church of *Al Moallaka* might be their patriarch, if unanimously elected by them. The *Mogul* arms being now employed against the emperor of the *Kin*, the *Moslem* provinces bordering upon the *Grand Khân's* frontiers enjoyed some repose. The emperors *Shew-su* and *Chang-lin* being killed, the generals of *Oktay Khân* and the emperor of the *Song* put an end to the dynasty of the *Kin*, the present year^c.

The most memorable occurrences of the year 632,

THE 632d year of the *Hejra*, commencing September 26th, 1234, was distinguished by some occurrences of note. *Al Soltân 'Alâ'ddîn*, the *Sâheb* of the *Belâd Al Râm*, took the city of *Al Robâ*, or *Edeffa*, by storm; and for three days together butchered the inhabitants, both *Christians* and *Mohammedans*, without mercy. He also gave the city up to his troops to

^c GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 475. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 631. TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDÎ, in *Mawredô'llatâf*. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 240. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 573, 574, 575. GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 85, & seqq.

(K) Several other instances of this prince's mild, equitable, and generous disposition are handed down to us by the *Egyptian* writers; one of which, being very remarkable, we shall take the liberty to insert here. *Al Malec Al Câmél*, in his return from *Alexandria*, passed through the valley of *Habib*, and was, with the whole body of his guards attending him, very hospitably entertained by the monks residing in the monastery seated there. The *Soltân*, not to be behind-hand with them in point of generosity, made them a present of 500 *artaba's* of wheat, 300 of meal, 100 of beans, and as many of pease. He likewise removed an officer, employed in collecting the tribute paid by the monks to the *Soltân*, who had before usually lived in the monastery; and consequently been no small restraint upon the religious residing there. He farther granted them an instrument, or patent, by virtue of which all who entered upon the monastic state were thenceforth to be exempted from tribute, together with this additional privilege, that the substance and effects of the monks,

after their decease, should belong to the monasteries, and not to him. The *Soltân* also, at this time, gave them leave to chuse whom they pleased for their patriarch; promising to confirm their election, and support in his new dignity the person their unanimous suffrages should fall upon. They excusing themselves from setting about that affair at present, on account of their poverty, as they wanted money to pay for a license, which would be previously requisite, for that purpose; he bad them only be unanimous in their choice of a proper person to fill the vacant patriarchal see, and leave the rest to him, as not a farthing should be exacted of them on that occasion. But neither this obliging condescension and generosity of the *Soltân*, nor any thing else, could inspire them with sentiments of concord and unanimity, so that the patriarchal see remained vacant some years longer. This adventure is said to have happened in, or near, the year of the *Hejra* 630 (1).

(1) Renaud. ubi sup. p. 574.

- a be plundered, during that term; so that they stripped the remainder of the people, who survived the carnage, of every thing they had. The *Rûmean* soldiers even plundered the churches; carrying away the books, crucifixes, gold and silver vessels, and every thing of any value that they found therein. Hereupon the citizens of *Harrân* brought the keys of their citadel to him. After this, he made himself master of *Al Rakka* and *Al Bîra* upon the *Euphrates*, which were obliged to surrender to him. But, as soon as his forces were withdrawn, *Al Malec Al Câmél*, the *Sâheb* of *Egypt*, marched to *Al Robâ*, laid siege to that city, and at the end of four months possessed himself of it. The *Rûmean* troops that he found therein, being prisoners of war, he sent in chains upon camels into *Egypt*; after he had demolished a large tower, belonging to the castle of that place. At length being pressed on one side by the *Moguls*, and on the other by the princes of the house of *Ayûb*; he was obliged, after he had acquired an immense quantity of spoil, to abandon the territories of other princes, in order to preserve his own. This year, according to Dr. *Hunt*'s MS. copy of *Ebn Shohnab*, died *Al Malec Al Zâbed Dawd*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Bîra*, upon the *Euphrates*, probably after that city had fallen into 'Alâo'ddîn's hands; as did likewise a prince of the family of *Ayûb*, son to *Al Malec Al Dhâber Al Gâzi*, of whom we have spoken frequently above, and *Al Kâdi Bobâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, the biographer, who wrote the life of *Salâb'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb*, in a very advanced age. The last of these, *Al Kâdi Bobâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, who was one of *Salâb'addîn*'s greatest favourites, seems to have ended his days at *Aleppo*; as he had appointments there, under *Al Malec Al Azîz*, *Al Malec Al Dhâber Al Gâzi*'s son, if the above-mentioned MS. copy of *Ebn Shohnab* may be depended upon, that amounted annually to 100,000 *dinârs*. The same year, *Oktay Khân* marched an army into *Korea*; and having levied more than 1,500,000 good troops, he sent *Sûpûtay*, one of his most famous generals, with 300,000 men, to ravage the countries to the west, north, and north-east of the *Caspian* sea. His sons *Kotovan* and *Kuchû*, attended by several *Mogul* and *Kitan* princes, and two or three renowned generals, he ordered to attack the emperor of the *Song*, in different places at once. *Wang-shi-hyen* surrendered the city of *Kong-chang-fû*, in *Shen-si*, to *Kotovan*, and offered to join him with a body of troops he commanded there, in the year that we are now upon^d.

- In the 633d year of the *Hejra*, beginning September 16th, 1235, the *Tartars* (L) over-^{and of the year} ran the district of *Arbel*, penetrated into that of *Niniveh*, and incamped upon the river of⁶³³.
d *Tarjaiah* and *Carmalis*. Hereupon the inhabitants of the latter of those towns retired into their church, where they were surrounded by the *Moguls*; two of whose principal officers posted themselves at the doors, on each side, and gave verbal leave to the people to return to their respective habitations. Notwithstanding which, all those that went out of one of the doors were put to the sword, whilst those that passed out of the other were saved alive. At this extraordinary conduct, the reason of which could never be known, every body was surprized. About this time, a great number of young men, in the towns and villages near the monasteries of chief note in *Egypt*, put on the monastic habit, in order to avoid paying the usual tribute that would otherwise have been demanded of them. This fraud being discovered, the collectors of the tribute treated the monks themselves with extreme severity; particularly *Ebn Farme-sini*, who filled a considerable post in the state at *Alexandria*, not a little harrassed the monks in the neighbourhood of that city, and exacted of them above 1000 *dinârs*. To prevent such frauds for the future, an edict was also issued by the *Soltân*, confining the privileges of monks to those who received the habit regularly in some monastery, resided there, and had their names inserted in the register of the *Dîwân*. This year, *Dawd*, or *David*, *Ebn Laklak*, an ambitious *Egyptian* priest, by whose intrigues the *Jacobite* church had been imbroiled no less than twenty years, was elected patriarch of the *Jacobites* at *Alexandria*. He had, ever since the death of *John*, the last patriarch, that is to say, during the space of twenty years, aspired at that dignity; and at last, by the influence of bribery, and the assistance of every wicked art, obtained it. In conformity to a custom which then prevailed, when a monk was vested with the supreme ecclesiastical authority, he assumed the name, or rather surname, of *Cyril*; and left behind him, after his decease, which happened in 640, according to *Al Makrîzi*, a most infamous character. The *Moguls*, under the command of prince *Kotovan*, overthrew the forces

^d GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 475, 476. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 632. GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 88, & seqq.

(L) The *Arabs* call this people *Al Tâtâr*, and they likewise, according to *Abu'l Ghâzi Bahâder*, the *Khân* of *Khorârazm*, denominate themselves *Tatars*; but as in *Europe* they generally go under the appellation of *Tartars*, we constantly here make use of that name (1).

(1) Greg. Abu'l Far. Ebn Shohn. Ijm. Abu'lfeâ. et Abu'l Ghâzi Bahâd. pass.

of the Song, under the orders of *Tsau-yew-ven* and *Tsau-wan*, and reduced most of the cities of *Se-chwen*, before the close of the present campaign^c.

Al Sol:ân
'Alâo'ddîn
Kaykobâd,
the Sâheb of
Al Rûm, dies.

THE following year, being the 634th of the *Hejra*, which commenced September 4th, 1236, *Al Soltân 'Alâo'ddîn Kaykobâd*, the Sâheb of *Al Rûm*, died suddenly in his capital. For, at a feast which he had made for his chief lords and officers, just as he was in the height of his jollity, and boasting of the extent of his dominions, he felt a pain in his bowels; and, being taken at the same time with a flux, discharged such a quantity of bloody excrements, that he died two days after, having reigned eighteen years. He was prudent, temperate, and brave; but kept in great awe his nobles and dependents. He restored the high reputation of the *Seljuks*, which the sons of *Kilij Arslân* had impaired by their divisions, enlarged the empire to its former limits, and re-established order in the state. He was endued with great firmness of mind, and feared by the neighbouring princes; who readily submitting to him, he for that reason assumed the title of *king of the world*. *Alâo'ddîn* being dead, the *Rûmean* princes took the oath of fidelity to his son *Gayâtbo'ddîn Kaykbofrû*; who, says *Abu'lfeda*, in the year 641, was broke to pieces by the *Tartars*. Soon after his accession to the crown, he seized *Gâyer Khân*, the chief *Emîr* of the *Khowârazmians*; upon which, the other *Emîrs* of that nation fled with their troops. Those fugitives, taking their route through *Malatîa*, or *Malatiya*, *Câkbtîn*, and *Kbartabert*, made *Saifo'ddîn Al Sûbâshi* (M) prisoner, and put *Babarmîr*, or *Tabarmîr*, *Al Sûb. shi*, to the sword, at *Kbartabert*. They also ravaged the county of *Someisât*, and continued their route to *Al Sowaidî*; pillaging the whole tract through which they moved, in a dreadful manner. But having the cities of *Al Rohâ*, or *Edeffa*, *Harrân*, and others on that side, assigned them by *Al Malec Al Nâser*, the Sâheb of *Aleppo*, for their habitations; they desisted from farther ravages, and were incorporated with the other inhabitants of those towns, who enjoyed his protection^f.

Al Malec Al
'Azîz, the
Sâheb of
Aleppo, de-
parts this life.

THE same year, *Al Malec Al 'Azîz Mohammed Ebn Al Malec Al Dhâber Ebn Salâh'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb*, the Sâheb of *Aleppo*, likewise departed this life, in the castle there. He was succeeded by his son *Al Malec Al Nâser Salâh'addîn Yusef*, the last prince of the house of *Ayûb* who reigned in that city. *Al Malec Al 'Azîz Mohammed Ebn Al Malec Al Dhâber*, according to *Ebn Shohnab*, was a good ruler, and ended his days in the former *Rabî*. Dr. *Hunt*'s MS. copy of this author seems to intimate, that *Al Malec Al 'Azîz Mohammed* was only twenty-three years and one month old, at the time of his death; that *Al Malec Al Nâser Salâh'addîn* was about seven years of age, when that event happened; and that *Saifa Khâtûn*, the daughter of *Al Malec Al 'Adel*, his father's mother, acted as regent, whilst he was incapable of holding the reins of government. We are told by *Abu'l Faraj*, that *Al Malec Al Nâser Salâh'addîn*, the last *Soltân* of *Aleppo* of the house of *Ayûb*, was killed by *Holagu*, or *Hûlâcû*, the *Tartar*, in 658, two years after the taking of *Baghdâd* by the *Tartars*^e.

Other trans-
actions of the
year 634.

THE city of *Arbel* having been besieged by the *Tartars*, in the month of *Shawâl*, this year, the garrison and inhabitants retired into the castle, where they defended themselves with great bravery for forty days; at the end of which term, the *Tartars* were prevailed upon, for a sum of money, to abandon the siege. The *Tartars*, or *Moguls*, on the side of *Cbina*, likewise attacked ineffectually *Wbang-Chew*, a pretty large city of *Hu-quang*, this campaign; having been obliged to draw off from before it, after they had sustained a very considerable loss^h.

The most me-
morable events
of the year
635,

THE next year, being the 635th of the *Hejra*, which began August 24th, 1237, *Al Malec Al Asbraf Modbaffero'ddîn Mûsa Ebn Al Malec Al 'Adel Abu Becr Ebn Ayûb* paid the common tribute to nature at *Damascus*, after he had reigned a little above eight years there. He left the kingdom he governed to *Al Malec Al Sâleb Ismael*, his brother; and was sixty years old, at the time of his demise. *Al Malec Al Asbraf* was strongly attached to his pleasures; and denied himself no kind of gratifications; though he is said to have been a very gracious, affable, and munificent prince. His arms were every-where attended with such success, that "his standard, as *Ebn Shohnab* expresses it, was never broken," by his enemies. The news of his death no sooner arrived in *Egypt*, than *Al Malec Al Câmél*, his brother, marched with a powerful army to *Damascus*, shut up *Al Malec Al Sâleb Ismael* in that city, and obliged the

^c GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 476. TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN 'ANGRI WIRDI, in *Mawredô'llatâf*. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 576, 593. GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 90, 91, & seqq. ^f GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 476, 477. KHONDEMIR, D'Heibel. Biblioth. orient. art. *Alaeddin Ben Kaikhojiou*. p. 83. & art. *Caicobad Alaeddin*, p. 240. ^e GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 477. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 634. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 634. D'HEREEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 746. ^h GREG. ABU'L FAR. & GAUBIL, ubi sup.

(M) The word *Sûbâshi*, or *Sûbâsha*, here seems to have been taken by Dr. Pocock for the name of an officer next in rank to a *Basba*, or *Bashaw*, and must therefore be considered as a sort of *Turkish* term. Nor are we to be

surprized at meeting with such a word in *Abu'l Faraj*, as he was a native of the *Belâd Al Rûm*, then occupied by the *Seljukian Turks* (1).

(1) Greg. Abu'l Far. ubi sup. p. 487, et alib. Vid. etiam *Nasir Al Tûfi*, et *Ulugh Beik*, ubi sup.

- a new *Sabab* to surrender it to him. After which, he made his public entry into that capital; and gave *Al Malec Al Saleb Ismael* in lieu thereof *Baalbec*, *Al Bokâ*, or *Al Bekâ* (N), the adjacent plain from whence the city of *Baalbec* derived its present name, and *Bosra*. *Ebn Shobnah* seems to intimate, that *Al Malec Al Câmél* affixed fifty of *Al Mojâbed Shairacûb*'s men, sent by him with an ill design to *Damascus*, to certain gibbets, erected for that purpose, in the gardens of the palace. He had no sooner made himself master of *Damascus*, then he detached a body of his troops to drive *Al Malec Al Mojâbed Shairacûb* from the city of *Hems*: but whilst he was pursuing his conquest of *Syria*, and forming great designs against the *Franks*, the *Tartars*, and the *Seljuks*, who on all sides surrounded his dominions, he died, at *Damascus*, after he had lived seventy years, and reigned twenty, in *Syria* and *Egypt*. His death happened, according to *Ebn Shobnah*, towards the close of *Rajeb*. It has been remarked, that as *Mo'awiyah*, the first *Khalif* of the house of *Ommiyah*, presided twenty years over the people of *Damascus*, in quality of governor, and reigned there twenty years more with the dignity and authority of *Khalif*; so this *Soltân* governed that metropolis twenty years in a state of dependency on other princes, and the same number of years afterwards as absolute sovereign of the provinces appertaining to it. He left behind him the reputation of a wise and learned prince. *Egypt* received many benefits and advantages from him, whilst he sat upon the throne. Men of letters in particular owed vast obligations to him. For he frequently held conferences with them, and attended their disputations in his palace; when he proposed several difficulties to them, on subjects both relative to the *belles lettres* and the jurisprudence of the *Mohammedans*. Nor did he ever dismiss them without some considerable presents. *Ebn Shobnah* writes, that he examined them in the several branches of literature to which they had chiefly applied themselves; offering objections and proposing curious questions to them, in order to try their abilities, and see what progress they had made. In drawing up these questions, which were for the most part deduced from juridical and grammatical topics, he was assisted by *Ebn Moti*. He is said to have been a person of consummate gravity and prudence, a lover of learned men, and extremely well versed in the art of government. 'Tis no wonder, therefore, that his councils were generally crowned with success. So exceedingly prone was he to favour persons of erudition, that he founded for a certain number of them the college, or school, from him denominated *Câmeliya*, of which we may perhaps hereafter give our readers some account. The famous *Sharif Al Edrisi*, as he himself informs us in his geography, dedicated to *Al Malec Al Câmél* his book upon the pyramids of *Egypt*. As soon as his death was known, the *Emîrs* of *Egypt* saluted his younger son *Al Malec Al 'Adel Abu Becr Ebn Al Malec Al Câmél*, without any regard to his elder brother *Nojmo'ddin, Soltân*, and took the oath of allegiance to him; he residing at *Al Kâbirah*, and being the governor of *Egypt*, when his father expired. With regard to the kingdom of *Damascus*, *Al Malec Al Câmél* was succeeded there, if *Dr. Hunt's MS.* copy of *Ebn Shobnah* may be depended upon, by *Al Malec Al Jawâd Yûnes Ebn Dawd Ebn Al Malec Al 'Adel Abu Becr Ebn Ayûb*. This year, the patriarch *Cyril* was upbraided, in the severest terms, by the leading men amongst the *Jacobites*, with simony; which he endeavoured to excuse, by saying, that without this he could not raise the money he had engaged to pay to the *Soltân*. But so far were they from being satisfied with this excuse, that it incensed them still more against him. They farther urged, that they had no hand in his election; and that, after he had been guilty of the vilest practices, in order to carry his point, he had bought the patriarchate of *Alexandria* of the *Soltân*. After much altercation, he at last bound himself by oath to abstain from simony, as soon as he had paid the remainder of the money due to the *Soltân*, amounting to 300 *dinârs*; though he scrupled not afterwards to violate this oath, in a

(N) *Al Bokâ*, in the singular number, properly denotes the vale, or valley, and *Al Bekâ*, or *Al Bikâ*, in the plural, the vallies, or flat countries, as we learn from *Golius*. Here the word must undoubtedly be taken for the plain of *Baalbec*, of which the following description has been given us by *Dr. Pococke*. "The plain of *Baalbec* is about eight miles broad, extends a considerable way to the south, and much farther northwards, where it opens into a plain; to the north east of which are the deserts that extend eastward to *Palmyra*; and northwards to *Hems*, the ancient *Emesa*. Towards the north part of this plain the river *Asi* rises, which is the *Orontes* of the ancients; it is a barren red soil, very little improved, and the crops it produces are so poor, that it hardly answers the expence of tilling and watering; and they cannot sow it two years together, this part having no water but what is brought from a stream that

"rises plentifully half a mile south-east of *Baalbec*, which runs thro' the city, and is lost in the fields and gardens." Hence it appears, that as *Baal*, or the sun, was worshipped there, he might have been denominated *Baal Bokâ*, or *Baal Bekâ*, i. e. *Baal of the valley, or the plain*; which appellation the people of the country might possibly afterwards have pronounced *Baalbec*, or *Baalbek*, and applied to the city where that deity was principally adored itself. But as the word *Baalbec*, according to this interpretation of it, seems not sufficiently to answer to the Greek name *Heliopolis*, and another explication of it has been offered by the learned *Schultens*, different enough from that proposed here; we shall not take upon us to determine what degree of credit the foregoing etymon, especially as *Baal* was rather a *Syrian* and *Phœnician* than an *Arabian* false deity, may justly claim (1).

(1) *Gol. lex. Arab.* p. 302, 303. *Pococke's descript. of the East*, vol. II. part ii. p. 105, 106. *London*, 1745. *Asiatick Researches*, ind. geographic. in vit. *Salad. Lugd. Bataror.* 1732.

shameful manner. About the same time, a large part of the gardens belonging to the church in the island of *Mesr* was overflowed by an inundation of the *Nile*; which induced the *Soltân*, to prevent any farther damages that might happen, to command the mounds there to be repaired. On this occasion *Cyri*l found means to rebuild the church, which was become by the injuries of time little better than a heap of ruins. Not long after, the *Jacobite Alexandrian* patriarch ordained and sent to *Jerusalem*, or *Al Kuds*, a new metropolitan; which vastly disgusted many people, as the ordination of such a metropolitan properly appertained to the province of the *Jacobite* patriarch of *Antioch*. This usurpation was attended with some remarkable consequences, for an account of which we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to some of the authors cited here. The same year, the *Tartars* made an irruption into *Irâk*, and penetrated almost to the very gates of *Baghdâd*; but were attacked at *Zancâbâd* and *Sûmanrây*, or *Sarmanrây*, by *Mojâbedo'ddîn Al Dowaidâr* and *Sbarfo'ddîn Akbâl*, with the *Khalif's* forces, and overthrown with incredible slaughter. However, the *Khalif*, fearing their return, ordered a sufficient number of military engines to be planted upon the walls of *Baghdâd*. Nor was this precaution unnecessary, as the *Moguls*, before the end of the year, advanced to *Kbânekîn*, defeated the troops of *Baghdâd* sent against them, killed a multitude of them, and then returned into their own territories, loaded with spoil. A considerable part of the city of *Baghdâd* was, this year, laid under water by a dreadful inundation of the *Tigris*; during which, two vessels then on the river were lost, with fifty men on board. *Chaban*, the *Mogul* general in *China*, who acted against the *Song*, was obliged to raise the siege of *Lu-chew*, a strong city of *Kyangnan*, into which *Tû-kew*, a *Song* officer, had previously thrown himself, with a body of troops, and pursued above three miles, by the *Song*, before the close of the present year¹.

and of the
year 636.

THE 636th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *August* 13th, 1238, produced at least two or three remarkable events, that are not to be passed over in silence here. *Al Malec Al Sâleh Nojmo'ddîn Ayûb*, in the room of *Al Malec Al Jawâd Yûnes Ebn Dawd*, of the house of *Ayûb*, mounted the throne of *Damascus*. As *Al Malec Al Jawâd*, who was the grand-son of *Al Malec Al 'Adel Abu Becr Ebn Ayûb*, voluntarily resigned the sovereignty of *Damascus* to *Al Malec Al Sâleh Ayûb Ebn Al Mâlec Al Câmél*; he received in lieu thereof the cities of *Sinjâr*, *Al Rakka*, and *'Ana*, with the territories belonging to them. The patriarch *Cyri*l was accused this year, before the *Diwân*, of having exacted of the bishops and priests that he had ordained, or scraped together out of the revenues of the churches and monasteries, under the pretext of paying the *Soltân*, no less than 9000 *dinârs*; upon which, he was fined first 1000 *dinârs*, and afterwards 500, his principal accuser being a monk, formerly his friend, who had not a little forwarded his promotion to the patriarchate of *Alexandria*. A fresh accusation was soon after brought against him; in which one *Hamad*, or *Hamed*, a monk, who had actually been employed by him in making a bargain with the *Soltân* for the *Jacobite* patriarchate of *Alexandria*, was chiefly concerned. Being found guilty of what was alleged against him, the new *Soltân* sent an order to the governor of *Alexandria* to deliver him up into the hands of *Hamad*; at whose instigation he was first imprisoned at *Alexandria*, and afterwards in *Al Kâbirah*. At last, however, by the intercession of friends, he was released, and admitted to an audience of the *Soltân*. As he brought some valuable presents with him, he was well received, and taken under that prince's protection. Nor could *Hamad*, who had been incarcerated at the instance of *Cyri*l's friends, obtain his liberty, before he had engaged himself to pay the sum of 4800 *dinârs*. The war between the *Moguls* and the *Song* in *China* was carried on at this time with various success. In *Hû-quang*, *Meng-kong*, the *Song* general, during the former part of the year, every-where worsted the *Moguls*, and retook *Syang-yang*. After which, the *Song*, taking advantage of *Kotovan's* retreat out of *Se-chwen*, repossessed themselves of *Ching-tû-fû*, the capital of that province, and assembled there a large body of troops. *Tabay Mongu*, commander in chief of the *Moguls*, hereupon re-entered *Se-chwen*, defeated in a pitched battle the army of the *Song* near *Ching-tû-fû*, seized that metropolis, and advanced towards the frontiers of *Hû-quang*, in the latter part of the year that we are now upon².

The chief occurrences of
the year 637.

THE following year, being the 637th of the *Hejra*, beginning *August* 3d, 1239, the *Moguls* seemed to meditate an irruption into the *Belâd Al Rûm*; but were hindered from carrying their design into execution by a body of troops, which *Al Soltân Gayâtho'ddîn* had sent into *Armenia*, to observe their motions. *Al Malec Al Sâleh Nojmo'ddîn Ayûb*, having settled himself upon the throne of *Damascus*, marched with an army into *Egypt*, to take upon himself the government of that kingdom. Soon after his departure, *Al Malec Al Sâleh Ismael*, the *Sâheb*

¹ EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 635. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 635. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 478. TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in Mawredo'llatâf. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. Camel. p. 246. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 578, 579, 580. SHARIF AL EDRISI, apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. GAUBIL, ubi sup. ² EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 636. TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in Mawredo'llatâf. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 636. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. Camel. p. 246. & art. Salab, p. 741. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 581, 582. GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 95, & seqq.

- a of *Baalbec*, and *Al Malec Al Mojâbed Shairacûb*, the *Sâheb* of *Hems*, advanced with their united forces to *Damascus*, laid siege to that capital, and forced it to surrender to them. When the news of this unexpected event reached the ears of *Al Malec Al Sâleb Nojmo'ddin Ayûb*, he was at some distance from his army, then incamped in *Gaur*. However, he soon put himself at the head of his troops; took *Al Malec Al Nâser Dawd*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Carac*, prisoner; and afterwards released him, on condition that he should march with him to *Jerusalem*, or *Al Kuds*, in order to reduce that city, and demolish the new fortifications raised there by the *Franks*. They had no sooner occupied *Al Kuds*, than they concluded a treaty of alliance, in the temple of *Affakbra*; by the principal article of which, *Al Malec Al Nâser Dawd* had assigned him the *Belâd Al Sharkia* and *Damascus*, and *Al Malec Al Sâleb Nojmo'ddin Ayûb* the kingdom of *Egypt*. They then moved together, at the head of the combined army of *Damascus* and *Al Carac*, towards the frontiers of *Egypt*; and, according to Dr. Hunt's copy of *Ebn Shohnab*, received advice, on their march, that *Al Malec Al 'Adel Abu Becr* had been seized by his own servants, and, as other writers seem to intimate, been by them put to death. Upon which, they pursued their march with the utmost expedition, and in a short time entered *Egypt*. *Al Malec Al Sâleb Nojmo'ddin Ayûb* possessed himself of *Kal'at Al Jebel*, or the castle of the mountain, and was received every-where by the *Egyptians* with all possible demonstrations of joy. The same year, if we may depend upon some of the *Egyptian* authors, fresh complaints were brought against the patriarch *Cyri*; who, at last, however, by agreeing to sign and subscribe certain regulations, or necessary heads of reformation, drawn up by fourteen bishops, and proposed by them to him in the church of *Haret Zoûilet* at *Mesr*, restored for the present some repose to the *Jacobite* church. But being afterwards accused of simony and other heinous crimes by *Al Makin*, an *Alexandrian* priest, surnamed *Ebn Albiba*, who had formerly been one of his most intimate friends, and collected in the maritime tract his simoniacal exactions, but by his obstinacy and avarice was now alienated from him; and this accusation being supported by the evidence of eleven bishops, which was exceeding strong against him; the principal *Emîr*, or *Wazîr*, ordered him to be taken again into custody. However, having subscribed an instrument, for a particular account of which we must refer our readers to some of the writers cited here, containing a *Jacobite* confession of faith, or a summary of the *Jacobite* doctrines, in opposition to those of other sects, an express declaration against the council of *Chalcedon*, an explicit condemnation of simony in every shape, besides other material points, and promised to regulate according to it his future conduct, he was immediately discharged. At this time civil dissensions reigning amongst the *Moslems* in *Egypt*, the principal *Emîrs* being imbroiled amongst themselves, the affairs of the *Christians* there were in a very bad situation. They were insulted by the populace on all occasions, especially if they appeared in public without those infamous marks of distinction which they had formerly been obliged to wear, but were excused from carrying them through the whole mild reign of *Al Malec Al Cîmel*. Nor were they only insulted, but likewise beaten, and used with uncommon cruelty; which induced some of them, in order to avoid such barbarous treatment, to renounce the *Christian* faith. The *Moslems* also, this very year, plundered the *Jacobite* church of *Al Moal-laka*; part of one of the walls of which, without the least appearance of truth, they asserted to belong to a neighbouring mosque. Amongst the principal events of the present year, *Ebn Shohnab* ranks the death of *Al Malec Al Mojâbed Shairacûb*, the *Sâheb* of *Hems*, and that of *Nâsero'ddin Al Mansûr Artak*, or *Artok*, *Ebn Aylgâzi*, of the house of *Artok*, the *Sâheb* of *Mâredîn*. The former of those princes was succeeded by *Al Mansûr Ibrahim*, his son; and the latter, who ruled *Mâredîn* after his brother *Lûlû Arslân*, by *Artak Ebn Al Malec Al Sa'id Nojmo'ddin Gâzi*, who died in 653. After him his son *Shamso'ddin Dawd* reigned seven years, and some months; and then his brother *Al Mansûr Nojmo'ddin Gâzi*, who swayed the scepter to the day of his death. We must not forget to observe, that *Meng-kong*, general of the *Song*, gained great honour by the reduction of *Quey-chew*, and obtained many other very considerable advantages over the *Moguls*, on the side of *China*, in 637¹.
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THE next year, being the 638th of the *Hejra*, which commenced July 23d, 1240, the *Jacobite Alexandrian* patriarch was accused of appropriating to himself 3,000 *dinârs*, that belonged to the *Soltân*; upon which the *Wazîr*, or *Emîr*, before whom he appeared, set upon him and his relations a fine of 1,500 *dinârs*. The bishop of *Sendasa*, having been guilty of fornication, was excommunicated by the patriarch; and having afterwards entertained in his house a common prostitute, who was a *Moslem*, he found himself obliged, in order to save his life, to turn *Mohammedan*. The same year, according to *Ebn Shohnab*, *Al Malec Al Sâleb Ismael*, the *Sâheb* of *Damascus*, to the great regret of the *Moslems*, delivered up *Safad* and *Al Shakîf* to the *Franks*, lest those places should fall into his nephew *Al Malec Al Sâleb*

¹ GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 479. EBN SHOHNAB, ad an. Hej. 637. TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in Mawredo'llatâf. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 586—591. GAUBIL, ubi sup.

Avûb's hands. Nor was it long before a general peace was concluded, after some slight a skirmishes and velitations, between the *Moslems* and the *Franks*. By one article of this treaty, *Jerusalem*, or *Al Kuds*, *Betblehem*, *'Askalân*, with their respective territories, *Beit Gabriel*, *Gaza*, without the districts appertaining to them, *Tabariya*, or *Tiberias*, *Majdel Yûsâ*, *Al Ramla*, *Carwacab*, *Tyre*, *Tebnîn*, and all the other towns and fortresses seated in the maritime part of *Syria*, were ceded by the former to the latter. The prisoners on both sides, by another article of the same treaty, were to be released; and the *Franks* in the citadel of *Al Kâbirah*, by a third article, had the church of *St. Mercury* assigned them by the *Soltân* for an hospital. This was an exceeding great mortification to the *Jacobites* there; who were rendered incapable of performing divine service in the church of *Moallaka*, by the daily insults of the *Mohammedans*, b and the other churches were either demolished, or not so much as formerly under the patriarch's jurisdiction. This year, a *Turkmân* impostor, named *Bâbâ*, who pretended to act the prophet, appeared at *Amâsiâ*, in *Natolia*; and, by his wonderful feats, seduced a multitude of people of the tribe of *Al Gâga* there. He had a disciple called *Isbak*, whom he sent in a doctor's gown through the other parts of *Natolia*, or the *Belâd Al Rûm*, to invite the *Turkmâns* to join him. *Isbak* accordingly, coming into the territory of *Someisât*, published his commission, and prevailed on so many, especially amongst the *Turkmâns*, to embrace his master's sect, that he had at last 6000 horse at his heels, besides a considerable body of foot. With these *Bâbâ* and his disciples made open war on all who would not cry out with them, *There is no God but God, Bâbâ is the apostle of God*; and put a vast number of the inhabitants of *Hisn Al Mansûr*, *Cûkbtîn*, *Carcar*, *Someisât*, and the country about *Malatiya*, c who refused to follow them, both *Moslems* and *Christians*, to the sword. They also defeated the troops sent to oppose them, and obstruct their march to *Amâsiâ*; but were at length overthrown by a body of *Franks*, in the pay of the *Sâheb* of *Al Rûm*, when that prince's *Moslem* forces durst not engage them. The action was so bloody, that they were all killed upon the spot, except the two doctors, *Bâbâ* and *Isbak*, themselves; who, being taken prisoners by the *Franks*, had their heads struck off by the executioner, after they had ravaged and pillaged a very considerable part of the *Belâd Al Rûm*. About this time, according to *Dr. Hunt's* copy of *Ebn Shohnab*, *Altasbîb 'Azzo'ddin Abd'alazîz Ebn Al Salâm* was made the supreme judge, or chancellor, of *Egypt*; and *Al Sheikh Jamâlo'ddin* (or *Jamâlo'ddin*) *Abu'l Amrû Ebn Al Hâjeb* appointed, by *Al Malec Al Nâser Dawd*, the *Sâheb* of that city, commander in chief d of the forces of *Al Carac*. It may not be amiss to remark, that *Oktay Khân*, emperor of the *Moguls*, put a period to his days by a debauch, if we may depend upon the *Chinese* historians, either this or the following year ^m.

What happened, in some of the Moslem territories, the following year.

In the 639th year of the *Hejra*, which began *July 12th, 1241*, *Jarmâgûn Nowayn* penetrated into the *Greater Armenia*, as far as *Arzen Al Rûm*, the *Arzerum*, or *Erzerum*, of the moderns, laid siege to that city, and took it. The *Moguls* behaved with their usual barbarity on this occasion; putting *Senân*, the *Sub-Basba*, with many of the inhabitants, to the sword, carrying away their children into captivity, and ravaging all the adjacent tract. This year, as we are informed by *Ebn Shohnab*, died *Al Sheikh Al 'Alîmah Kemâlo'ddin Musa Ebn Yûnes Ebn Mohammed Ebn Malec*, a celebrated *Moslem* doctor; who first professed the principles of *Al Shâfeî*, and afterwards those laid down by the founders of the other orthodox sects, all which he refuted by turns. *Dr. Hunt's MS.* copy of *Ebn Shohnab* seems, however, to intimate, that at the time of his death he was most closely attached to the tenets of *Al Shâfeî*. He applied himself to the mathematics, and wrote a commentary upon the books of *Euclid* and *Ptolemy*, particularly the *Almagest*. He attained to some knowledge of the *Jewish* and *Christian* doctrines, contained in the scriptures of the Old and New Testament. In fine, he was a prodigy of learning; for which reason he was honoured with the title, or appellation, of *Al Sheikh Al 'Alîmah*, that is, *the doctor of doctors*, as justly due to his superior merit. His chief instructors, according to *Dr. Hunt's MS.* copy of *Ebn Shohnab*, were *Sibûiyah*, *Al Sheikh Albîro'ddin Al Abhari*, and *Al Sheikh Takio'ddin Othmân Ebn Abd'alrahmân*, generally known by the surname of *Ebn Al Salâh*. *Al Kâdi Shamsô'ddin Ebn Khalecân* sometimes likewise read to him the *Almagest*, if in this point that author may be depended upon ⁿ.

The Moguls make an irruption into the Belâd Al Rûm, and grant the Sâheb of that country a peace.

THE 640th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *July 1st, 1242*, produced several remarkable events; the most memorable of which, taken notice of by the *Arab* writers, we shall beg leave just to touch upon. The *Moguls* made an irruption into the *Belâd Al Rûm*, put *Soltân Gayâtbo'ddin* to flight, took *Sîwâs*, or *Seiwâs*, and *Kaisariya*, and seemed to indicate an intention to advance to *Malatiya*. This struck *Rashîdo'ddin Al Khawaini*, the *Emîr* of the place, with such terror, that he fled with the utmost precipitation to *Aleppo*, and was followed

^m EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 638. TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in Mawieo'ddîn. a GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 479. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. Baba, p. 158. RENAUD, ubi sup. p. 591, 592. GAUEIL, ubi sup. ⁿ EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 639. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 480. EBN KHALECAN, D'HERBEL. orient. art. Kemaledain Moussa Ben Jearas, p. 955.

- a by as many of the principal inhabitants of *Malatiya* as could conveniently retire. Amongst others the father of *Abu'l Faraj* having made the proper dispositions for his departure, and endeavouring to put the best of his moveables and effects upon the back of a mule appointed for that purpose; the beast ran away, and could not be brought back before a rumour was spread over all the city, that certain young men, posted at the gates, pillaged all those that went out of the town. Upon which, the father of *Abu'l Faraj*, who was himself then there, had a conference with *Dionysius*, the metropolitan of *Malatiya*; who having convoked the leading men both of the *Moslems* and the *Christians*, in the great church, to deliberate upon the present critical situation of affairs, they all unanimously bound themselves by mutual oaths to be true to one another, to obey the orders of the metropolitan in every thing relative either to
- b a pacification with the *Tartars* or the defence of the place, and to post guards upon the walls to prevent evil-minded people from committing any disorders. But the alarm was soon over, as the *Moguls*, instead of marching to *Malatiya*, took the route of *Arzancân*, carried that city by assault, and forced *Soltân Gayâtho'ddin* to sue for peace; which they granted him, on condition that he should annually pay a certain tribute then imposed upon him. But for a particular and circumstantial account of this expedition, and the peace consequent thereupon, we must refer our readers to a subsequent part of this work, to which it will more properly belong.

THE same year, died *Al Mostanser Bi'llah Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*, the *Khalif* of *Baghdâd*, after he had almost completed the seventeenth year of his reign. He was prudent, just, munificent, an encourager of learned (O) men, and distributed vast sums of money amongst the poor. A large number of mosques, schools, and hospitals, in his dominions, were fallen down;

The Khalif
Mostanser
Bi'llah dies.

* GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 480, 481, 482. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Alacddin Ben Kaikhostru*, p. 83. & art. *Gaiathuddin Caikhostru*, p. 356, 357.

(O) The most celebrated learned men, in the *Moslem* territories, during the *Khalifat* of *Al Mostanser Bi'llah*, seem to have been the following.

1. *Hafûn*, a *Christian* physician, and a native of *Al Robâ*, or *Edeffa*, who excelled both in the theory and practice of physic. He was highly esteemed by his patients, as his prescriptions generally met with the desired success. *Hafûn* was a very considerable traveller, and gave an exceeding good account of the regions he had traversed. He served in quality of physician *Saifo'ddin*, *Akhtiyâro'ddin Hasan*, and others of the principal officers of *Kilij Arslân's* court. As these recovered their health under his care, and *Saifo'ddin* was a person of great distinction, being *Kilij Arslân's* master of the horse; he acquired a high reputation in the *Belâd Al Rûm*. From thence he went to *Diyâr Beer*, where he attended in the same capacity the families of *Shâh Armen* and *Al Hazârdinârî*; as he did afterwards the princes of the house of *Ayûb*, settled in those parts. Being returned to *Al Robâ*, he was informed, that *Togrol*, an eunuch, with whom he had been acquainted in the family of *Akhtiyâro'ddin Hasan*, was the prime minister at *Aleppo*; upon which, he immediately repaired to that city. But, being a *Christian*, he was very coldly received by him. This induced him to think of retiring from thence; which before he could do, he was attacked, and carried off, by a fever, attended by a diarrhœa and dysentery, that affected his liver, in the year of the *Hejra* 625. He was buried in the church of the *Jacobites*, at *Aleppo*; which seems to indicate, that, in his life-time, he had professed the tenets of that sect.

2. *Yakûb Ebn Saklân*, a *Christian* physician, born at *Jerusalem*, or *Al Kuds*, who acquired much experience in the hospital there; which enabled him, tho' no great scholar, to practise with good success, when he was appointed physician in ordinary to *Al Malec Al Moadhdhem Ebn Al Malec Al 'Adel Ebn Ayûb*. He went with that prince to *Damascus*, and was loaded by him there with riches and honours. He was so afflicted with the gout, that he could neither stir nor move; insomuch that when *Al Malec Al Moadhdhem* wanted his assistance, he was carried in a couch, or litter, to him. He studied philosophy under *Theodorus*, a philosopher of *Antioch*; was surnamed *Al Makdesfi*, as being a native of *Jerusalem*, or *Beit Al Makdes*; and died of the terrible distemper above-mentioned, soon after his patron and benefactor *Al Moadhdhem*, in the year of the *Hejra* 626.

3. *Abu Sâlem*, a *Christian*, of the *Jacobite* persuasion, born at *Malatiya*, and generally called *Ebn Carâlâ*, or *Ebn*
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Carâyâ, who was physician in ordinary to *'Alâo'ddin Kaykobâd*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Rûm*. That prince, for some time had such an exceeding great value for him, that he could not be an hour without him. But, in the year 636, when *'Alâo'ddin* marched from *Malatiya* to *Khartabert*, in order to possess himself of that place, *Abu Sâlem* staid behind, and did not appear in the retinue of the *Soltân*. This so incensed *'Alâo'ddin*, who then encamped near the *Euphrates*, that he commanded the officer presiding over the fleet of transports attending him, not to give *Abu Sâlem* a passage over the river, unless he came up with them early the next morning. The doctor not appearing till noon, he was not permitted to pass the *Euphrates*; which so chagrined him, as he plainly saw that he had irrecoverably lost the *Soltân's* favour, that he returned to *Malatiya*, and poisoned himself there. He was not so famed for his skill in physic, as for the fluency and elegance with which he spoke the *Rûmean* (*Greek*) tongue, and his knowledge in antient history, according to *Abu'l Faraj*.

4. *Shime'ûn Al Khartaberti*, or *Simcon* of *Khartabert*, another physician, who was not very eminent for his skill in his profession; but esteemed as a religious good man, much addicted to fasting and prayer. He had a son, admired by all for the beautiful *Arabic* character he wrote, for his fine parts, and for his studious disposition, who died in his youth; which so grievously afflicted his father, that it probably shortened his days, though the year in which his death happened has not been pointed out to us by *Abu'l Faraj*.

5. At this time flourished a great number of *Al Imâm Fakhr'o'ddin Al Râzi's* scholars, very famous men, and the authors of many excellent books, both in logic and philosophy: such were *Zino'ddin Al Casbi* and *Kotbo'ddin Al Mesri*, in *Khorasân*; *Afdalo'ddin Al Kho-wanji*, in *Egypt*; *Shams'o'ddin Al Khozrawshâi*, at *Damascus*; *Atliro'ddin Al Ebhari*, in *Al Rûm*; and *Tâjo'ddin Al Armûi* and *Serâjo'ddin Al Armûi*, at *Koniya*. *Al Najib*, an *Egyptian* monk, settled at *Damascus*, relates, that *Shams'o'ddin Al Khozrawshâi* was frequently visited by *Al Malec Al Nâser Dawd Ebn Al Malec Al Moadhdhem Ebn Al Malec Al 'Adl Ebn Ayûb*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Carac*; who treated him as his equal, and read *Ebn Sînâ's* book, intituled, *'Ayûn al Hecmat*, with him.

6. *Kemâlo'ddin Ismael Ebn Kemâlo'ddin Mohammed Abd'alrazzak Al Esfahâni*, a *Persian* poet of a good family in *Esfahân*, who both lived and died in the *Khalifat* of *Al Mostanser Bi'llah*, and consequently merits our attention in this place. His brother *Mûyno'ddin Abd'alkârim* applied himself to jurisprudence, whilst he gave himself up intirely to the *Persian* poetry; in
A a which.

down; all which he caused to be repaired, at his own expence. Adjoining to his college, of which we have spoken above, he had a delightful garden; in which, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, he used daily to divert himself. To what has been already observed of his liberality we may add, from the author of the *Tarikh Al Abbās*, the following remarkable story. This *Khalif* visiting one day his treasures, with a particular friend, found a cistern full of gold and silver; upon which he said immediately, to the person then with him, "Would to God I could live long enough to spend all this money." The other, hearing these words, presently fell a laughing; of which when the *Khalif* asked him the reason, he answered in terms to this effect. "I remember, Sir, that accompanying the *Khalif Al Nāser*, your grandfather, to the same place, this cistern wanted two fadoms, or twelve feet, of being full; which *Al Nāser* having perceived, he said, Would to God I could live to fill this. 'Tis this diversity of sentiments, Sir, that has excited the laughter in me which has just now escaped me; when I consider that *Al Nāser* thought of nothing but filling it, and you of nothing but emptying it." This *Khalif* caused his face, or effigies, to be imprest on some of his coins (P), which was not suffered to be done by the earlier *Khalifs*. *Ebn Shohnab* relates, that he lived a pious and good life, and mentions his college erected on the eastern bank of the *Tigris*, as a monument of his excellent disposition ^P.

^P AL MAKIN, ad an. Hej. 640. MS. inedit. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 640. KHONDEMIR, MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 306. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. EBN SHOHAN. ad an. Hej. 640. EBN KHALECAN, TARIKH, AL ABBAS, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mostanser Bi'llah*, p. 632, 633.

which he so excelled, that he justly acquired the title of *Malec Al Shóarra*, or king of the poets of his time. The grand personages of the house of *Sáed* so loaded him with honours, and distinguished him in such a manner, that this brought upon him the envy of his fellow-citizens; who treated him afterwards so extremely ill, that he resolved to leave them, and abandon his native country. This he did, with many imprecations, which he put into verse, that had soon after the desired effect. The sense of these verses may be expressed in the following terms. "O LORD, who art the master of the seven planets, that shed their influences on the births of princes, and communicate to them such inclinations as you please; give to this people a king cruel and bloody, who may make the whole tract from their city to the desert a frightful solitude, who may cause a torrent of its citizens blood to flow over the walls, and who may finally multiply its inhabitants in a frightful manner, by cutting every one of them to pieces." The desolation of the city of *Esfabân* soon followed this prognostic. For the *Tartar* army, sent to besiege *Esfabân* by *Oktay Khân*, reduced it to such a condition, as excited the compassion of even that very person who had wished it so much ill. In truth, this poet found himself more than fully revenged by the barbarity of the *Moguls*, and was himself obliged to deplore the ruin of his native country; which he did, in verses to the following effect. "Not a single person is to be met with in this poor city, to bewail either his own misery or the public calamity. A few days ago there were an hundred persons to lament one that was dead, but to-day there is no one left to bemoan the death of an hundred of his friends." Nevertheless *Kemálo'ddin* was himself involved in the common ruin, owing to the horrible tempest raised by the *Tartars*. For having retired, in the habit of a *Derwîsh*, to an hermitage, at a small distance from the city; several of the inhabitants saved as much as they could of their money and effects from the hands of the *Tartars*, and brought them to him there. Which was no sooner done, than he threw them into a dry well, that they might the more easily escape the sight of the *Tartars*, who over-ran the country. But nothing is concealed from the eyes of Providence, that governs the whole world and every part of it. A *Tartar* horseman letting fly an arrow at a bird, that perched on the top of the cell; the ivory ring, which archers make use of in bending their bows, fell

out of his hand, and rolled to the mouth of the well where the treasure above-mentioned was deposited. This being discovered by the *Tartars*, who on the foregoing occasion thoroughly examined the well; they could not forbear supposing, that he who had concealed so considerable a sum of money there, might likewise have other large sums in different places, and therefore put him to the rack, to force him to declare where the remainder of his treasure was laid. *Kemálo'ddin*, however, who had as much of the philosopher in him as the poet, bore the tortures he then underwent with an amazing constancy. He has also left us a fine example of his virtue, and a great motive of consolation for those struggling with afflictions, in the verses which he composed on this subject; the sense whereof may be deemed equivalent, or at least nearly so, to that contained in the following terms. "My heart is pierced with grief whilst my body suffers. But such is the condition with which we are to pass through life. In effect, all these afflictions, considered in the presence of God, are only the sport of his Providence. I take care, therefore, not to complain of my unhappy fate; since what I suffer now may possibly be nothing more than such an instance of God's kindness to me, as he frequently vouchsafes his most faithful servants." *Kemálo'ddin* did not long survive the ruin of his country; as he died in the very same year, that is, in the year of the *Hejra* 635. He left behind him a *Diwân*, or collection, of poems, in the *Persian* tongue. That which he wrote upon *Soltán Jalálo'ddin's* return to his dominions, after the retreat of *Jenghîz Khân*, is much esteemed. He was also the author of an allegorical poem upon horses, according to some of the writers here referred to; the sense of which is so obscure, that it could not be penetrated either by *Selmân*, or any of the other poets who were his contemporaries (1).

(P) This appears from a brass coin of the size of the middle *Roman* brass, now in the hands of the Rev. *John Savinton*, M. A. of *Christ-Church*, Oxon, F. R. S. which on one side exhibits the face, or effigies, of *Al Mostanser Bi'llah*, and the legend *Al Imâm Al Mostanser Bi'llah Emîr Al Mumenîn*, i. e. *The Imâm Al Mostanser Bi'llah, the commander of the faithful*. The reverse bore originally a date, at present a little injured by time, which seems to be 630, or 630 odd, and points out to us the year of the *Hejra* in which it was struck. The workmanship is as good as that of the other medals of the age in which this was coined (2).

(1) Greg. *Abu'l Far. ubi sup.* p. 482—486. *Dawlat Shâh, Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Abd'aljaafar Al Kazwîni, in Nighiariyâ. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. art. Hafsun*, p. 438. & art. *Kemaleddin Ismail*, &c. p. 955. (2) For the draughts of such coins as this of the *Khalif Al Mostanser Bi'llah*, as well as those of Arabic medals of other kinds, see *Honorius Arigonius's nine plates of Arabic coins. Honor. Arigon. Numismat. quæd. cuiusc. form. et met. &c. tom. tert. sub fin. Tarvisii*, 1745.

S E C T. LVII.

- a **T**HE same day that *Al Mostanser Bi'llah* expired, his son *Al Mosta'sem Bi'llah*, called *Al Mosta'sem Mosta'dhem* and *Mostazem* by M. D'Herbelot, was inaugurated at *Baghdád*. He was ^{Eliah is sá-luted Khalif.} attached to his pleasures, fond of birds, and intirely under the dominion of women. He was also deficient in point of judgment, had little firmness of mind, and altogether neglected the affairs of government. When he was told, that he ought either to pacify the *Tartars*, by submitting to them, or to meet them with an army in *Khorasán*, and not suffer them to make themselves masters of the province of *Irák*; he replied, "*Baghdád* is sufficient for me; the *Tartars* will not envy me that city with its district, if I cede to them all the other provinces, nor will they attack me there, as it is my residence." By such chimerical notions as these, infused into him by noxious persons, says *Abu'l Faraj*, did he impose upon himself, till those dreadful misfortunes befel him which he never so much as dreamed of. This *Khalif* is reckoned the 37th of those of the house of *Al Abbás*, tho' he was only the 24th or 25th in a lineal descent from the founder of that house. For several collateral members of the family of *Al Abbás* enjoyed the *Khalifat*. As for *Al Mosta'sem Bi'llah*, he was looked upon as the only lawful *Khalif* and *Imám*, and the sole sovereign pontif of the *Moslems*. For though some princes in the west, that is to say, in *Africa* and *Spain*, had assumed the title of *Khalif*, yet this was done only with regard to their own immediate subjects. The whole body of the eastern *Moslems*, as well as those of *Egypt*, acknowledged him alone for the rightful successor of *Mohammed*. He is said to have been the richest, the most powerful, the most respected, and at the same time the most unfortunate prince of his race.
- c THE same year, died at *Aleppo* *Saifa Khâtún*, the daughter of *Al Malec Al 'Adel Abu Becr Ebn Ayúb*, born in 581; who had been espoused to *Al Malec Al Dháher*, the *Sáheb* of *Aleppo*, in 609, and directed the whole system of affairs there for several years. She was ^{Other eminent persons die this year.} buried in the castle of that capital. *Cyril*, the *Jacobite Alexandrian* patriarch, likewise departed this life, the present year. *Al Makrízi* has handed down to future ages a very indifferent character of him, on account of his avarice and simoniacal extortions; though he praises him for his skill in theological matters; which commendation M. *Renaudot* says he did not deserve. The patriarch of the *Melchites*, and the *Æchmalotarcha* (Q) of the *Jews* in *Egypt*, also paid the common tribute to nature, before the close of this year. The former of these died so poor, that he did not leave money enough behind him to defray the expence of his funeral.
- d After the death of the latter, two competitors aspired at the dignity he enjoyed; one of whom, for mounting a pulpit in a synagogue on the *Jewish* sabbath, as was pretended, without a license from the *Soltán*, was fined 1000 *dinárs*.

THE following year, being the 641st of the *Hejra*, beginning June 21st, 1243, *Yasáwer* ^{The most memorabe transactions of the year 641,} *Nowayn*, with a detachment of the *Mogul* troops, made an incursion into *Syria*, or *Al Shám*, and advanced as far as a place called *Hailán*, almost to the very gates of *Aleppo*; but, his horses not being shod in a proper manner for that country, he was obliged to retire. Taking

¹ AL MAKIN, ISM. ABU'LFED. KHONDEMIR, MIRKHOND, EBN SHOHN. & EBN KHALECAN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 486. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mosta'dhem cu Mostazem Bi'llah*, p. 628, 629. ² EBN SHOHN. ubi sup. & ad an. Hej. 609. TAKI'ODDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 592, 593, 594.

(Q) The *Æchmalotarcha*, called *Rosh Jalut* by the *Jews*, and *Ras Al Jalut* by the *Arabs*, that is, the head, or prince, of the captivity, had formerly much the same power amongst the *Jews*, as the *Jacobite* and *Melchite* patriarchs had amongst the *Christians* over whom they presided. This imaginary prince, of whom the *Jews* so ridiculously boasted, as though by the existence of such a magistrate the sceptre still remained in *Judah*, and a lawgiver between his feet, was elected by the principal men amongst the *Jews* and the people together, as the *Jacobite* and *Melchite* patriarchs were by the clergy and the chief of the laity; though the election of the *Æchmalotarcha* was confirmed by the rulers of the synagogues and the *Sanhedrim*, and afterwards by the *Moslem* princes to whom the *Jews* were subject. They had one *Æchmalotarcha* at *Baghdád*, another in *Persia*, or *Fárs*, another in *Khorasán*, and another in *Egypt*. The last of these, who resided at *Alexandria*, was denominated, according to some authors, *Alabarcha*, but the term *Æchmalotarcha* is likewise applied to him by M. *Renaudot*. Such an officer as this the *Jews* had

over them in *England* under the first *Norman* kings, who was licensed by them for this post by the name of *Episcopus Judæorum*. To the *Æchmalotarcha* the *Jews* submitted of their own accord to be judged and governed by the rules and precepts of their own law; and consequently, as he had no power of coercion, or authority of jurisdiction, but what he had by the voluntary submission of the *Jews*, nothing can be more absurd than to pretend, as some of them do, that in this magistrate is still preserved both the sceptre and the shadow of authority these pretended princes enjoyed, the ceremony of their inauguration, and the manner of introducing them at court, whilst the *Khalif* of the house of *Al Abbás* reigned at *Baghdád*; these points have been all amply treated by R. *Abraham Salmanticensis*, in his piece intituled, *Sefer Juchasin*. For a farther account of the other particulars relating to them, our learned readers may, at their leisure, consult the other authors referred to here (1).

(1) *Constant. l'Empereur, in not. ad Benjamini itinerar. Seld. Marm. Arundel. Prid. connect. of the Old and New Test. b. v. R. Abraham Salmanticens. in Sefer Juchasin, Renaud. ubi sup. p. 593, 594, 595.*

then the route of *Malatiya*, as he passed by that city, he ravaged all the district appertaining a to it, and pillaged the inhabitants in a dreadful manner. His troops did not only consume all the corn and fruits of the earth, but likewise stript all the people they met with, not excepting the women themselves, of every thing valuable belonging to them. They did not even spare the churches in that tract; but carried away the gold and silver vessels, set apart for sacred uses, they found therein. *Yasîwer Nowayn* himself, being at this time ill of a dysentery, was obliged to apply to the father of *Abu'l Faraj*, a physician of *Malatiya*, for his assistance; and, for that purpose, took him with him to *Kbartabert*. Having cured him, that physician returned to *Malatiya*; but soon after settled, with his family, at *Antioch*. The retreat of the *Tartars* was followed by a famine and a plague, which swept away an infinite number of people; insomuch that several were forced to sell their children for small b pieces of bread. This year, according to *Ebn Shohnah*, the *Tartars* likewise over-ran a great part of the *Belâd Al Rûm*, possessed themselves of *Akblât* and *Aimed*, and obliged *Soltân Gayâthbo'ddin Al Seljûki* to acknowledge himself one of the vassals of their *Khân*. About the same time, if that writer may be depended upon, *Al Malec Al Sâleh Ismael*, the *Sâheb* of *Damascus*, ceded *Beit Al Makdes*, or *Jerusalem*, *Askalâm*, or *'Askelon*, and *Tabariya*, or *Tiberias*, to the *Franks*, in order to procure their assistance against the *Sâheb* of *Egypt*; though that cession seems to have been made, if other authors referred to above merit any regard, three years before. It may not be improper to remark here, that the patriarch *Cyri'l's* enemies, who had pursued him with so much violence, whilst alive, did not spare him after his death. Some of them signified to the *Soltân*, that he had amassed vast sums of money in an illicit manner, c besides a very large quantity of rich furniture, that ought to be confiscated; upon which, *Al Malec Al Sâleh Ayûb*, then the *Sâheb*, or *Soltân*, of *Egypt*, ordered *Cyri'l's* house, or palace, to be sealed up, and afterwards seized upon all the money, books, church-plate, and every thing valuable, whether the property of the patriarch, or belonging to the churches over which he presided, they found therein. His two nephews were sent to prison, and put to the torture, to force them to discover where the rest of his treasure was hid. Two purses, one containing 1000 *dinârs* in gold, and the other the same sum in silver, in consequence of that discovery, were dug up, and carried to the *Soltân*; as were also many costly garments, more plate, some tapestry of great price, all which were publicly sold, and the money applied to the *Soltân's* use, insomuch that there scarce remained of this patriarch's ill-acquired substance enough to bury him. *Cyri'l Ebn Laklak*, d represented as such a monster of iniquity both by the *Christian* and *Moslem* writers of *Egypt*, sat in the *Jacobite* patriarchal see of *Alexandria* something above seven years.

and of the
year 642.

THE next year, being the 642d of the *Hejra*, which commenced June 9th, 1244, the *Tartars* invaded the territory of *Baghdâd*, but were not able to form the siege of that capital. The *Rûmean* troops before *Tarsus* received the news of *Soltân Gayâthbo'ddin's* death, when that city was upon the point of surrendering to them; which obliged them, with some precipitation, to retire. But the roads being rendered so slippery by the continual rains, which for some time had fallen, that the horses of their cavalry could not stand on their feet; several of them, together with their baggage were picked up by a body of *Armenian* foot that harraressed them in their retreat. The same year, the *Khowârazmians*, having assembled in a e body, passed the *Euphrates*, in order to enter into the service of *Al Malec Al Sâleh Nojmo'ddin Ayûb*, the *Sâheb* of *Egypt*. In their march, through *Hems* and *Baalbec*, to *Al Kuds*, they ravaged the country thro' which they moved in a dreadful manner, and put a vast number of people to the sword. Being arrived at *Jerusalem*, or *Al Kuds*, they burnt a great multitude of *Christians* in the church of the resurrection; after which, they continued their route to *Gaza*, where they found themselves obliged to halt, *Al Malec Al Sâleh Nojmo'ddin Ayûb* having forbidden them to approach nearer to the frontiers of *Egypt*. In the mean time, *Al Malec Al Sâleh Ismael*, the *Sâheb* of *Damascus*, and *Al Malec Al Mansûr*, the *Sâheb* of *Hems*, having formed a design to invade *Egypt*, and engaged the *Franks* to assist them with all their forces, by promising to cede to them the maritime districts of f *Al Mâ* and *Al Magreb*, if their enterprize was attended with success; *Al Malec Al Mansûr*, who was appointed to command the combined army in this expedition, whilst *Al Malec Al Sâleh Ismael* staid at *Damascus*, advanced to *'Accâ*, where he was received with open arms. Having been joined by the *Knights Templars* and *Hospitalers*, he marched into the neighbourhood of *Gaza*, where the *Egyptians* and *Khowârazmians* waited for him. The two armies had not long faced each other, before a general action ensued; in which the *Syrians*, with their allies, were put to flight. However, the *Knights Templars* and *Hospitalers* rallied, and stood their ground with the utmost firmness, till they were all either killed or taken prisoners. The *Egyptians* and *Khowârazmians* possessed themselves of the enemy's tents,

* GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 486, 487. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 641. TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in *Mawredo'lliatâf*. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 593, & alib.

baggage,

a baggage, and military chest. As for *Al Malec Al Mansûr* himself, he escaped, with a few of his shattered troops, to *Damascus*; but *Al Malec Al Sâleb Ismael*, being probably irritated at his defeat, did not come out to meet him, as he had heretofore usually done. This *Al Malec Al Mansûr* took extremely ill, and resolved to retire immediately to *Hems*; but was persuaded by his friends to remain at *Damascus*, and set on foot a private negotiation with the *Sâheb* of *Egypt*. After which, the latter of those princes sent a numerous army, under the conduct of *Maïno'ddîn*, the generalissimo of his forces, whom he commanded to represent him, and to sit at the head of the *Somât*, or *Orders*, according to the custom of the eastern kings, to form the siege of *Damascus*. *Al Malec Al Sâleb Nojmo'ddîn Ayûb*, the *Sâheb* of *Egypt*, appointed *Al Tawâshi Rashîdo'ddîn Ebn Sheikh*, the eunuch, and master of his household, to wait on *Maïno'ddîn* at the *Somât*, and attend him in this expedition. The *Egyptian* forces having sat down before *Damascus*, *Al Malec Al Mansûr*, the *Sâheb* of *Hems*, in resentment of the affront that had been offered him by *Al Malec Al Sâleb Ismael*, entertained thoughts of letting in the *Khowârazmians* at the eastern gate, and betraying the city to them; but he afterwards laid aside that design, for fear of the *Moslems* amongst the *Khowârazmian* troops. Nevertheless, that capital being attacked with the utmost fury, it was at last unanimously agreed to deliver it up into *Maïno'ddîn's* hands, on condition that the garrison and inhabitants should be permitted to retire in safety with their effects; and that *Al Malec Al Sâleb Ismael* should have his former possessions restored to him, viz. *Baalbec* and *Bosra*, with their respective districts, and the country of *Al Sawâd*, containing *Hems*, *Al Badam*, and *Al Rahaba* upon the *Euphrates*. The capitulation being signed, *Maïno'ddîn* took possession of *Damascus*, the 12th of the former *Jomâda*, 643, but would not suffer the *Khowârazmians* to enter the town; and *Al Malec Al Sâleb Ismael* departed for *Baalbec*, as *Al Malec Al Mansûr* did for *Hems*. Every thing being thus settled, *Maïno'ddîn*, who presided over the territories and fortresses of *Damascus*, with the character of an excellent governor, assigned the *Khowârazmians* and their *Emîrs*, for the service they had done the *Sâheb* of *Egypt*, the most considerable part of *Syria* and the maritime coast. *Al Malec Al Sâleb Nojmo'ddîn Ayûb*, the *Sâheb* of *Egypt*, having been informed of *Al Malec Al Sâleb Ismael's* retreat; he wrote to *Shahâbo'ddîn Rashîd Al Cabîr*, and the *Egyptian Emîrs*, greatly blaming them for permitting him to retire to *Baalbec*. In the letter, he said, "*Maïno'ddîn* had taken an oath to him, but you never took any; you ought, therefore, to have laid hold of him, and stopped him." *Maïno'ddîn* having, by *Al Malec Al Sâleb Nojmo'ddîn Ayûb's* express command, sent *Al Hijâwi*, and *Amin Al Dawla Al Sâmari*, the *Sâheb* of *Baalbec's Wazîr*, under a strong escorte to *Egypt*; that prince caused them to be thrown into irons, and confined in *Kal'at Al Jebal*, or *the castle of the mountain*, as we learn both from *Ebn Shohnah* and *Al Makîn*. The former of those writers seems farther to intimate, that the *Egyptian* and *Khowârazmian* forces also reduced *Baalbec*, seized *Al Malec Al Sâleb Ismael's* children, and treated them in the same manner they did his *Wazîr*. But as this article has been wholly omitted by *Al Makîn*, who lived at the very time when the transaction therein mentioned is said to have happened, we shall not pretend to ascertain the degree of credit it may deserve. This year, *Nâsero'ddîn Ebn Nâfedh*, *Al Mosta'sem Bi'llah's Wazîr*, who had served his father *Al Mostanser Bi'llah* in the same capacity, being dead, that *Khalîf* gave his charge to *Mowayyao'ddîn Ebn Al 'Alkami*; substituting in the room of one of his most faithful servants the most perfidious of ministers, who proved the total ruin both of his master and the *Khalifat*. But of the base and infamous conduct of this *Wazîr* our readers will soon meet with a particular account. Before the close of the present year, *Al Malec Al Modbaffer Takîo'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Al Malec Al Mansûr Mohammed*, grandson of *Al Malec Al Modbaffer Takîo'ddîn Omar Ebn Shâhînsbâb Ebn Ayûb*, the *Sâheb* of *Hamah*, departed this life. He reigned, according to *Ebn Shohnah*, fifteen years, seven months, and ten days; and was forty-three years old, at the time of his death. He was a person of quick parts, uncommon bravery, and much beloved by all virtuous and learned men. He was no sooner dead, than his son *Al Mansûr Mohammed Ebn Mahmûd* ascended the throne. *Al Malec Al Modbaffer Shahâbo'ddîn Gâzi Ebn Al Malec Al 'Adel Abu Becr Ebn Ayûb*, the *Sâheb* of *Mayyâfârakîn*, likewise died, and was succeeded by his son *Al Malec Al Câmel Mohammed*, in 642. *Al Malec Mogayâtbo'ddîn Fatabo'ddîn Omar*, the son of *Al Malec Al Sâleb Ayûb*, the *Sâheb* of *Egypt*, also paid the common tribute to nature, in the year that we are now upon.^c

In the 643d year of the *Hejra*, which began May 29th, 1245, *Oktay Khân*, or *Kâân*, the emperor of the *Moguls*, departed this life, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. This event has, however, been placed either in the 638th or the 639th year of the *Hejra* by the *Chinese* historians, as we have already observed. When the *Kâân* found his distemper to increase upon him, he sent for his son *Cayûc*; who, being met on the road by a courier, as he was posting away with the utmost celerity to court, with the news of his father's death, did not proceed to *Karâ-*

^c GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 487. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej 642. AL MAKIN, ad an. Hej. 642. MS. in edit. in Bibl. Bodl. OXON. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 357, 628, 629.

korom, then the residence of the *Great Khân*. In the mean time, *Türâkinâ Khâtûn*, *Cayûc's* a mother, a lady of uncommon sagacity and penetration, by the consent of *Jogâtâi*, and all the other members of the imperial family, caused herself to be acknowledged for regent of the empire, till the *Al Kûriltâi*, or grand assembly of the *Mogul* princes, was convoked. *Soltân 'Azzo'ddin*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Rûm*, gained so much time by amusing the emperor of the *Moguls* ambassadors with presents, money, and good words, that he avoided both coming to a rupture with that prince, and paying him homage at *Karâkorom*, as he was required to do, the present year ^u.

and of the year
644.

THE 644th year of the *Hejra*, commencing May 9th, 1246, seems not to have produced any very considerable number of remarkable events in the *Moslem* world. However, the *Kûriltâi*, or general assembly of the great lords and princes of the *Mogul* empire, met in it, b at *Karâkorom*, and unanimously recognized the authority of *Cayûc*, eldest son of the late emperor, as *Great Khân* of the *Moguls*. Amongst the grand personages assembled on this occasion, in the spring, the following have been mentioned by *Abu'l Faraj*. From *Turkeştân* and *Mawarâ'nabr*, came *Al Emîr Mas'ûd Bek*; from *Khorasân*, *Al Emîr Argûn Agâ*, and with him the grandees of *Irâk*, *Al Lûr*, *Adherbijân*, and *Shirwân*; from *Al Rûm*, or *Natolia*, *Al Soltân Rocno'ddin*; from *Armenia*, *Al Condestabl*, the brother of *Al Tacfûr Hâtem*; from *Corjeştân*, or *Gorjeştân*, the two *Dawds*, *Al Cabîr* and *Al Sagbîr*, from *Syria*, or *Al Shâm*, the brother of *Al Malec Al Nâser Salâh'addin*, the *Sâheb* of *Aleppo*; from *Baghdâd*, *Fakbro'ddin*, the *Kâdi* of *Kâdis*, or chancellor there; and from *'Alâo'ddin*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Almût*, or *Amcût*, the principal lords of *Kubestân*. c Besides these, all the princes and leading men of the *Moguls* likewise then appeared. The illustrious members of this august assembly, the most numerous and brilliant that had ever met on a similar, or indeed any other, occasion, by their unanimous suffrages, pitched upon *Cayûc Khân* to succeed his father in the empire of the *Moguls*; which his great and amiable qualities, as well as his primogeniture, justly intitled him to. In consequence of which, they placed him upon the imperial throne, and paid him homage after the usual manner. As the foregoing list of the foreign princes and grandees, forming part of the *Kûriltâi* of the *Moguls*, is a clear demonstration of the prodigious extent of the empire erected by that potent nation, or at least shews what a progress they had made in the reduction of the western parts of *Asia*, formerly either under the dominion of the *Khalîf* of *Baghdâd*, or those *Mohammedan* princes who acknowledged in spirituals at least the supreme authority d of that prince, and therefore may, with sufficient propriety, claim a place in this part of our work; we thought our curious readers, who have a taste for oriental history, would not be displeased with finding an insertion of it here. It must be remembered, that *Al Malec Al Mansûr Ibrahim*, the son of *Al Malec Al Mojâhed Shairacûb*, the *Sâheb* of *Hems*, was killed, the present year, at *Damascus*; being then on the road to *Al Kâhirah*, whither he had undertaken a journey, in order to put himself under the protection of *Al Malec Al Sâleb Ayûb*, the *Sâheb*, or *Soltân*, of *Egypt*. He was carried back to *Hems*, and buried there; after which, *Al Malec Al Asbraf Modhaffero'ddin Mûsa* assumed the sovereignty of that city. For an account of the military operations of the *Moguls* this year, in which none of the *Arab*, or *Moslem*, princes were concerned, we must beg leave to refer our readers to a subsequent part e of this work, to which it will more properly belong ^w.

The chief occurrences of
the year 645,

THE following year, being the 645th of the *Hejra*, beginning May 8th, 1247, the *Khalîf Al Mosta'sem Bi'llah* sent an ambassador to *Karâkorom*, perhaps in order to congratulate *Cayûc Khân* on his accession to the crown. Be that as it will, the *Great Khân* treated this minister in a very lofty manner; intermixing menaces with promises, and pretending to give counsel and advice to the *Khalîf* himself, though the sovereign pontiff and spiritual director of all the *Moslems*. As for the ambassadors that came to him from the *Al Molâbedab*, that is, the *Impious*, or the *Ismaelians*, commonly called *Assassins*, he treated them with the utmost contempt. He also appointed *Nowayn Ayljîetâi* to preside over the *Belâd Al Rûm*, *Al Mawfel*, *Al Shâm*, and *Al Corj*; *Al Sâheb Takwîj* over the vast region of *Katay*; *Al Emîr Mas'ûd* over *Turkeştân* and *Mâwarâ'nabr*; and *Al Emîr Argûn Agâ* over *Khorasân*, *Irâk*, *Adherbijân*, *Shirwân*, *Al Lûr*, *Kermân*, *Fârs*, and part of *Al Hind*. At the same time, he granted the government of the *Belâd Al Rûm*, under *Nowayn Ayljîetâi*, to *Soltân Rocno'ddin*, and commanded *Soltân 'Azzo'ddin* to be removed. *Dawd* also, commonly called *Ebn Kaiz*, he placed under *Dawd*, the *Sâheb* of *Teflis*. He farther wrote friendly letters, containing his promise of security and protection, to *Al Tacfûr* and *Al Malec Al Nâser Salâh'addin*, the *Sâheb* of *Aleppo*. *Cayûc Khân* likewise treated as *Atâbek* one *Kadâk*, a certain great *Emîr* who had been baptized, and believed in *CHRIST*; to whom he joined, in the same office, another *Emîr*, named *Jinkâi*: whence it came to pass, that the metropolitans, bishops, monks, and in fine the *Christians* of f

^u GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 488, 489. GAUBIL. ubi sup. p. 93. & seqq. ^w GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 489, 490. ENN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 644. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Gaiuk Khan*, p. 358, & alib.

- a all ranks and denominations, subject to *Cayûc Khân*, were looked upon by the emperor himself, his mother *Tûrâkinâ Khâtûn*, and the whole imperial family, with a favourable eye. We are not, therefore, to be surprized, that the *Franks*, *Russians*, *Syrians*, *Armenians*, and other *Christian* nations, were held in such esteem at the *Mogul* court; nor even that the empire itself, to use the expression of *Abu'l Faraj*, should have become *Christian*, one of the *Syrian* forms of salutation (*Barec Mor*, or *Mar*, *Bless me*, *Lord*), being at this time in vogue both amongst the *Moguls* and the other nations intermixed with them. This year, the *Moslems* took *'Asfalîn* and *Tabariya*, if *Ebn Shohnab* may be credited, by storm; and before the close of it, according to the same author, *Ali Omar Ebn Mohammed Abd'allah*, dignified with the title of *Imâm Al Nabû*, the prince of grammarians, and generally going under the name of *Al Shalûbînî* (R), departed this life in *Spain*. *Al Kâdi Shamsoddin Ebn Khalecân* observes, that the words, *Al Shalûbînî*, in the language of *Andalusia*, denote *tanned*, or *sun-burnt*; but *Al Soltân Amâdoddin* affirms, that this is by no means the true etymon, the word *Shalûbîn* being a derivative from *Shalûbîn*, or *Al Shalûbîn*, the name of a castle in *Spain*. This, as he informs us, he learned from *Ebn Sa'id Al Mogrebi*, or *Magrebi*; who, in the fifteenth volume of his great book, intituled, *the history of the people of Al Mogreb*, or *Al Magreb*, after he had mentioned *Granata*, or *Granada*, and described the castle of *Shalûbîn*, says, "Hence came originally *Al Sheikh Abu Ali Al Shalûbînî*, a grammarian of uncommon note." To which he adds, that this *Sheikh*, who was his master, learned grammar himself of *Abu Ali Al Fârîsî*, or *Fâresî*; of whom he has not given us, at least in that part of the above-mentioned work referred to here, any particular account*.

THE next year, being the 646th of the *Hejra*, which commenced *April* 26th, 1248, *Al and of the year* *Malec Al Nâser*, the *Sâheb* of *Aleppo*, made himself master of *Hems*, expelled from thence *Al* 646. *Malec Al Ashraf Mûsa*, the *Sâheb* of that city, and gave him in lieu thereof *Tel Bâshar*, or *Tel Bâsher*, as an addition to *Rahaba* and *Tadmor*, which he possessed before. We must not forget to remark, that *Al Sheikh Jamâlo'ddin*, or, *Jamâlo'ddin*, *Abu Omar Oihmân Ebn Omar Ebn Abu Becr Ebn Yûnes*, known by the name, or surname, of *Ebn Hâjeb*, whose father had been *Hâjeb*, or chamberlain, to *Al Emîr 'Azzoddin Mûsac Al Sâlebi Al Cordi*, died at *Alexandria*, about seventy-five years old, in some part of the present year†.

- d IN the 647th year of the *Hejra*, which began *April* 16th, 1249, died *Tûrâkinâ Khâtûn*, *The most material trans-* the mother of *Cayûc Khân*, emperor of the *Moguls*; as did likewise that prince himself, at a *actions of the* place called *Komesteki*, in *Al Belâd Al Gorbiya*, or the western part of his dominions, about five *year 647,* stations from *Bîsh Bâleg*, the 9th of the former *Râbî*, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. The *Grand Khân* was no sooner dead, than his wife *Ogûl Gânmish* dispatched a courier to *Bâtû*, the son of *Tûshi*, the eldest of the sons of *Jenghîz Khân*, to acquaint him with that prince's death. *Bâtû* was then coming to court, in order to pay a visit to *Cayûc Khân*; but being met by the courier at *Al Akmak*, a village about eight stations from the city of *Kayâlik*, he thought fit to halt. From thence he sent back the courier to *Ogûl Gânmish*, with a permission to that princess to take upon her the government of the *Mogul* empire, till the election of a new *Khân*. He also called a general diet, for that purpose; at which all the *Mogul* and *Tartar* lords, as well as the princes of the imperial family, were summoned to attend. The same year, *Lewis IX.* king of *France*, frequently called *St. Lewis* by the *French* writers, landed with a formidable army at *'Accâ*; and, after he had refreshed his troops, set sail for *Dimiyât*, or *Damiata*, in *Egypt*, which the garrison, formed of the *Banu Kenânab*, abandoned at his approach. This happened on *Sunday*, the 23d of *Safar*, according to *Al Makin*. The news of this misfortune reached the ears of *Al Malec Al Sâleb Nojmo'ddin Ayûb Ebn Al Malec Al Câmel*, the *Sâheb* of *Egypt*, in his camp before *Hems*; upon which, he immediately raised the siege of that city, and began his march for *Egypt*. But at *Al Mansûrah* he was attacked by a gangrene in his thigh; which, ending in a *Isphacelus*, or perfect mortification of the affected part, put a period to his days. However, his life being a little prolonged by the amputation of his thigh, the fugitives who had fled from *Dimiyât* appeared before him; and, after they had given an unsatisfactory account of their conduct, were ordered to be affixed to gibbets by him. Fifty-four of the *Emîrs*, or officers who commanded the garrison of *Dimiyât*, were hung up for their cowardice, with their cloaths, belts, &c. on, just as they were brought before him; and the day following, being the fourteenth of *Shaabân*, or rather the night of that day, he expired.

* GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 490, 491. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 645. AL KADI SHAMSO'DDIN EBN KHALECAN, apud Ebn Shohn. ibid. EBN SA'ID AL MOGREBI, in Al Mat'abî Akhbâr Ahal Al Mogreb, lib. xv. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. p. Kemaleddin Moussa Ben Jounas, 955, 956. † EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 646.

(R) *Ebn Shohnab* makes this *Sheikh* to have died in the *Hejra* 645, and not in 644, as M. D'Herbelot vi. 1. out any foundation is pleased to affirm (1).

(1) *Ebn Shohn. ad an. Hej. 645. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 772.*

He reigned, according to Dr. *Hunt*'s MS. copy of *Ebn Shobnab*, nine years, eight months, and twenty days; and was about forty-four years old, at the time of his demise. He is said by the last mentioned author to have been innocent and inoffensive in his discourse, incapable of thinking intensely, and of so majestic a deportment, that none of his subjects durst speak to him but by way of answer. He had three sons, two of whom died before him. *Al Malec Al Moadbdebem Tûran Shâb*, his third son, was at *Hish Caifâ*, when his father expired. *Al Malec Al Sâleb Nojmo'ddin Ayûb* founded the city of *Sâlebiyah*, for the conveniency of hunting, and also built *Al Kabîb*, between *Mesr* and *Al Kâbirab*. He formed his army for the most part of *Mamlûks*, or *Turkish* slaves; which was exceeding bad policy, as he was himself by descent a *Curd*, and proved fatal to his family. His favourite concubine *Shajr Al Dor* (S), a *Turkish* lady of uncommon sagacity, surpassing all the rest of her own sex in beauty, and all those of the other in firmness of mind and resolution, for some time concealed his death; and, by the advice of *Al Emîr 'Azzo'ddin Al Turkomâni*, the chief of the *Turkish* or *Turkmân Mamlûks*, then at the head of the administration, who frequently conferred with her, convened all the principal *Emîrs* and officers of state, obliging them, as she pretended, by the *Soltân*'s order, to take the oath of allegiance to *Al Malec Al Moadbdebem Tûran Shâb*. After which, she continued to govern the kingdom of *Egypt* till the arrival of the new *Sâleb* or *Soltân* at *Al Mansûrah*, and then resigned her authority to him. *Al Malec Al Moadbdebem Tûran Shâb*, being thus settled upon the throne, made the necessary dispositions for driving the *Franks* out of *Egypt*; which were attended with the desired success, the following year. We must not forget to remark, that *Al Nâser Dawd*, the *Sâleb* of *Al Carac*, finding himself in a declining condition, retired to *Aleppo*, in order to solicit succours of the *Sâleb* of that place. He carried with him jewels, to the value of 1,000,000 *dinârs*; which he afterwards sent to *Al Mosta'fem*, the *Khalîf* of *Baghdâd*, putting them as a deposit into his hands. But the *Moslem* pontiff never thought fit afterwards to deliver them up to him. His eldest son *Al Moadbdebem Isa*, whom he left at *Al Carac*, being seized by his brothers *Al Amjed Hasan* and *Al Dbâber Shâdi*, who envied him; *Al Amjed Hasan*, the former of those princes, went to *Egypt*, surrendered *Al Carac* to *Al Malec Al Sâleb Nojmo'ddin Ayûb*, and, to the inexpressible joy of the *Soltân*, introduced an *Egyptian* garrison into that city, near two months before his decease. It may not be improper to observe, that *Gayûc*, emperor of the *Moguls*, departed this life, according to the *Chinese* history of that nation, wherein he is named *Quey-yew*, in the country of *Hong-syang-i-eul*, not far from *Karâ-korom*, the preceding year².

and of the year
648.

THE 648th year of the *Hejra*, commencing April 5th, 1250, was memorable for the defeat of the *Franks*, as well as for a surprizing revolution in *Egypt*. The king of *France* sent a detachment of 2000 horse towards *Al Mansûrah*, in order to reconnoitre the enemy; which fell in with part of the *Moslem* army, attacked and routed it, and afterwards entered *Al Mansûrah* sword in hand. Here they found *Fakbro'ddâin Otbmân*, commonly called *Ebn Saif*, the *Moslem* general, and one of the principal *Egyptian Emîrs*; whom they cut to pieces, in a very advanced age, as he was painting his beard in a bath. However, the streets of *Al Mansûrah* being so narrow, that they could not form therein, and the gates so small that their largest horses could not get through them; the people within annoyed them in such a manner with stones, brick-bats, and gravel, that they forced them to abandon the town. Being returned to the *Christian* camp, they gave the king of *France* a particular and distinct account of the advantage they had gained over the *Moslem* troops; which so animated the *French* monarch, that he resolved to attack the *Egyptian* army, not doubting but he should defeat it, if he could engage it in a plain, where all his forces would be at liberty to act. The *Egyptians*, having been apprized of his resolution, seemed to be afraid of him, till he had passed the *Ashîmûn*, or *Ashmûn*, a branch of the *Nile*, running between *Al Mansûrah* and *Dimiyât*; but then looking upon his retreat as cut off, if any misfortune should attend him, by that river, they boldly made head against him, and, after an obstinate engagement, overthrew him with very great slaughter. Of the *Franks*, besides those that fell upon the field of battle, many were pushed into the *Ashîmûn*, and drowned. As for the king of *France* himself, being shut up by that river, he was taken prisoner in the action, together with a considerable number of his officers and grandees. *Ebn Shobnab* writes,

² GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 492, 493 494. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad. an. Hej. 647. TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in Mawredo'llatâf. IBRAHIM EBN MOHAM EBN DAKMAK, in Al Jawhar Al Thamîn, EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 647. EBN KHALECAN, AL MAKIN, ad an. Hej. 647. in op. part. inedit. MS. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. AL JANNAB. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. Mam'lûk, p. 545. RENAUD, ubi sup. p. 596. GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 104, & seqq.

(S) The words *Shajr Al Dor*, in the *Arabic* tongue, are equivalent to the tree of pearls; which appellation, on account of her superior excellencies and perfections, was conferred upon her (1).

(1) Vid. *Ebn Shohn*. ad an. Hej. 648.

that

- a that he was thrown into irons, imprisoned in a house built by *Fakbro'ddin Ebn Lokmán*, and committed to the custody of *Al Tawáshi*, one of *Al Malec Al Moadbhem*'s attendants. *Al Malec Al Moadbhem* was no sooner master of his person, than he was persuaded by some of the young *Mamlúks* about him, of the same age with himself, to release him, and conclude a temporary peace with him, as well as the other princes of the *Franks*, on condition that *Dimiyát* should be restored to him, together with all the money and jewels the *French* king had in that city. In order to carry their point, on the present occasion, they insinuated to the young *Soltán*, "that he was in reality only a nominal prince; that *Shajr Al Dor*, and the *Emírs* in her interest, governed *Egypt* with an absolute sway; that the war he was engaged in with the *Franks* only rendered the assistance of these *Emírs*, who lorded it over his subjects, necessary;
- b "that it would be better for him to be in the situation of a private person, than to be the *Sáheb* of *Egypt*, and at the same time stript of all power and authority; and that if he could happily extricate himself out of the difficulties in which the war with the *Franks* had involved him, he might act as he pleased, as he would then have no enemies to contend with." The principal *Emírs*, or rather leaders of the *Mamlúks*, having been informed of *Al Malec Al Moadbhem*'s conduct in this affair, which soon transpired, and thinking themselves slighted at least, if not hated by the *Soltán*, as in it they had not been consulted by him; they unanimously rushed in a body upon him, and, after he had been wounded by *Rocno'ddin Abu'l Fatab Bibars*, one of them, who was afterwards *Soltán*, drove him to a wooden tower in that neighbourhood, where he found himself obliged to seek for refuge. Not content with this insult, they set fire to the tower, and forced him to throw himself from thence into the *Nile*; where, after he had received several grievous wounds from a shower of arrows they discharged at him, he miserably perished. *Ebn Shohnab* relates, that *Al Malec Al Moadbhem Túran Sháb*, after the late battle, in which the *Franks* lost 30,000 men, besides a considerable sum of money, and a large quantity of very valuable effects, marched from *Al Mansírah* to *Fáres Cár*; where he incamped, threatened the body of *Mamlúks* his father had so highly esteemed, and met with from them the above-mentioned fate. After his death, the *Mamlúk Emírs* vested with the supreme authority *Shajr Al Dor*; upon which, the *Khoiba* was performed, and money coined, in her name. From the time of her elevation to the throne, according to the same author, she was generally denominated *Omm Kháled*; as she had a son, by *Al Malec Al Sáleh Nojmo'ddin Ayúb*, called
- d *Kháled*, who died in his tender years. *Al Malec Al Moadbhem Túran Sháb*, the late *Sáheb* of *Egypt*, upon his first arrival in that country, seized *Mogayátbo'ddin Fatabo'ddin Omar*, of the house of *Ayúb*, and sent him prisoner to *Al Shawbec*; but that prince was no sooner dispatched, than he was set at liberty. *Al Shawbec* and *Al Carac* were then likewise restored to their proper master. The *Turkish Mamlúks*, looking upon it as a reproach to them to be ruled by a woman, placed *Al Malec Al Moezz 'Azzo'ddin Aybec Al Turkománi Al Jáshekír*, their principal *Emír*, upon the throne of *Egypt*, towards the close of the former *Rabí*, the present year. However, some time after repenting of what they had done, and being desirous of having a *Soltán* of the family of *Ayúb*; they deposed *Al Malec Al Moezz 'Azzo'ddin Aybec*, as they had before done *Omm Kháled*, and conferred the *Soltánat* upon *Al Malec Al Ashraf Músa Ebn Al Náser Yusef Ebn Mas'úd Ebn Al Malec Al Cámel*, inaugurating him in form, the 5th of the former *Jomáda*. The *Khalíf Al Mosta'sem* having confirmed their election of him, they appointed 'Azzo'ddin *Aybec* his tutor, or *Atábek*; which post, notwithstanding his late deposition, transferred to that prince the absolute sovereignty of *Egypt*. Hence it comes to pass, that some writers have not considered him as deposed; but made his reign to commence on *Saturday*, the last day of the latter *Rabí*, this year. As *Al Malec Al Ashraf Músa* was only six years old, 'Azzo'ddin *Aybec* exercised the supreme power, without any fear of a competitor; married *Omm Kháled*, to insure to himself the continuation of that power; assigned the government of *Alexandria* to *Fáres Aktái*, one of his favourite *Emírs*; and ratified the treaty that *Al Malec Al Moadbhem Túran Sháb* had concluded with the king of *France*, upon that monarch's cession of *Dimiyát*, which
- f was occupied by the *Egyptian* troops the 8th of *Safar*, and his payment of 1,000,000 *dinárs*. King *Lewis*, having resided a little while at 'Accá, repaired the city of *Cæsarea*, and left some of his people as a colony there, returned home. *Ebn Shohnab* remarks, that he has been celebrated by a *Moslem* poet, named *Jemálo'ddin*, or *Jamálo'ddin*, *Ebn Matrúb*; several of whose verses, written in praise of this *Christian* monarch, have been handed down to us by that author. *Lewis*'s brother, according to *Al Makín*, remained in a state of confinement with him, whilst he was incarcerated in *Fakro'ddin Ebn Lokmán*'s house. The same historian adds, that in the aforesaid action, the *Egyptians* killed 10,000 of the *Franks* upon the spot, and took a much larger number of them prisoners; that the latter were for the most part destroyed, 300 of them being butchered and thrown every night, during a certain term, into the *Nile*, and others put to different kinds of death; that *Dimiyát* was intirely demolished, lest the *Franks* should in some future period of time again possess themselves of it; and that the *Moslems* built another town near it, which, from the newness of it they denominated *Al Mansbíá*, though it was called in

Abu'lfeda's days *Dimiyât*, and still retains that name. *Omm Kbâled*, or *Shajr Al Dor*, endeavouring to exclude her husband *'Azzo'ddîn Aybec* from a share in the administration; he formed a design to destroy her, and take another wife. Of which being apprized, she resolved to be beforehand with him; and accordingly hired some of the younger *Mamlûks* to assassinate him. This they did with knives, in 665, as he was washing his head in a bath; though others say that they drowned him there. This so incensed the *Turkish*, or *Mamlûk Emîrs*, that they killed her, and cast her body into a ditch, where it was devoured by dogs. Whilst *Egypt* was thus harassed by civil dissensions, *Al Malec Al Nâser Salâb'addîn Yusef Ebn Al Malec Al 'Azîz*, the *Sâheb* of *Aleppo*, marched with a body of horse to *Damascus*; which opened its gates to him, at his approach. That city he entered the 8th of the latter *Rabî*, and made it the royal seat of his kingdom. Being invited by some of the *Mamlûks* to *Egypt*, he moved with a powerful army towards the frontiers of that region, after he had confined *Al Nâser Dawd* in chains at *Hems*, in the beginning of *Sbaabân*. He was attended in this expedition by ten princes of the house of *Ayûb*, as well as several other persons of the first distinction, and penetrated into *Egypt*, about the middle of *Ramadân*. Having advanced to *Al Carâ*, near *Al Khashbi*, in the sands; he attacked the *Egyptian* forces posted there, routed them, and drove them out of the field. Many of the fugitives fled with the utmost precipitation to *Al Kâbirab*, and *Mesr*; nay some of them, more terrified than the rest, even as far as *Al Sa'd*. But *Al Malec Al Nâser* was soon after deserted by a very considerable number of his *Emîrs*, who went over to *Al Moezz 'Azzo'ddîn Aybec Al Turkomâni*, and prevailed upon him to venture a second battle with that prince. Whereupon he re-assembled his scattered troops, engaged *Al Malec Al Nâser* again, and gave him a total defeat. In this action, which happened in the neighbourhood of *Gaza*, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, *Hosâmo'ddîn Al Kaymari*, *Dbâao'ddîn Al Kaymari*, *Tâj Al Molûc*, *Ebn Al Moadbhem Tûran Shâb Ebn Salâb'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb*, *Saifo'ddîn Al Hamîdi*, *Nûro'ddîn Al Zorzâni*, and many others of *Al Malec Al Sâleb's* principal *Emîrs*, were killed upon the spot. Amongst the prisoners of note may be ranked *Shams'o'ddîn Lûlû*, *Al Moadbhem Tûran Shâb Ebn Salâb'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb*, his brother, *Nasro'ddîn*, *Al Malec Al Sâleb Ismael Ebn Al Malec Al 'Adel*, *Al Malec Al Asbraf Mûsa*, who had been *Sâheb* of *Hems*, *Shabâbo'ddîn Al Kaymari*, and *Hosâmo'ddîn Torantâi Al 'Azîzi*, besides a large number of the *Azîzite Emîrs*, who were volunteers. *Al Moezz*, being returned to the palace, was informed, that *Al Emîr Saifo'ddîn Al Kaymari*, then a prisoner in the castle, had caused *Al Malec Al Nâser* to be publicly prayed for, on a *Friday*, in *Kal'at Al Jebal*; and that several persons of distinction, confined there with him, had been privy to it. Whereupon *Al Moezz* ordered *Nâsero'ddîn Ismael Yagmûr*, one of the ministers of *Al Malec Al Sâleb Ismael*, and *Amîn Al Dawla Al Sâmari* (T), his *Wazîr*, two of them, to be hung up before the gates of *Kal'at Al Jebal*, or the castle of the mountain, for being concerned in advising the *Khotba*. He also intended, after his triumphant entry into *Al Kâbirab*, that the same punishment should have been inflicted upon the ringleader *Saifo'ddîn Al Kaymari*; but changing his resolution, he thought fit to respite him, and sent him into *Syria*. Both *Dr. Hunt's* and the two *Bodleian* manuscripts of *Ebn Shohnab* plainly intimate, that the last engagement between the *Mamlûks* and the *Syrians* happened at *Al 'Abbâsiâ*, and not at *Gaza*, in opposition to *Abu'l Faraj*. Those manuscripts likewise insinuate, that *Al Malec Al Nâser's* name was mentioned in the *Khotba* at *Mesr*, as well as at *Kal'at Al Jebal*; the *Khotba* having not been settled at *Al Kâbira*, before *Al Moezz* had driven the *Syrians* out of *Egypt*. From them we also learn, that *Al Moezz 'Azzo'ddîn Aybec*, the first *Mamlûk Sâheb* of *Egypt*, who met with his tragical exit in the year of the *Hejra* 655, commanded *Shams'o'ddîn Lûlû*, and *Dbâao'ddîn Al Kaymari*, called by them *Dbâao'ddîn Ebn Kaymari*, to be put to death before his face; and cut off *Al Malec Al Sâleb Ismael* himself, some time after the execution of his *Wazîr*, being then about fifty years of age. His forces having been utterly dispersed, *Al Malec Al Nâser*, found himself obliged to return with shame to *Damascus*. The same year, *Bedro'ddîn Lûlû* reduced to his obedience the island of *Ebn Omar*; *Al Malec Al Mas'ûd Ebn Al Malec Al Moadbhem*, of the house of *Zenki*, the *Sâheb* thereof, being thrown into the *Tigris*, by an officer who was conducting him in a small vessel to *Al Mawfel*, and drowned. This is said to have been done by *Bedro'ddîn Lûlû's* order; though it was given out, that the unfortunate prince cast himself into the river, in the night, when the people that escorted him were asleep. *Mûn-*

(T) The surname *Al Sâmari* may perhaps intimate him to have been a *Samaritan*, as it seems not to have been deduced from the name of any particular place. *Al Morvaffek Yakûb Al Dimshki*, a *Samaritan*, and a learned

physician of *Damascus*, who flourished in the reign of *Al Mosta'sim Bi'llah*, was his contemporary, according to *Abu'l Faraj* (1).

(1) *Greg. Abu'l Far. ubi sup. p. 525.*

a *cacá*, or *Mangú Khán*, at a general meeting of the states of *Mogulestán*, was elected, by the influence of *Bátú*, emperor of the *Moguls*, before the close of the present year^a.

THE following year being the 649th of the *Hejra*, beginning *March* 26th, 1251, *Barca* The most memorable events of the year 649, *Ogúl*, *Baká Tímúr*, his brother, *Al Jattái Al Cabir*, their uncle, and all the other principal *Emírs*, or chiefs, of the *Orda*, or hord, of *Jenghíz Khán*, who had not appeared the preceding year, met, in pursuance of what had been determined at the election of *Múncacá*, or *Mangú*, *Khán*; and with their heads bare, and their belts upon their shoulders, the 9th of the latter *Rabí*, by nine genuflexions, according to the custom of the *Moguls*, did homage to that prince. The new emperor was then sitting upon a throne, on which he had been placed by several *Kháns*, with his seven brothers, *Koblá*, *Húlácú*, *Aríg Búacá*, *Múacá*, *Bújac*, *Sabacá*, and *Súntái*, on his right hand, and the princesses of the blood on his left. Before they bowed their knees nine times, in token of obedience, before him, they proclaimed him emperor, with the title of *Káán* (U), *Kháán*, or *Grand Khán*. This ceremony was followed by seven days of public festivity and rejoicing; during which, *Kadgán Ogúl*, his nephew *Malec Ogúl*, and *Kará Húlácú*, coming to court, made their compliments of congratulation, and paid their duty to *Múncacá Khán*. But neither *Ogúl Gánmish*, *Cayúc Khán*'s widow, nor her son *Khawájah*, nor any of the princes or *Emírs*, dependent on them, at that time there appeared. *Jemálo'ddín Ebn Matríb*, a learned man of transcendent merit, and a very good poet, a few of whose verses *Ebn Shoknab* has preserved, died in some part of the year that we are now upon^b.

c THE next year, being the 650th of the *Hejra*, which commenced *March* 14th, 1252, a conspiracy having been formed by the partizans of *Ogúl Gánmish* against the emperor of the *Moguls*, *Sírámán* and *Nákúá*, two generals in her interest, marched privately with a detachment, and some waggons loaded with arms, towards the residence of that prince, in order to assassinate him. But one of his domestics, who was the keeper of the wild beasts belonging to the princes of the blood, being then in search of a lion that had made his escape, happened to pass by a place where *Sírámán*'s and *Nákúá*'s troops stopped in the evening, and to meet with a boy, sitting by his waggon, that was broken; who desired his assistance, and discovered to him the whole affair. Upon which, he immediately posted away to court, and communicated the intelligence he had received to *Múncacá Khán*; who instantly detached *Man-*

d *casár*, the commander in chief of his forces, in quest of the rebels, with a body of 2,000 horse. That general coming up with them, they were struck with terror, and submitted, without resistance, to the *Khán*. The ringleaders and most guilty were punished with death, but the others *Múncacá Khán* thought fit to incorporate with his troops. This rebellion being extinguished, that prince applied himself intirely to the disciplining of the army, and the settling of the repose of his dominions upon a lasting foundation. The vast tract of *Katay*, extending from *Al Míri* to *Salicáy*, *Tangút*, and the kingdom of *Tibet*, he assigned to *Koblá*, or *Coblúy*, his brother; *Húlácú*, another of his brothers, he appointed to preside over the most western part of his empire; *Al Sáheb Al Moadhdbem Talwáj*, and his son *Mas'úd Bek*, in order to enrich them, he constituted governors of all the eastern provinces, situated between the *Jibún*, and the boundaries of *Katay*; and *Argún*, *Acá*, or *Argún Agá*, he made the vice-roy, or *Emír*, of *Khorazán*, *Múzanderán*, *Hindostán*, *Irák*, *Fárs*, *Kermán*, *Lúr*, *Arrán*, *Adkerbiján*, *Corjéstán*, *Gorjéstán*, or *Georgia*, *Al Maswef*, and *Al Skám*. Every rich subject in *Katay* paid *Múncacá Khán* annually fifteen *dinárs*, and those in lower circumstances one only. The more opulent people in *Khorazán* paid the *Mogul* monarch every year ten *dinárs* a piece, and the poorer sort one, as in *Katay*. Of each grazier possessing an hundred head of the cattle called *Koyjúr* the *Khán* exacted one, but of those who had a lesser number none at all. As for the priests and religious within his empire, whether *Christian*, *Pagan*, or *Mohammedan*, they were exempt from all tribute, taxes, duties, and imposts whatsoever. The same year, *Hátem*, king of *Armenia*, set out on *Good Friday*, having received the sacrament the day before, from the city of *Sis*, for the *Orda* of *Múncacá Khán*, or *Múncacá Khán*, in order to pay homage to that prince. As he was afraid of the king of the *Belád Al Rúm*, he travelled incognito, in the habit of a servant; leading a horse in his hand after his ambassador, who attended him in this

^a GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 494—499. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 648. TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in Mawredó'llatíf. IBRAHIM EBN MOHAMMED EBN DAKMAK, in Al Jawhar Al Thamin, EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 648. EBN KHALECAN, AL MAKIN, in op. part. inedit. ad an. Hej. 648. MS. in Bibl. Bodl. OXON. AL JANNAB. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 151. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mamluk*, p. 545. & art. *Isk*, p. 479. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 596, 597. ^b GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 499, 500. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 649. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 588.

(U) The word *Káán* answers exactly to the antient *Persic* title *Padisháb*, of which we have given an ample account above, according to the author of the *Persic* lexicon; intituled, *Farhang Surúr*; a copy of which, for-

merly belonging to Dr. Hyde, was deposited in the royal library at St. James's, after that eminent orientalist's death (1).

(1) D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 699, 767.

journey. The ambassador every where gave out, after they had entered the *Belád Al Rám*, a that he was sent by the king of *Armenia* to *Múncacá Kâân*, to procure a pass from him for his master; who had promised him, as he said, to visit his court. By this means, *Hâtem* passed through *Kaisâriya* and *Sîwâs* without being known; but when he came to *Arzencân*, or *Arzengân*, as he told *Abu'l Faraj*, who was acquainted with him, two years after his return from *Orda* of *Múncacá Khân*, a certain huckster, who had formerly lived in his capital, knew him, and said, "If I see with my own eyes, this is the king of *Sîs*." Upon which, his ambassador gave him a box on the ear; saying, "Sirrah, how came such a rascal as you to be "so like a king?" Which *Hâtem* was obliged to bear patiently, to prevent his person from being too narrowly viewed. This year, a great dispute arose between the *Sunnites*, or *Traditionists*, and the *Shiites*, or the followers of *Ali*, at *Baghdâd*; which occasioned a tumult, and commotion, in that capital. *Abu Becr*, the *Khalif's* son, protected the *Sunnites*; and *Mowayyado'ddîn*, that prince's *Wazîr*, was closely connected with the *Shiites*. It happened that *Abu Becr*, not being able to bear any longer the frequent seditions excited by the *Shiites*, went one day with an armed force to seize the chiefs of that sect, and filled all the prisons with them. This action so displeased *Mowayyado'ddîn*, that he resolved to revenge those persons, whom he took to be unjustly persecuted, and at the same time formed the cruel design of destroying the house of *Al Abbâs*; the members of which he looked upon as the authors of, or at least as accessory to, this persecution. How the *Wazîr* carried his wicked design into execution, and effected not only the ruin of that family, but likewise the abolition of the *Khalifat*, will in a short time fully appear^c.

The principal
occurrences of
the year 651,

IN the 651st year of the *Hejra*, which began *March* 3d, 1253, *Hâlicû*, brother of the emperor of the *Moguls*, moved with a most formidable army from the neighbourhood of *Karâkorom* towards the western provinces. Before he began his march, he was joined by a body of troops, sent him by *Múncacá Kâân*, under the command of his younger brother *Sontâi*, or *Sînitâi*, *Ogûl*; by a reinforcement from *Bâtû*, under the orders of *Igâi Ebn Sabkân*, *Kûltâr Ogûl*, and *Kûli*; by the forces of *Jogatâi Tacûdâr Ogûl*, the son of *Bûkbi Ogûl*; by those of *Jibacân Biki Bûkâ Tîmâr*, consisting of *Al Awirâte* troops; and by 1000 artificers, with their families, from the interior parts of *Katay*, who were extremely well versed in fabricating arms and military machines. The general of the *Turks* that joined him was *Kabad Bûkâ Al Bâwarji*. His son *Jûmagâr*, whose mother was the noblest of his wives, *Hûlâcû Il Khân* sent as his ambassador to the *Orda* of *Múncacá Kâân*; and took his eldest son *Abâka* along with him, as well as another named *Yasîmûn*. *Dûkûz Khâtûn*, a *Christian* lady, and *Al Jâi Khâtûn*, two of his wives, likewise attended him in this expedition. We are told, that *Hûlâcû* at first intended to push his conquests towards the west and the north, and to attack *Thrace*, *Russia*, and *Poland*; but that he was diverted from this resolution, and persuaded to lay siege to the city of *Baghdâd*, by the famous oriental mathematician *Nassîro'ddîn*, who had quitted the *Khalif's* court in disgust, gone over to the *Tartar*, and assured him, that this prince's capital was incapable of making any defence. *Ebn Shohnab* relates, that a luminous appearance in the air, extremely bright and resplendent by night, emitting a smoke in the day, for a considerable space of time, greatly terrified the people of *'Aden*, in *Al Yaman*, and the neighbouring district, the present year^d.

and of the year
652.

THE 652d year of the *Hejra*, commencing *Feb.* 21st, 1254, was not distinguished by many actions of éclat. *Hûlâcû* persisted in his intention of attacking the *Khalif*, but took care for the present to conceal his design. *Al Moezz 'Azzo'ddîn Aybec* killed *Khoshdâshob Aktâi Al Jîmdâr*, and deposed *Al Malec Al Asbraf Mûsa*, a child about ten years old; after which, according to *Ebn Shohnab*, none of the princes of the house of *Ayûb* had any power or influence in *Egypt*^e.

The most remarkable
transactions of
the year 653.

THE following year, being the 653d of the *Hejra*, beginning *Feb.* 10th, 1255, *Hâtem*, king of *Armenia*, returned to *Sîs*, in the *Syrian* month *Eilâl*, or *Aylûl*, from the *Orda* of the *Grand Khân*. The same year, before the close of *Sbaabân*, *Hûlâcû Il Khân* incamped with his numerous forces in the plains of *Samarkand*, and remained in that position forty days; during which term, his brother *Sontâi Ogûl* departed this life, and he received advice of another brother's death, that happened in the district of *Balâdor*. These melancholy accidents greatly afflicted him. *Al Emîr Argûn* and many of the grandees of *Khorasân*, who notwithstanding the severity of the season had passed the *Jibûn*, soon after joined him. As the winter was extremely cold, and the ground in those parts covered with snow till the following spring, he found himself obliged to continue in a state of inaction for several months. However, he

^c GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 500, 501, 502. KHONDEMIR, D'HEREBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mosâ'dhem ou Mosâzem*, p. 629.

^d GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 502, 503. KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 651. D'HEREBEL. ubi sup.

^e KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 652. TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDÎ, in *Mawredo'llatâf*. IERAHIM EBN MOHAMMED EBN DAKMAK, in *Al Jawhar Al Thâmîn*, D'HEREBEL. ubi sup. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 596.

a ordered some of his generals, with the forces under their command, to advance against *Rocno'ddîn Khûz Shâb Ebn 'Alâo'ddîn*, prince of the *Ismaelians*, or *Affassins*, who had already demolished five of his castles, which he did not think capable of sustaining a siege, as soon as the season would permit. Nevertheless the reduction of all the fortresses occupied by these murderers was not intirely effected in one campaign^f.

THE next year, being the 654th of the *Hejra*, which commenced Jan. 30th, 1256, was ^{and of the} not destitute of memorable events. *Cayd Bûkâ*, or *Cabad Bûkâ*, *Al Bâwarjî*, one of *Hûlâcû's* ^{year 654.} generals, having taken the castle of *Sbâbedîz*, and three others, from *Rocno'ddîn Khûz Shâb*, prince of the *Ismaelians*, justly termed *Al Molâbedab*, that is, *The Impious*, on account of their enormous crimes; *Hûlâcû* himself advanced to *Kasrân*, in order to begin the operations of the campaign. From thence he marched to *'Abâsîbâd*, or *'Abbâsîbâd*; where he received a boy, b seven or eight years old, dispatched to him by *Rocno'ddîn*, seemingly to intimate his submission to him, whom that prince gave out to be his son. *Hûlâcû* treated the child with marks of affection and honour, though he did not take him to be *Rocno'ddîn's* son, and then ordered him to return to his pretended father. After this, *Rocno'ddîn* sent his brother *Shîrân Shab*, with a train of 300 attendants, to the *Mogul* camp. *Hûlâcû*, upon their arrival, commanded the men that attended *Shîrân Shâb* to be conducted under an escorte to *Jemâlâbâd*, or *Jamâlâbâd*, in the territory of *Kazwîn*; but dismissed *Shîrân Shâb* himself, ordering him to let his brother know, that if he did not in person pay him homage, in five days time, he would immediately attack him. Hereupon *Rocno'ddîn* dispatched an ambassador to *Hûlâcû*, to inform c him, that his own troops would not suffer him then to leave them; but that, when a proper opportunity offered, he would most certainly wait upon him. Upon which, *Hûlâcû*, finding that he sought only to gain time, moved from *Bîshcâm* to a spot of ground opposite to *Al Maimûn Dara*, the 14th of *Shawâl*, and there incamped. He also gave private orders, that the 300 *Al Molâbedab* at *Jamâlâbâd* should be put to death; whence it came to pass, that the inhabitants of *Kazwîn* said, by way of proverb, when any person was executed, or killed; "He was sent to *Jamâlâbâd*." When *Rocno'ddîn* perceived, that *Hûlâcû Il Khân* actually d approached him, he assured him, by another ambassador, that he would not fail to make his submission to him in person, either that or the following day. The most resolute, however, of the *Al Molâbedab*, or *Ismaelians*, who acted under him, would not permit him to retire to the *Moguls*, as he intended to do; of which *Hûlâcû* being apprized, he commanded him to endeavour first to mollify them by fair words, and to leave them even in disguise, if no other method could render his escape practicable. In the mean time, the *Mogul* general invested the fortress wherein *Rocno'ddîn* was shut up, with his troops, and planted his military machines round it in such a manner as plainly indicated an intention of carrying it by storm. The siege of the place being formed, the *Ismaelians* sallied out vigorously upon the *Moguls*; which enabled *Rocno'ddîn Khûz Shâb*, who probably headed them in this action, to go over, with his family and friends, to *Hûlâcû*, and acknowledge himself one of the vassals of the *Grand Khân*. At their first interview, *Rocno'ddîn* expressed the most unfeigned sorrow and concern for the enormous crimes he had been guilty of, and met with a very favourable reception e from *Hûlâcû*; which being observed by the *Ismaelian* garrison of the aforesaid fortress, they surrendered it to the *Moguls*, in hopes of being treated after the same manner. *Hûlâcû's* detachments likewise possessed themselves of all the other places of strength in that part of the *Ismaelian* territories, without sustaining any considerable loss. Having demolished all the castles and fortresses that had been occupied his troops, *Hûlâcû* summoned the commandant of *Al Mât*, who seemed determined to defend that strong hold to the last drop of blood; but upon the approach of *Balgâi Ogûl*, with a large body of *Moguls*, he thought fit to deliver it up into his hands, towards the close of *Dbu'lkaada*, the present year. This and the other fortresses of *Kabestân*, amounting to above fifty in number, which the *Moguls* had reduced, *Shamso'ddîn*, the governor of *Kabestân*, with a detachment of the *Ismaelian* troops, at *Hûlâcû's* command, f laid level with the ground. Nevertheless *Cazdbacûb* and *Camshîr* held out till the year 656. The *Moguls* granted the noblesse of *Deylam* a peace, upon condition that all their castles and fortresses should be demolished; after which, *Hûlâcû* put his men into winter-quarters in the territory of *Hamadân*, about the middle of *Dbu'lhajja*, and ordered *Rocno'ddîn*, with his family, to be conducted to *Kazwîn*. The same year, according to Dr. *Hunt's* MS. copy of *Ebn Shobnah*, and not before, died *Kaykhusrû*, the *Sâheb* of the *Belâd Al Rûm*, and was succeeded by *'Azzo'ddîn Kaykâwas* and *Rocno'ddîn Kilij Arslân*, his sons; but this we are by no means disposed to admit, as it apparently runs counter to what has been already observed, both from *Abu'lfeza* and *Abu'l Faraj*. *Ebn Shobnah* likewise relates, if the aforesaid MS. copy of his history may be depended upon, that *Al Malec Al Nâser Salâb'addîn Yusef*, the g *Sâheb* of *Haleb*, or *Aleppo*, and *Al Shîm*, sent *Al Câmel Ebn Al 'Adîm*, with a splendid

^f GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 504, 505. AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in Nighariil. D'HEPPEL. Biblioth. orient. aut. *Ismaelians*, p. 505. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 598.

retinue, at this time, as his ambassador to the *Kkalif Al Mosta'sem Bi'llah*, to sue for the *Kaftan* a
of *Soltân. Al Câmél*, not having been able to execute the commission with which he was
charged, to his master's satisfaction, was poisoned, if our author merits any regard, in the year
that we are now upon^e.

Al Moezz
'Azzo'ddîn
Aybec is af-
faffinated.

IN the 655th year of the *Hejra*, which began Jan. 19th, 1257, *Al Malec Al Moezz*
'*Azzo'ddîn Aybec Al Turkomâni Al Jâsbenkîr*, the first *Turkish Mamlûk Soltân* of *Egypt*, was
affaffinated by certain *Mamlûks*, hired by his wife *Shajr Al Dor*, as has been already observed,
to perpetrate that horrid fact. He began his reign, according to some writers of good repute,
on *Saturday*, the 29th of the latter *Rabî*, 648; and was cut off, by the villainous intrigues of
Shajr Al Dor, on *Tuesday*, the 23d of the former *Rabî*, 655. As *Omm Khâled*, or *Shajr Al* b
Dor, who was of a very despotic and tyrannical disposition, would not allow *Al Moezz* any
share in the government; he resolved to divorce her, and to take another wife. Of which
Omm Khâled having been apprized, in order to prevent this, and to rule the more absolutely,
she caused him to be precipitated from the throne by a violent death. However, she did not
long enjoy the fruits of her wickedness; the principal *Mamlûk Emîrs* having, at the instigation
of *Al Malec Al Mansûr*, *Al Moezz's* son, and his mother, soon after slain her, and thrown
her body to the dogs. Before her tragical exit, she pounded all her most valuable jewels in a
mortar, till she had reduced them to powder, that they might not fall into her enemies hands.
Al Malec Al Mansûr Nûro'ddîn Ali, then only fifteen years old, who succeeded his father *Al*
Moezz, was proclaimed *Sâbeb*, or *Soltân*, of *Egypt*, the 25th of the former *Rabî*, 655; and
was deposed, according to *Al Makrizi* and the author of *Al Rawda*, the 24th of *Dbu'lkaada*, c
657. This year, according to *Ebn Shobnah*, a fire broke out in the *Al Harâm*, or great
temple, at *Medina*, through the negligence of the people there; which for some time raged
with great violence, and consumed the roof, together with several of the pulpits, before it was
possible to extinguish the flames. As this disaster happened in the night, the blaze occasioned
by it was seen at a vast distance from the palace; which struck the *Arab Moslems* with terror,
they imagining that some signal calamity to *Islamism* was portended by so doleful and unex-
pected an event^h.

Hûlâcû extir-
pates the whole
race of the Is-
maelians, or
Assassins.

THE same year, *Hûlâcû* sent *Rocno'ddîn Khûz Shâh*, prince of the *Ismaelians*, or *Assassins*,
at his own request, to *Karâkorom*; whither he proposed to go, in order to pay homage to
Mûncacâ Kâân, emperor of the *Moguls*. But he no sooner arrived at the city of *Bokbâra*, with d
nine of his subjects, and the ambassadors dispatched by *Hûlâcû* to *Mûncacâ Kâân*, who in this
journey attended him, than he quarrelled with the latter, and gave them very opprobrious lan-
guage; which so incensed them, that they placed his conduct to the *Grand Khân* in a very bad
light. Upon his arrival, therefore, at *Karâkorom*, he was refused an audience by *Mûncacâ*
Kâân; who commanded him to return home, to demolish the castles of *Cazdbakûb*, and *Cam-*
shîr, which were still garrisoned by his troops, and to visit a second time the *Mogul* court.
Upon his compliance with this command, he was promised a more favourable reception. In
pursuance of the order he had received, *Rocno'ddîn* set out for *Kazwîn*; but was put to death,
together with the *Ismaelians* that accompanied him, upon the road. *Karâkây Al Tabtahtaji*,
a *Mogul* general sent by *Hûlâcû* for that purpose to *Kazwîn*, also cut off his sons, daughters, e
brothers, sisters, and in fine his whole family. All the *Ismaelian* forces, and particularly
a body (W) of 12,000 of them, drawn up as it were to be reviewed before *Awtcîhanâ*
Nowayn, another of the principal *Mogul* officers, were likewise put to the sword. But as
the history of the *Ismaelians*, or *Assassins*, will have a place assigned in the supplement to this
large and extensive work, it would be altogether superfluous to expatiate farther upon the
extirpation of that most profligate and abandoned nation hereⁱ.

A dreadful fa-
mine in the
territory of
Malatiya this
year.

'*AZZO'DDÎN*, the *Sâbeb* of the *Belâd Al Rûm*, having sent *Tafalâ*, or *Togar Balâbâ*, one
of his *Mamlûks*, into the parts about *Malatiya* and *Kbartabert*, to raise an army of *Curds*, *Turk-*
mâns, and *Arabs*; that officer engaged *Sharfo'ddîn Ahmed Ebn Belûs*, of the *Belâd Al Haccâr*, f
and *Sharfo'ddîn Mohammed Ebn Al Sheikh 'Adi*, of the territory of *Al Marwef*, two comman-
ders of the *Curds*, in his service. But these being both cut off, after the first of them had, on
Palm-Sunday, burnt the monastery of *Mûdbik*, or *Dair Mârîk*, in his retreat towards *Amed* in

^e GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 505, 506, 507, 508. AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL
KAZWINI, in Nighiarit. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 654. D'HERBEL. & RENAUD. ubi sup. ^h GREG.
ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 497. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 655. TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MA-
KRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, MOHAMMED EBN ABU'L SARUR AL
SADIKI, in Al Rawd. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 655. AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL JAWHAR, AL JANNAB.
D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Ibek*, p. 479. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 596. ⁱ GREG. ABU'L FAR.
ubi sup. p. 508, 509. AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABDALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in Nighiarit. D'HERBEL.
Biblioth. orient. art. *Ismaelicum*, p. 505, 506. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 598.

(W) M. Renaudot gives us to understand, that the
body of *Ismaelians* cut off at this time, by *Hûlâcû's* or-
der, amounted only to 10,000 men; but by what au-

thor he was supplied with this article, which runs coun-
ter to what has been advanced by *Abu'l Faraj*, he has
not been pleased to inform us (1).

(1) Renaud. ubi sup. p. 598.

a *Mesopotamia*; 'Azzo'ddîn appointed one *Ali Babâder* to preside over the people of *Malatiya*, in the room of *Ebn Belâs*, to whom he had before assigned the government of that city. *Ali Babâder* had not been long at *Malatiya*, before he was driven from thence by *Bâyejû Nowayn*, one of the generals of the *Moguls*. But that commander having afterwards received a sum of money from the citizens of *Malatiya*, and passed the frontiers of the *Belâd Al Rûm*, on his route to the borders of *Irâk*; *Ali Babâder* returned, and laid siege to *Malatiya*; the people there, for fear of *Bâyejû Nowayn*, refusing to admit him, and his *Turkmân* troops, into the town. Having at last in a manner starved them to a surrender, the weavers, and others of the lower sort of people, opened a gate in the night, by which *Ali* and the *Turkmâns* under his conduct entered the place. After which, he caused a proclamation to be made, that the citizens, both *Christians* and *Mohammedans*, might again apply themselves to their respective callings and professions, as he would take them all under his protection. The next morning, however, he imprisoned *Fakbro'ddîn Ayyaz*, *Soltân Rocno'ddîn's* governor; and put to death *Shabâbo'ddîn Al 'Ared*, after he had caused him to be led on a sorry horse, by way of derision, thro' all the most public streets of the city. *Al Mo'ayyen Al Aycad Bashâfi* had by his order his neck tied to that of a dog, and was constrained to walk in that attitude through the most noted parts of the town; after which the executioner struck off his head. A similar punishment he inflicted upon three *Emîrs*, the sons of *Al Emîr Shabâbo'ddîn Aysûl*, the *Curd*, and some few others of the leading men, who had the most vigorously opposed him. The famine occasioned by the siege was most dreadful, and such as was perhaps never before known in that part of the world. During the time of this terrible calamity, as an intimate friend assured *Abu'l Faraj*, a company of women at *Bâ'bdûn*, a village in the district of *Jûbâs*, one of the dependencies of *Malatiya*, fed upon the flesh of a corpse; and another woman having baked her own child, and her neighbours being upon the point of pulling her to pieces for so execrable an action, she swore that she had not killed him, but only baked him after he was dead, imagining him then to be much fitter food for her than for worms. But of the most remarkable events that happened at this time in the *Belâd Al Rûm*, which we have barely touched upon here, our readers may expect a full and ample account in a subsequent part of this work^k.

HULACU had, for some time past, resolved to besiege the city of *Baghdâd*; but he had endeavoured, with all the art a great captain is master of, to conceal the point he had in view. He had by marches and counter-marches, and other military falsifications, rendered it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to judge on what side the storm, with which he had long threatened some of the neighbouring powers, would fall. Whilst his forces were reducing the castles occupied by the *Ismaelians*, he had sent an ambassador to *Al Mosta'sem* at *Baghdâd*, to desire his assistance against those murderers; which the *Khalif*, not aware of the snare the crafty *Tartar* intended to lay for him by this demand, seemed inclinable enough to grant. But the most faithful of his ministers, who plainly perceived the pernicious tendency of *Hûlâcû's* request, would by no means give their consent to a compliance with it. They represented to *Al Mosta'sem*, that the *Mogul* general did not stand in need of his assistance; but only wanted to drain the city of *Baghdâd* of its troops, that it might the more easily fall a prey to him. After *Hûlâcû* had dispossessed the *Ismaelians* of their fortresses, he talked to the *Khalif*, by the mouth of another ambassador, in a loftier strain. He even upbraided him with not contributing to the extirpation of the *Assassins*, who were now become a common pest. As for *Mowayyado'ddîn*, the *Wazîr*, having penetrated *Hûlâcû's* real design, by means of some emissaries he had in the *Tartar* camp; he resolved to avail himself of the present opportunity to ruin without resource his master and his whole family, and completely to revenge the outrages suffered by the sect he had always favoured. In order to which he advised *Al Mosta'sem* forthwith to disband his troops, as they were altogether useless at a time when he was feared and respected by all the kings and princes professing *Islamism*. He added, that with regard to the *Tartars*, nothing was to be apprehended from them; they seeming, by all their motions, determined to turn their arms towards the north, which would be more advantageous to them than any southern expedition. The *Khalif*, who loved money, listened to the advice with pleasure; and, instead of augmenting the troops he had on foot, amounting to 70,000 men, which he ought to have done, he issued an order for a reform, laid aside all thoughts of making the proper dispositions for his defence, and intirely abandoned himself to those pleasures to which he was so much attached. In the mean time, the *Wazîr*, with whom the *Khalif* had trusted the absolute government of his estates, that his treason might be crowned with success, dispersed all the best officers of the forces in places remote from *Baghdâd*; and dispatched an express to *Hûlâcû*, to inform him of the facility with which he might make himself master of the capital, and the *Khalif's* person, if he would immediately march his army that way. Upon this advice, the *Tartar* left the environs of *Hamadân*, in the month of *Skawâl*, without imparting to any person the route he intended to take, and broke all at once unexpectedly into the

^k GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 503, 510, 511, 512.

Babylonian Irák, the province in which *Baghdád* stood. On the arrival of this melancholy news, the principal lords of the court repaired directly to the *Khalif*, and laid before him in the most lively colours the necessity he then was under of quitting his debaucheries, and thinking seriously of his affairs. But the *Wazir* rendered ineffectual all their laudable endeavours, by still amusing that prince, to his destruction, and telling him that he ran no manner of risk from the *Tartars* and *Moguls*; nay, that if they should enter the city, the very women and children alone would be able to knock them on the head with stones from the terraces of their houses. Being consulted, however, by the noblesse, at this critical juncture, he said, that *Húlcú* would not be satisfied with any thing less than all their treasures, jewels, sumptuous garments, slaves, mules, camels, and in fine every thing valuable belonging to them; by which they plainly perceived, that he had procured from *Húlcú* good terms for himself, by betraying his sovereign and fellow subjects to the *Tartars*. Nevertheless the *Khalif* still, in some measure, listened to him; and sent several presents to the *Mogul* general, as an intimation that he was willing to come to an accommodation with him. But these not being of sufficient value, *Húlcú* returned them with indignation; and insisted that either the *Wazir*, the *Dowaidár*, or *Solimán Sháb*, should be instantly dispatched to his camp. None of them, however, though commanded by the *Khalif*, would stir out of the town; so that *Al Mosta'sem* found himself obliged to send *Ebn Al Jawzi* and *Ebn Mohaio'ddín*, as his plenipotentiaries to *Húlcú*, who were incapable of executing the commission with which they were charged. All hopes of peace thus vanishing into smoke, *Húlcú* detached a strong body of his troops, under the orders of *Báyejú Nowayn* and *Súnják Nowayn*, to move through *Arbel* towards *Baghdád*; whilst he himself, with the gross of his army, advanced by the way of *Holwán* to the gates of that capital. The *Khalif*, who had been so long imposed upon by the *Wazir*, began now to be sensible of the fatal mistake he had been guilty of, in listening to the pernicious counsel of that wicked minister; and having received advice, that *Báyejú Nowayn* had already passed the *Tigris*, and was incamped on the western bank of that river; he commanded the *Dowaidár*, with all the forces that could be assembled, to observe the motions of the *Moguls*. Whilst things were in this situation, *Aybec Al Halebi*, one of the *Khalif's* *Emirs*, was taken by one of the enemy's parties, and carried to *Húlcú*; who spared his life, on condition that he should give him a true account of the state of affairs in *Baghdád*. Having conducted the *Mogul* army to the walls of that city, he wrote to his friends there; telling them, that, "as they were utterly unable to resist the mighty power of *Húlcú*, he could not forbear intreating them to surrender to him." They answered the *Emir's* letter in the following terms. "Who is *Húlcú*, and what is his power, that he should presume to make war upon the house of *Al Abbas*? Their empire is derived from God alone, and therefore no prince can meet with success, who endeavours to overturn it. If *Húlcú* had been a friend to peace, he would never have entered and ravaged the *Khalif's* territories. Nevertheless if he should now be sincerely desirous of it, let him return to *Hamadán*, and we will intercede with the *Dowaidár* to prevail upon the commander of the faithful to forgive the enormous crime he has committed." Which answer being shewn by *Al Emir Aybec* to *Húlcú*, that conqueror laughed at their weakness and simplicity; knowing that the dispute between him and *Al Mosta'sem*, who had been reduced almost to the last extremity by the infidelity of his *Wazir*, would be brought to a speedy decision by the sword¹.

The *Khalif's* forces are overthrown by the *Moguls*.

THE *Dowaidár*, finding the city upon the point of being invested by the *Moguls*, posted himself at *Yáakúbá*; but, in order to watch more narrowly their motions, he removed from thence to a spot of ground opposite to *Báyejú Nowayn's* camp. Having received afterwards advice that a body of the *Tartars*, under the command of *Súnják Nowayn*, was arrived at *Al Anbár*; he led his forces against them, attacked them, and put them to flight. But *Báyejú Nowayn* coming up with his men, in the nick of time, forced the fugitives to return to the charge; and, after an obstinate and bloody engagement, by dint of numbers, gave the *Khalif's* army a total defeat. Most of the *Moslems* were killed in the action and the pursuit, a few of them only escaping with the *Dowaidár* to *Baghdád*. This we learn from *Abu'l Faraj*. But of the preceding operations the following particulars have been handed down to us by *Khondemir*, the *Persian* historian. *Húlcú* having detached from his army *Súnják* and *Mangú*, with a considerable corps, who had traversed the desert, in order to approach nearer the city of *Baghdád*; the *Khalif* sent two of his general officers, named *Fatbo'ddín* and *Mojábo'ddín*, with a body of 10,000 men, to reconnoitre the *Moguls*. Those generals found the enemy incamped along an arm of the *Dijlat*, or the *Tigris*, and immediately gave them battle. The two armies engaged near that river a whole day, without any apparent advantage on either side. But the *Moguls* having cut through one of the mounds of the *Euphrates*, near the spot on which the *Moslem* troops were posted, the following night; they were all either drowned by an inundation

¹ GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 515, 516, 517. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mosta'dhem ou Mosta'sem Billah Ben Mostanser Billah*, p. 629.

a of that river, or put to the sword by the *Tartars*, *Mojibah'ddin* only with great difficulty making his escape to *Baghdād*. The *Khalif* being informed of his arrival, and knowing nothing of the defeat of his army, cried out three times, "God be praised, *Mojibah'ddin* is in good health." ^m

THE 656th year of the *Hejra*, commencing Jan. 8th, 1258, has been rendered memorable to all succeeding ages by the great revolution that happened in it. A revolution which, however, was brought about not so much by the power of a foreign enemy, though extremely formidable, as by the wicked intrigues of a domestic foe. Whilst the *Khalif's* troops were advancing to meet the *Tartars* who had taken their route towards *Baghdād* through the desert, *Hülacü* himself arrived with his numerous forces by the way of *Holwân* before the gates of that city. b About the middle of *Al Moharram*, having been joined by all his detachments, he invested the place; the inhabitants of all ranks and denominations, at that time, thinking of nothing less than a siege. As for the *Khalif* himself, he still continued in his debaucheries; and had so little knowledge of his affairs, that he was scarce sensible of the enemies being before the walls when his capital had been near two (X) months besieged. The *Persians*, in order to express the present state of *Baghdād*, and the security in which its citizens now lived, say, "The oven" was heated every night and morning as usual." *Hülacü* having erected a *Sibâ*, or high wall, and strengthened it with a deep trench on the eastern side of the city, as *Bûkâr Tîmûr*, *Sûnjâk Nowayn*, and *Bâyêjû Noweyn*, had done on the western, and thereby formed a complete line of contravallation; the *Moguls* planted their *She-pau* and *Ho-pau*, or stone-engines and fire-engines, c as well as all their other military machines, in a proper manner, round the place, and began to play with them upon the walls the 22d of *Al Moharram*, on which day the siege commenced. The *Khalif* hereupon, however ignorant he might be of the deplorable situation he was in, by the advice of his principal courtiers, sent the prefect of his *Dîwân* and *Ebn Darnûs*, with some presents, to *Hülacü*, to make his submission to him. But as these presents were of little value, *Al Mosta'sem* imagining that richer would have been interpreted as a sign of fear, they met with but a cold reception; *Hülacü* demanding, in an authoritative tone, why the *Dowaidâr* and *Solîmân Shâh* had not been ordered to attend him? In the mean time, *Hülacü* carried on his attacks against that part of the town where the tower *Al 'Ajemi*, or the *Persian* tower, stood; *Bûkâr Tîmûr* his on the western side, near the herb-garden; and *Sûnjâk Nowayn*, who was sustained by d *Bâyêjû Nowayn*, his against the quarter occupied by the hospital *Al 'Adadi*. The prefect, or *Sâheb*, of the *Dîwan* and *Ebn Darnûs* being returned, with an account of the indifferent treatment they had received from *Hülacü*; the *Khalif* dispatched the *Wazîr Al 'Alkami* himself, accompanied by his two sons, and several of his friends, to the *Mogul* camp. Upon his arrival there, the *Tartar* general told him, that when he was at *Hamadân* he would have been satisfied with the attendance of either the *Wazîr*, the *Dowaidâr*, or *Solîman Shâh*; but that now, when things wore quite a different aspect, he expected that all those three ministers should wait upon him. The *Moguls* having rendered it impossible for any of the people and garrison of *Baghdād* to escape by means of the *Tigris*, and made themselves masters of the walls, the 26th of *Al Moharram*; that capital, with all the riches in it, was in the most imminent danger of falling e into their hands. Every thing being ready for storming the place, *Hülacü* caused it to be signified to the *Khalif's* subjects by an *Arabic* inscription cut on some of his archers arrows, and shot into the town, "that the noblesse, the descendants of *Ali*, the learned (Y) men, and in

^m GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 517. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 629. "fine

(X) In this article we have followed *Khondemir*, as translated by M. D'Herbelot; the siege of *Baghdād* scarce continuing three weeks, according to *Abu'l Faraj* (1).

(Y) During the *Khalifat* of *Al Mosta'sem Ebn Al Mostanser*, the following learned men are said to have flourished in the *Moslem* territories by *Abu'l Faraj*.

1. *Jemâlo'ddin*, or *Jamâlo'ddin*, *Ebn Al Koftî*, the author of the history of wise men, or physicians; who was born at *Koft*, or *Coptos*, an ancient city of *The Upper Egypt*, denominated *Al Sa'id* by the *Arab* writers, in the year of the *Hejra* 568. His father removing to *Al Kâbirah*, or *Al Kûbirah Al Moezziyah*; he was taught there both to read and write, and instructed in the rudiments of polite literature. From thence he travelled to *Aleppo*, where he contracted an intimacy with *Al Emîr Al Maimûn Al Kafri*. During his residence there, he became acquainted with many learned men; by whose conversation, and disputations, which he constantly attended, he was much improved. After *Al Emîr Al Maimûn Al Kafri's* death, he kept himself altogether at

home, till he was appointed by *Al Malec Al Dhâber*, much against his inclination, to preside over the weighty affairs of the *Dîwân*. That prince being dead, he retired from the *Dîwân*, confined himself to his own house, and applied himself there so closely to study and meditation, that he scarce ever appeared elsewhere. However, *Al Malec Al 'Azîz* conferred upon him the office of *Wazîr*, in the year 633; the duties of which he continued to discharge, with great reputation, till the day of his death, or the 13th of *Ramadân*, 646. *Al Malec Al Nâser*, *Al Malec Al 'Azîz's* son, when *Jemâlo'ddin Ebn Al Koftî* expired, sat upon the *Egyptian* throne.

2. *Nojms'ddin Al Nakhjîwânî*, a celebrated philosopher, who made a vast progress in most branches of ancient literature. He first studied philosophy in his own country, and afterwards settled in the capital of the *Belâd Al Rûm*; where his merit was so conspicuous, that he arrived at the highest honours. But being tired with the hurry and noise of a court, he withdrew to *Aleppo*, and remained altogether at home; though he was visited by considerable numbers of people, being of a very

(1) *Khondemir*, D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 629, 630. Greg. Abu'l Far. ubi sup. p. 517, 518, 519.

“ fine all who should not be found in arms when he entered the place, should be safe, together
 “ with their families and effects.” The *Dowaidâr* and *Solimân Shâh*, with a large retinue of
 the grandees, in obedience to his commands, then appeared before him ; but he permitted the
Khalif

fociable disposition, as long as he lived. He was of the sect of those who maintain the *Metempsychosis*, or *transmigration of souls*, asserted by *Pythagoras*. He published strictures upon the *Al Ajbârât* of *Ebn Sinâ*, and wrote a sort of commentary upon that piece. He likewise discovered several errors and defects in the logical treatise of *Al Afdal Al Khawarizmi*, intitled *Al Calkf*. *Nojmo'ddin*, who was born at *Nakchirwân*, *Nakhsirwân*, one of the principal cities of *The Greater Armenia*, in the province of *Adharbijân*, and has been represented as a man of piety as well as learning, finished his observations upon *Ebn Sinâ's* system of logic, about the year of the *Hijra* 650.

3. *Theodorus Antiochenus*, a *Jacobite Christian* ; who attained to an uncommon skill both in the *Syriac* and *Latin* tongues, as well as the *Arabic*, at *Antioch*, and was a physician also well acquainted with several branches of antient literature. He read at *Al Marâsîl*, with *Camâloddin Ebn Yûnes*, the works of *Al Fârâbi* and *Ebn Sinâ*, as likewise *Euclid* and *Ptolemy's Almagest*. After which, he returned to *Antioch*, his native city ; but soon went back to *Al Marâsîl*, for the benefit of *Ebn Yûnes's* instruction. When he had perfected himself in the mathematics and philosophy there, he applied himself to the study of physic at *Baghdâd* ; and, by his indefatigable application, acquired a most extensive knowledge of that art. From *Baghdâd* he repaired to ' *Alâoddin's* court, in order to become physician to that prince, who was the *Seljukian Soltân* of the *Belâd Al Rûm* ; but meeting with a cold reception there, he passed into *Armenia*, to serve in the same capacity *Constantine*, the father of king *Hâtem*. Not finding in this country the encouragement he expected, *Theodorus* departed from thence in the retinue of an ambassador to *Constantinople*. The *Latin* emperor, having been apprised of his merit, loaded him with presents and honours ; and settled upon him the revenues of the little city of *Camâbi*, or *Camâbia*, including those of the district appertaining to it. Being in affluent circumstances, the desire of seeing his native country and his friends made him take the resolution of returning to *Antioch* ; but not being able to get the emperor's leave, he embarked with his servants and all his substance, setting sail for the coast of ' *Accâ*, whilst the emperor was engaged in a western expedition. He had not been long at sea, when a contrary wind arose, and constrained him to enter the port of a certain city where the emperor himself at that time was. Of which having been informed, through shame rather than fear, as he had fled without the permission of his benefactor, who would nevertheless not have punished so excellent a physician with death, by some poison that he carried about him, he put a period to his days.

4. *Mas'ûd Al Baghdâdi*, generally denominated *Ebn Al Kafi* ; who was physician in ordinary to the *Khalif Al Mosta'sem Ebn Al Mostanser*, and one of the greatest favourites of that prince. After the taking of *Baghdâd* by the *Tartars*, he lived in the most retired manner, scarce ever appearing in public, or even out of his house, to the day that he expired.

5. *Gars Al Ne'mat Abu Nafr*, the son of *Mas'ûd Al Baghdâdi* ; who was a man of very extensive learning, and an excellent geometrician. He was of a thin habit of body, a valetudinarian, drank copiously every day of ptisan, dieted himself, and, by that means, arrived at a pretty advanced age.

6. *Isa Al Baghdâdi*, an eminent physician, commonly called *Ebn Al Kasîs Al Khatîrî* ; who seems, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, to have been of a choleric disposition. Being once engaged in a dispute with that author, *Isa Al Baghdâdi* pretended to prove from scripture, that the night at first preceded the day, as the *Syrians* hold ; *Moses* clearly asserting, that “ the evening and the morning were the first day.” The *Arab* historian answered, that this text was so far from supporting his opinion, that it made directly against him ; the term evening

there importing nothing more than the end, or termination, of the preceding day. To which, with some emotion, *Isa* thought fit only to reply, “ This is the opinion of your whole sect, how therefore can you have the assurance to attempt proving them guilty of a lie ?” *Abu'l Faraj* immediately returned, “ For my own part, I follow the *Greeks* in this point ; though, by way of apology for the *Syrians*, it may be said, that as their months are lunar, and begin with the new moon, which appears first in the evening, not in the morning, they fix at the beginning of the night the commencement of their epochs and supputations, as do also the *Hebrews* and *Arabs*, for the same reason.” This *Isa Al Baghdâdi*, whose father was also an excellent physician, that trained up youth in the principles of his art, having deposited an inaccurate copy of the *Kûrûn* of *Ebn Sinâ*, drawn out by himself in his younger days, in the library of the college of *Al Mostanserîya* ; he revised and corrected it, lest his memory should thereby suffer, after his decease. He did not pay the common tribute to nature before he had arrived at an extreme old age.

7. *Takio'ddin Al Râsaini*, known by the name, or surname, of *Ebn Al Khattâb* ; who was vastly celebrated for his skill in his profession, and served in the quality of physician both *Soltân Gayâthoddin* and ' *Azzoddin* his son. Those princes greatly honoured him, treated him in all respects as their equal, assigned him a most ample salary, and contracted an uncommon intimacy with him ; insomuch that he enjoyed an uninterrupted flow of prosperity, for a considerable time, under their protection.

8. *Sharfo'ddin Ebn Al Rahabi*, and his brother *Jemâlo'ddin*, both of *Damascus* ; who made no small figure, at the time that we are now upon. *Sharfo'ddin* excelled in the theory of physic, and applied himself diligently to the instruction of young students in the principles of that art. *Jemâlo'ddin* rendered himself exceeding famous by his experience, and the success that attended him in his practice. We are told by *Abu'l Faraj*, who visited many patients in the hospital *Al Nûrî* at *Damascus* with him, that he was a person of a most amiable disposition, and that he never saw a physician of a better address. That author farther relates, that *Sharfo'ddin*, whose scholars were very numerous, wrote notes and a short comment upon the *Kânûn* of *Ebn Sinâ* ; which, as he tells us, he had never perused.

9. *Bedro'ddin*, the son of the *Kâdi* of *Baalbec*, a most celebrated physician ; who wrote a small treatise upon cordials and exhilarating medicines, adapted to all constitutions. In this piece, which bore the title of *Mofarreh Al Nefs*, that is, *exhilarating the soul*, he reprehended *Al Kayis*, the primary doctor, or *Ebn Sinâ*, for ranking coriander amongst those medicines which raise the spirits, and comfort the heart ; that herb, according to him, producing no such salutary effects.

10. *Nafiso'ddarwla Al Dimshki*, a *Christian* of the *Melchite* sect, generally going under the appellation of *Ebn Talib* ; who, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, was the principal of the physicians employed by *Hûlâû* the *Tartar*.

11. *Al Mowaffik Yakûb Al Dimshki Al Sâmari*, or *Al Mowaffik Jacob*, the *Damascene Samaritan* ; who was a physician of great sagacity, and in his practice attended with uncommon success. He was, however, so retentive of his knowledge, that he refused to communicate any part of it to those who came from foreign countries for the benefit of his instruction, before a stipulated sum of money was paid down ; which, says *Abu'l Faraj*, indicated a meanness of disposition, utterly repugnant to the sentiments of a generous mind.

12. *Nojmo'ddin Al Dimshki*, called also *Ebn Al Labûli* ; who was appointed to preside over the *Diwân*, and raised to the dignity of *Hazîr*. He was justly esteemed one of the most learned and virtuous men of the

a *Khalif* himself either to stay in the imperial palace, or retire to the *Tartar* camp, according to *Abu'l Faraj* ^a.

THE *Wazir Al 'Alkami* having been conducted on horseback to *Hulacû's*, or *Il Khan's*, tent; that prince received him in a very gracious manner, and set both him and his sons at liberty, but made the rest of his attendants prisoners. As for the *Dowaidâr*, he returned into the city; but the next day, endeavouring to escape out of it, was slain. In fine, *Baghdâd* being now in a defenceless state, as the *Moguls* had possessed themselves of the walls, *Hulacû*, the 4th of *Safar*, gave a general assault, and, almost without opposition, entered it with his victorious troops ^b.

THE common people of *Baghdâd* having before made their submission to *Hulacû*, and sent *Sbarfo'ddin Al Marâghi* and *Shahîbo'ddin Al Zencâni* to testify their attachment to him; the *Khalif* found himself deserted by all his subjects, and consequently was obliged to ask *Hulacû's* leave to wait upon him. This being granted, he left his palace; but was stopped, for some time, with his family, by *Hulacû's* order, at the gate of *Calwâd*. But the *Mogul* general going soon after to view the imperial palace, *Al Mosta'sem* appeared in his presence, with the jewels, unions, and other pearls, of almost inestimable value, in dishes, that had been collected by his ancestors, during a long course of years; all which, without reserve, *Hulacû* caused to be distributed amongst the principal officers of his troops. At night, that conqueror returned to his tent; when all the women, belonging both to the *Khalif* and his sons, about 700 in number, together with 300 eunuchs that waited upon them, were brought before him. The *Khalif Al Mosta'sem Bi'llah*, being thus fallen into the hands of the *Tartars*, *Hulacû* was, for some time, at a loss how to dispose of him. But at last it was resolved, that he should be sewed up in a leather bag (Z), and dragged through all the streets of the city; which being accordingly done, he quickly expired. Other writers, however, inform us, that both he and his sons (A) were trod to death by the army of the *Moguls*. *Abu'l Faraj* only relates, that after *Hulacû* had given up *Baghdâd* to his troops to be plundered seven days, he departed from thence, the 14th of *Safar*, and put to death the *Khalif Al Mosta'sem*, together with his middle son, and six eunuchs, by night, in the first station from his capital. His eldest son, and many of his friends, had been killed before the gate of *Calwâd*; which, according to *Khondemir*, that young prince had valiantly defended. Such was the deplorable end of the last *Khalif* of the *Moslems*, and even of the *Khalifat* itself; which commenced immediately after *Mohammed's* demise, in the person of *Abu Becr*, and continued in the house of *Al Abbâs* about 523 years ^c.

THE *Khalif Al Mosta'sem Bi'llah* was forty-six years old, at the time of his decease, and reigned near sixteen years. He had no proper successor. For, notwithstanding *Bîbars*, the fourth *Soltân* of the *Turkish Mamlûks* in *Egypt*, in order to revive the lustre of the family of *Al Abbâs*, acknowledged for *Khalif Al Mostanser Bi'llah*, who pretended to be a member of that house, three years after the fatal catastrophe abovementioned; his authority was not recognized by the most considerable part of the *Moslem* world, as will hereafter more fully appear, when we come to the history of the *Khalifs* of the house of *Al Abbâs* in *Egypt*, after the loss of *Baghdâd*. With regard to the *Khalif Al Mosta'sem*, it may not be improper to remark, that although he was a prince of but little sense, and altogether without conduct, he affected to display on all occasions a higher of pomp and magnificence than any of his predecessors. As he was extremely

^a KHONDEMIR, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 517, 518, 519. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 656. EBN KHALECAN, AL MAKIN, ad an. Hej. 656. MS. inedit. in Biblioth. Bodl. OXON. MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira p. 306, 309. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 666. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 629, 630. RENAUD, ubi sup. p. 598. ^b KHONDEMIR, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 519. MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. AL MAKIN, EBN KHALECAN, & EBN SHOHN. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 630. RENAUD. ubi sup. ^c KHONDEMIR, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ISM. ABU'LFED. AL MAKIN, MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. EBN KHALECAN, EBN SHOHN. & D'HERBEL. ubi sup. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 598, 599.

the age; but excelled chiefly in architecture and geometry, which he had cultivated in his younger years with great success.

13. *'Azzo'ddin* the blind man likewise merited a place amongst those illustrious persons who were looked upon as the brightest ornaments of the age in which he lived. He was extremely well versed in every branch of philosophy, and the whole circle of *Arabic* philology. He had so strong a memory, and so lively an imagination, that when the six first books of *Euclid* had been read to him, though he was blind, he could describe the requisite diagrams or figures, and demonstrate all the propositions therein contained (2).

(Z) This is the account of *Al Mosta'sem Bi'llah's* death given us by some of the authors consulted by M. Renaudot; but, according to *Khondemir*, as cited by M. D'Herbelot, he was packed up tight in a felt, and dragged through all the streets of *Baghdâd*, where he soon expired (3).

(A) M. Renaudot seems to intimate, doubtless from some of the eastern writers, that the *Khalif Al Mosta'sem Bi'llah* and all his sons were sewed up together in a leather sack or bag, dragged through the city of *Baghdâd*, and in that condition miserably perished (4).

(2) Greg. Abu'l Faraj, ubi sup. p. 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. art. Nakhiwani, p. 659. Vid. etiam eund. p. 753, 1026, &c. (3) Renaud. ubi sup. p. 598. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. art. Mosta'dhem ou Mostâzem Bi'llah Ben Mostanser Bi'llah, p. 630. (4) Renaud. ubi sup.

covetous, he added immense riches to the treasures which his ancestors had left him. His pride ^a was so great, that the most powerful *Mohammedan* princes could scarce find access to him. The author of the book intituled *Wassaf* relates, that this *Khalif* had caused a stone to be placed at the threshold of the door of his palace, which was as much respected by the *Moslems* as the famous *black stone* of the temple of *Mecca*. Over the door there was a piece of black velvet, which hung as low as a man could reach. When the principal lords made their court to the *Khalif*, they stood without the palace; to which they rendered almost divine honours, by rubbing their eyes and forehead upon the velvet and the stone, and kissing them with profound humility, in order to pay it homage. When this proud *Moslem* pontiff went out of his palace, he generally wore either a mask or a vail over his face, to attract the greater respect from the people, whom he did not think worthy of looking upon him. Notwithstanding which, the streets were so crowded ^b when he appeared in public, that they were too narrow to contain the multitude that flocked together to see him; and the windows and balconies, near the way he was to pass, were let at an extravagant price. If he, therefore, really suffered the death mentioned by *Khondemir*, 'tis not improbable that the *Tartars* inflicted so public and ignominious a punishment upon him, in order the more effectually to expose the insolent parade he had kept up, and the overstrained regard he had required, through the whole course of his reign ^c.

The Tartars
reduce Hella
and Wâset.

HULACU, having committed the reparation of the city of *Baghdâd* and its fortifications to the late *Khalif*'s prefect, or *Sâheb*, of the *Dîwân*, the *Wazîr Al' Alkâmî*, and *Ebn Darnûs*, detached *Bûkâ Tîmûr*, with a body of troops, to *Hella*, to make himself master of that place. *Bûkâ*, having executed *Hûlâcû*'s orders, with regard to *Hella*, marched from thence to *Wâset*; which ^c he entered with his detachment, staid there a week, and put a multitude of people to death. *Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbâs*, according to *Ebn Shohnab*, is reported to have said, "By God the *Khalifat* shall continue in my family, till a conqueror shall come from *Khorasân*;" by which, as that author insinuates, he seems to have predicted *Hûlâcû*'s conquest of *Baghdâd*. After the *Tartars* had taken that capital, they set it on fire, and put a vast number of its inhabitants to the sword. The treasures they found there were immense; that place, when it was pillaged by the *Moguls*, being, if *Khondemir* may be credited, the richest and most powerful city in the universe ^d.

Several eminent persons
die.

THE 656th year of the *Hejra* was likewise rendered remarkable, if *Ebn Shohnab* in this point may be depended upon, by the deaths of several eminent men. *Al Malec Al Nâser* ^d *Dawd*, the son of *Al Malec Al Moadbâhem Isa*, and the grand-son of *Al Malec Al 'Adel Abu Becr Ebn Ayûb*, died in some part of it. He was seized by *Al Malec Mogayâtho'ddîn*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Carac*, who stood in great fear of him, on the road, with some *Arabs*; and sent by that prince to *Al Shawbec*, in order to be imprisoned there. But as some of *Mogayâtho'ddîn*'s people were digging a dungeon for him, a messenger from the *Khalif Al Mosta'sem Bi'llah* arrived at *Al Shawbec*; who was commanded to bring him immediately to *Baghdâd*, the *Moslem* pontiff having constituted him general of the forces destined to act against the *Tartars*. Upon their arrival at *Damascus*, they received advice of the catastrophe that had happened at *Baghdâd*. After, therefore, he had taken leave of the messenger, who returned home, he retired to *Al Bowîdha*, a place a little to the east of *Damascus*; where he was soon carried off by the plague, ^e when he had lived about fifty-three years. *Al Malec Al Nâser Yusef*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Shâm*, having been informed of his decease, hastened to *Al Bowîdha*, lamented over him, and caused him to be carried to *Damascus*; where, in the *Al Sâlehiya*, or temple, built by *Al Malec Al Sâleh*, by the side of his father *Al Malec Al Moadbâhem Isa*, he was interred. *Al Malec Al Nâser Dawd* was the author of several excellent poems, a few verses of one of which *Ebn Shohnab* has preserved. *Shahâbo'ddîn Zohair Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ali Ebn Yahya Al Mahlabi*, or *Mohallebi*, secretary to *Al Malec Al Sâleh Ayûb*, who composed some poems held in good esteem, and was born at *Wâdi Nakblab*, in the territory of *Mecca*, in 591, about the same time ^f also departed this life. He was buried in *Al Karâfa Al So'gra*, or the little cemetery, in a decent and becoming manner. A few of his verses have by *Ebn Shohnab*, by way of specimen, been handed down to us. *Al Sbeikh Shamso'ddîn Yusef Sibî Ebn Al Jawzi*, the author of a book intituled, *Mîrât Al Zamân*, or the mirror of time, and *Saifo'ddîn Ali Ebn Sâbeco'ddîn Kazal*, or *Kozul*, known by the name, or surname, of *Ebn Al Mashîd*, who left behind him certain poems taken notice of by the last mentioned *Moslem* writer, general and prime minister, *Emîr of Emîrs*, or *Emîr Al Omrâ*, of *Al Malec Al Nâser Yusef*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Shâm*, paid likewise the common tribute to nature, the present year. For a full account of the transactions and exploits of the *Moguls*, on the side of *China* and *Tartary*, during the period that we are now upon, particularly the conquest of *Long-gan Fû* and *Lang-chew*, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to *F. Gaubil*, or rather the subsequent part of this volume; in which the history of the *Tartars*, ^g or *Moguls*, deduced from the best authors who have treated of that powerful nation, will be contained ^h.

^a KHONDEMIR, Aut. *Wassaf*, AHMED EBN MOHAM. ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nighiarist*. D'HERBEL. & RENAUD. ubi sup. ^b GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 520. KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHN. ad an. *Hej.* 656. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. ^c EBN SHOHN. ubi sup. GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 114—117, & seqq.

- a THUS have we completed the modern history of the *Arabs*, from the birth of *Mohammed* to the reduction of *Baghdād*, and the abolition of the *Khalifat* by the *Tartars*; a work which, though long wished for, has never yet been fully executed in any of the *European* tongues. For M. l'Abbé *De Marigny*'s performance¹, lately published in *France*, which by no means merits the attention of the curious and the learned, is so short and imperfect an epitome, that it scarce deserves the name of a history. With regard to the materials of our work, it may not be improper to observe, that it has been extracted almost intirely from the oriental writers. So far have we been from epitomizing any translations, and cloathing them in an *English* dress, that we have neither servilely followed *Erpenius*'s *Latin* version of *Al Makin*, which indeed must be owned faulty enough, nor the celebrated Dr. *Pocock*'s of *Abu'l Faraj*; but have
- b constantly adhered to the original *Arabic*, with a religious exactness, and even sometimes emended the vitiated text of the *Arab* historians themselves. This will be readily acknowledged by all who are thoroughly acquainted with those authors, when they have perused the foregoing sheets. Nay, we have been enabled, by the assistance of the Reverend and Learned Dr. *Hunt*, Professor of *Hebrew* and *Arabic* in the University of *Oxford*, for which both we and the public are extremely obliged to him, to insert in this work all the particulars recorded in *Ebn Shoknab*'s history, from the commencement of the 512th year of the *Hejra*, the last mentioned in *Erpenius*'s edition of *Al Makin*, to the close of 656. As this history has never yet been printed, and Dr. *Hunt* has collated his manuscript, out of which we have been supplied with so many additional articles, with two others preserved in the *Bodleian* library, *Oxon.* in
- c several passages that seemed to have been the most depraved; such a valuable accession to the first part of our large and extensive work, hitherto in vain desired by the learned world, cannot but be highly acceptable to all our most curious and intelligent readers. We have also transfused into the modern history of the *Arabs* many extracts from *Abu'lfeda*'s chronicle, or general history, for a considerable part of which our most grateful acknowledgements are due to F. *Assemani* and M. *Reiske*, two gentlemen justly celebrated over the whole republic of letters for their profound erudition, and from the productions of other eastern authors, whose writings in *Europe* are very little known. This performance has likewise been enriched with the substance of some critical manuscript notes on *Abu'l Faraj*, which not seldom correct Dr. *Pocock*'s *Latin* version of that author, now in the possession of the Reverend *John Swinton*, M. A. of *Christ-*
- d *Church, Oxford*, F. R. S. as well as with M. *Kebr*'s observations upon the *Arabic* coins found on the coast of the *Baltick*, in 1722, adorned with inscriptions in the *Cifc* character, and other valuable pieces, either hitherto inedited, or at present extremely difficult to be procured. All which being maturely weighed, the variety of matter contained in this and the preceding volume will, we flatter ourselves, be deemed an ample compensation for the delays, occasioned by our being always obliged to have recourse to the fountain head, made in the publication of them.

WE should now have proceeded, in conformity to our original plan, to the history of several *Mohammedan* dynasties, in *Africa*, *Europe*, and *Asia*, whose princes had rendered themselves independent on the *Khalifs*; had not a deviation from that plan appeared necessary, for the

e following reasons.

1. BECAUSE an execution of it would have obliged us to relate many of the *Moslem* transactions that happened in the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries of the *Hejra*, after we had given a particular account of the abolition of the *Khalifat*, which was effected by the *Tartars* in the seventh century of the *Mohammedan* æra, and consequently to break in upon the chronological order of the history.
2. BECAUSE the states governed by those dynasties being formed at different times out of the territories belonging to the *Khalifs*, and owning them, for the most part, as their spiritual directors or sovereign pontiffs, their history must either coincide with that of the *Khalifs*, or be considered as detached from the body of this work, and consequently be thrown into a supplement or appendix.
- f 3. BECAUSE the old plan is remarkably defective, as will very clearly appear from the additional articles of the new one, which we shall substitute here in its room.
4. BECAUSE, by deferring for some time the publication of the history of those dynasties, we may probably be enabled to oblige our curious readers with a more perfect, distinct, and particular account of them; as some learned men abroad, especially the famous M. *Reiske* of *Leipsick*, who has already favoured the public with a *Latin* version of a considerable part of *Abu'lfeda*'s general history, and promised such a translation of the remainder, may perhaps supply us with some valuable materials for the last part of our work, that have not yet in any of the modern western languages appeared.
- g 5. BECAUSE, by the assistance of these learned men, and our own farther endeavours, we may possibly render a future list of those dynasties still more complete, than even the new one exhibited to the view of our readers here.

¹ Histoire des Arabes, sous le Gouvernement des Califes, par M. l'Abbé DE MARIGNY. A Paris, 1751.

6. BECAUSE the history of the *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Moguls*, who abolished the *Khalifat*, will much more naturally succeed that of the *Khalifs*, than the history of the first *Mohammedan* dynasty, rendered in a great measure at least independent on those princes; which, according to the most approved oriental writers, commenced towards the close of the second century of the *Hejra*. a

7. BECAUSE we have already referred our curious readers, for many interesting particulars relative to some of the aforesaid dynasties, to the supplement here mentioned. For though we have had frequent occasion to touch upon the affairs of those dynasties in the course of this and the preceding volume, as the history of the *Khalifs* under whom several of their princes flourished must by a profound silence on that head have been rendered incomplete; yet every person, who has a taste for such a large and extensive work as this, will naturally expect to meet with the whole series of the principal transactions of each *Moslem* state, in one clear and succinct view, arranged in the chronological order by us all along observed. b

FOR these reasons it has been thought proper to assign the histories of those states places in a supplement, detached from the body of this work; which will be formed of them, and those of a few other independent kingdoms, according to the following plan.

THE history of the *Aglabites*, *Rostamites*, *Edrisites*, and *Fâtemites*, in *Africa*.

THE history of the *Emirs* of *Sicily*, who gradually rendered themselves independent on the princes of the house of *Aglab*.

THE history of the *Ommiyan Khalifs*, and *Moorish* kings, in *Spain*.

THE history of the *Moslem* kingdom, founded by *Apocephsus*, or *Abu Kabs*, the *Spanish* *Magrebian* admiral, in *Crete*. c

THE history of the families of *Tolûn* and *Al Akbshid*; and of the *Fâtemite Khalifs* of *Egypt*.

THE history of the *Khalifs* of the house of *Al Abbâs* in *Egypt*, after the taking of *Baghdâd* by the *Tartars*.

THE history of the monarchies which sprung up in *Irân*, or *Persia* at large, on the declension of the *Khalifs*, to the conquest of the *Tartars*, viz. the *Tâherians*, *Thâherians*, or *Dhâherians*, *Saffarians*, *Sammâniâns*, *Deylamites*, *Bûiyâns*, *Gaznevîds*, and *Khowârazmians*.

THE history of the *Indians*, to the conquest of *India* by *Mahmûd Gazni*, and his successors of the families of *Gazni*, *Gaur*, and *Kurt*, till the subversion of their power by *Tîmûr Bek* and the *Moguls*. d

THE history of the princes of the house of *Mardâs* at *Aleppo*, and of the family of *Hamdân* at *Al Mawfel*, *Mâredîn*, *Aleppo*, *Kinnisrîn*, and other places in the territories of the *Khalifs*.

THE history of the *Sâbebs* of *Al Batîba*, of the descendants of *Merwân* in *Mesopotamia*, and of the *Okailite Arabs* at *Al Mawfel*.

THE history of the *Atâbeks* presiding over the *Babylonian Irâk*, *Syria*, and the greatest part of *Mesopotamia*, generally called the *Atâbeks* of *Irâk*.

THE history of the *Atâbeks* of *Adherbijân*, *Fârs*, and *Laristân*.

THE history of the *Ayûbites* in *Syria*, *Egypt*, and *Arabia*, from *Salâb'addîn* to the usurpation of the *Babrite Mamlûks*. e

THE history of the *Babrite Mamlûks* in *Egypt*.

THE history of the *Circassian*, *Cbercassian*, or *Al Jercassian*, *Mamlûks* in that country, to its conquest by the *Turks*.

THE history of the kingdoms of *Sennar* and *Nubia*.

THE history of the kingdom of the *Hammadites* in *Africa*.

THE history of the *Al Molâhidab*, or *Ismaelians* in *Irân* and *Syria*, commonly called *Assassins*, to their extirpation by the *Tartars*.

THE history of the *Modhafferian* dynasty in *Persia*, to which a period was put by *Tîmûr Bek*. f

THE history of the *Sarbedarian* dynasty in *Khorasân*, the last of whose princes was also subdued by that conqueror.

THE history of the *Zeyrites*, *Al Morabeta*, or *Molathemiyab*, *Al Moâbedûn*, and *Banu Merin*, in *West-Barbary*.

THE history of the *Druses*, seated on mount *Lebanon*, and the maritime coast of *Syria*.

THE history of the kingdoms of *Prester John* and *Tibet*.

THE history of the *Circassians*, or *Cbercassians*, *Afghans*, *Lesgees*, and other nations; of whom no particular account has been given, either in the preceding part of this supplement, or the body of the work.

LIST of the KHALIFS, or Successors of MOHAMMED.

The four first Khalîfs.

KHALIFS.	Began their Reign.		Places referred to in this work.
	Year of the Hejra.	Year of CHRIST.	
Abu Becr ———	11	632	Vol. I. Page 132
Omar ———	13	634	———— 182
Othmân ———	23	644	———— 248
Ali ———	35	655	———— 258

Khalîf of the family of Mohammed.

Hasan, or Al Hasan, the son of Ali and Fâtema	40	660	———— 281
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Khalîfs of the house of Ommiyah.

Moâwiyah I. ———	41	661	———— 285
Yezîd I. ———	60	680	———— 300
Moâwiyah II. ———	64	684	———— 315
Abd'al'ab Ebn Zobeir, not of the house of Ommiyah, is saluted Khalîf at Mecca ———	64	684	———— 318
Merwân I. ———	64	684	———— 319
Abd'almâlec ———	65	684	———— 325
Al Walid I. ———	86	705	———— 343
Solimân ———	96	715	———— 351
Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz, or Omar II. ———	99	718	———— 355
Yezîd II. ———	101	720	———— 359
Heshâm ———	105	724	———— 362
Al Walid II. ———	125	743	———— 371
Yezîd III. ———	126	744	———— 373
Ibrahim ———	126	744	———— 374
Merwân II. ———	127	744	———— 375

Khalîfs of the family of Al Abbâs.

Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffâb ———	132	749	———— 382
Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr ———	136	754	———— 386
Al Mohdi ———	158	775	———— 407
Mûsa Al Hâdi ———	169	785	———— 415
Harûn Al Rashîd ———	170	786	———— 417
Al Amîn ———	193	809	———— 438
Al Mamûn ———	198	813	———— 448
Al Môtasem, or Al Mo'tasem ———	218	833	———— 459
Al Wâthek Bi'llab ———	227	842	———— 465
Al Motawakkel Ala'llab ———	232	847	———— 468
Al Montaser Bi'llab ———	247	861	———— 479
Al Mosta'in Bi'llab ———	248	862	———— 481
Al Mo'tazz ———	252	866	———— 484
Al Mohtadi Bi'llab ———	255	869	———— 487
Al Mo'tamed Ala'llab ———	256	870	———— 489
Al Mo'taded Bi'llab ———	279	892	———— 498
Al Mo'ezzi Bi'llab ———	289	902	———— 506
Al Moktader Bi'llab ———	295	908	———— 511
Al Kâber Bi'llab ———	320	932	———— 526
Al Rûdi Bi'llab ———	322	934	———— 530
Al Mottaki Bi'llab ———	329	941	———— 539
Al Mostacfi Bi'llab ———	333	944	———— 545
Al Motî Li'llab ———	334	946	———— 547
Al Tay' Li'llab ———	363	974	———— 568
Al Kâder Bi'llab ———	381	991	———— 595
Al Kâyem Beamri'llab ———	422	1031	———— 637
Al Moktadi Beamri'llab ———	467	1075	———— 665
Al Mostadher Bi'llab ———	487	1094	———— 680

KHALIFS.	Began their reign.		Places referred to in this work.
	Year of the Hejra.	Year of CHRIST.	
<i>Al Mostarshed Bi'llab</i> — — — — —	512	1118	Vol. I. Page 693
<i>Al Râshed Bi'llab</i> — — — — —	529	1135	————— 702
<i>Al Moktafi Beamri'llab</i> — — — — —	530	1136	————— 704
<i>Al Mostanjed Bi'llab</i> — — — — —	555	1160	————— 718
<i>Al Mostadi Beamri'llab</i> — — — — —	566	1170	————— 730
<i>Al Nâser Ledini'llab</i> — — — — —	575	1180	Vol. II. Page 1
<i>Al Dhâber Bi'llab</i> — — — — —	622	1225	————— 73
<i>Al Mostanser Bi'llab</i> — — — — —	623	1226	————— 76
<i>Al Mosta'fem Bi'llab</i> — — — — —	640	1242	————— 91

The four first <i>Khalifs</i> — — — —	4
<i>Khalif</i> of the family of <i>Mohammed</i> — —	1
<i>Khalifs</i> of the house of <i>Ommiyah</i> — —	15
<i>Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir</i> , saluted <i>Khalif</i> at <i>Mecca</i> —	1
<i>Khalifs</i> of the family of <i>Al Abbâs</i> — —	37
Total — —	58

TABLE of the MONTHS, both in the Julian solar and the Arabian lunar year, with the days collected.

		Days of theMonths.	Days col- lected.	In Biflex- tile.	Arabian Months.	Days of theMonths.	Days col- lected.
1	January	31	31	31	<i>Al Mobarram</i> —	30	30
2	February	28	59	60	<i>Safar</i> — — —	29	59
3	March	31	90	91	The former <i>Rabî</i>	30	89
4	April	30	120	121	The latter <i>Rabî</i> —	29	118
5	May —	31	151	152	The former <i>Jomâda</i>	30	148
6	June —	30	181	182	The latter <i>Jomâda</i>	29	177
7	July —	31	212	213	<i>Rajeb</i> — — —	30	207
8	August	31	243	244	<i>Shaabân</i> — —	29	236
9	September	30	273	274	<i>Ramadân</i> — —	30	266
10	October	31	304	305	<i>Shawâl</i> — — —	29	295
11	November	30	334	335	<i>Dbu'lkaada</i> —	30	325
12	December	31	365	366	<i>Dbu'lhejja</i> —	29 *	354

* N. B. In the intercalated *Arabian* years, of which there are 11 in every 30, viz. 2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 15, 18, 21, 24, 26, 29, *Dhu'ihajja* has 30 days.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
S E L J Ū K S.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

WE have seen, in the foregoing history of the *Khalífs* of *Baghdád*, a series of eleven *Abassine Khalífs* from *Al Kayem*, the 26th of that dynasty^a, to the total extinction of the *Khalífát*, gradually stripped of all their secular authority and power, and reduced to a mere religious and ecclesiastical sway, by a succession of *Seljúkian* monarchs, the descendants of the famed *Togrol Beg*^b, who, under the bare title of *Emír Al Omrá*, which that unfortunate *Khalíf* bestowed upon him, governed all civil and military affairs with an absolute and despotic power, assuming the royal title of *Soltán* only over their *Seljúk* subjects, and their other conquests: so that, in order to set forth the surprising decline, as well as the once amazing extent and power, of the *Khalífát*, we have been under the necessity of anticipating, in a great measure, the *Seljúkian* history, which was designed for this second book; without which that of the *Khalífs* must have appeared maimed and imperfect to any curious reader.

BEING now therefore come to give a particular account of that celebrated dynasty, the same reasons will of course oblige us to recapitulate, tho' in the most succinct manner the subject will admit of, the same monarchs reigns, conquests, and transactions, in order to render their history, which makes no less a figure in the *Oriental* one, as full, clear, and compleat, as the former, which we have given of the *Khalífát*, especially as both of them have been so strangely mutilated and disguised by the *Greek* writers: but of this we shall say the less here, having prefixed at the threshold of the *Seljúkian* history an account of them, as well as of those others, whether *Turkish* or *Arab*, of whom we have made use in the course of it^c. And that, joined to what we have said above, will, we hope, sufficiently account to our readers, not only for every such unavoidable repetition, but likewise for every contrast and inconsistency they may have occasion to remark between those writers. It being, indeed, next to impossible it should happen otherwise, considering the vast difference of their religions and interests: one set of them zealous *Mohammedans*, the other Heathen; the former full of gall and resentment against those monarchs who had deprived their

^a See vol. i. chap. ii. sect. xlv. & seq.

^b Ibid.

^c See hereafter, chap. ii. sect. i.

Khalifs of all their secular power, and raised their own to that envied height upon the ruins of theirs. The other no less jealous of the glory of their own natural princes, representing their every action, motive, and successful step to aggrandisement, in the most advantageous light, and glossing over every thing that casts the least tarnish upon it.

To give one instance for all of the different representations of those writers; When the haughty *Khalif Al Kayem* [after having been restored to his dignity, and reconducted to his capital, and to his very palace, with the greatest marks of honour and respect by the generous *Togrul Begh*]^d was observed to hesitate so long whether he should condescend to grant him his daughter in marriage; it was natural for the *Moslem* historians to represent his behaviour as a mark of his strenuous and laudable zeal for the *Mohammedan* religion, whilst the *Seljuks* looked upon it as a piece of ill-timed pride and black ingratitude to so noble a prince and benefactor. We have endeavoured to account for these and other material variations as often as the nature of the subject would permit it; the rest we have chosen to refer to our reader's judgment.

^d See vol. i. ubi sup.

BOOK II.

General History of the Turks, and the empires founded by them in Tartary, and the Lower Asia.

CHAPTER I.

The origin, country, and different tribes or branches, of the Turkish nation; with an account of their affairs till the destruction of their empire in Tartary.

SECTION I.

The origin of the Turks.

*Origin of the
Turks,*

ALTHOUGH the origin of the *Turks* hath been already treated of elsewhere ^a, yet several matters relating thereto were left unhandled, because they seemed more proper for this place, where we are to speak particularly of that warlike nation; whose empire shifting gradually from east to west, under different dynasties, hath continued for above 2,000 years, and still subsists under the *Othman* family, with no small lustre.

*according to
the Turks.*

TURK is a name known in all languages; and the *Arabs* have out of it formed the plural *Atrâk*, that is, *Turks* ^b. There are three traditions or accounts concerning the origin of these people; one given by themselves, the other by the *Persians* and *Arabs*, and the third by the *Chineses*. The reader has already, in the places before referred to, been made acquainted with that related by the *Turkish* historians; which is, that they derive themselves from one *Turk*, whom they affirm to be the son of *Yafis* or *Jafet*: we shall, in this place, lay before him the tradition of the *Persians*, *Arabs*, and *Chineses*, as delivered by their historians, accompanied with remarks; wherein we shall examine their respective authority, and shew which

^a Anc. Hist. Vol. II. p. 182. note E.

^b D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orientale, p. 597. Art. Turk.

tradition

a tradition deserves most credit, pursuant to a rule which we have always observed throughout this work: for it is the duty of an historian to examine the memoirs he makes use of, and give his opinion of their fidelity; not out of ostentation, to shew his skill in critical learning, but purely for the sake of truth, and to distinguish the spurious from the genuine. There are authors, who, by their silence on this important head, mislead their readers for fear of disgusting them; and sacrifice their own credit, to save that of fables.

ACCORDING to the *Persian* historians, the *Turks* descended from *Túr*, third son of *Fraybdîn* (A), the seventh king of *Persia*; or, according to others, sixth king of the first race of kings called *Pishdâd*, contemporary with *Abraham* *. *Fraybdîn* having divided his dominions among his three sons, *Masbarek*, or the *Eastern Countries* (B), fell to the share of *Túr*, who went and built the city *Túrân*, in *Turkestan* not far east from the *Caspian* sea. *Túr* having joined his second brother *Salm* (who had *Mogareb*, or the *West Countries*), against his eldest brother *Ireje* (C), and slain him by treachery, *Manucher* (D). *Ireje*'s son, slew him; whereby, upon *Fraybdîn*'s death, which happened soon after, *Turân*, or *Turkestan*, fell under his dominion.

According to the Persians.

In the fiftieth year of *Manucher* or *Manujer*'s reign, *Afrasiab*, son of *Pasbangh*, king of *Turkestan*, rebels in that country, under pretence of revenging *Túr*'s death, from whom he was descended; beats *Manucher*, and obliges him to appoint the river *Jihûn*, or *Amû*, the boundary betwixt *Persia* and *Turkestan*. *Nauden* (E) succeeding his father *Manucher*, *Afrasiab* invades him with 400,000 men, and never gave over, till he had taken and put him to death; subduing all *Persia*, which, with *Turkestan*, became subject to his father *Pasbangh*.

Exploits of Afrasiab.

BUT the cruelties of *Afrasiab* soon obliged the *Persians* to throw off the *Turkish* yoke; and he quitted *Persia*, after he had been possessed of it twelve years (F). Yet, in the reign of *Kaykobâd*, the eleventh king of *Persia*, *Afrasiab* invades that kingdom again, but is beaten by *Rostâm*, the famous *Persian* champion; who, in the reign of *Kaykaws*, the twelfth king, cotemporary with *Solomon*, routed him a second time, pursued him as far as *Turân*, the capital of *Turkestan*, and plundered it of vast treasures. *Kaykowsraw*, the thirteenth king of *Persia*, sent an army of 30,000 men to invade *Turkestan*, but they were defeated; and their general, *Gudarz*, being besieged by the *Turks* in the mountain of *Damawand*, in the province of *Mazanderân*, had been lost, if *Rostâm* had not come to his relief.

He conquers Persia.

THE fame of that siege brought two kings, neighbours of the *Turks*, to their assistance; the one called *Hhakbon*, or *Kbakhân*, the same as *Khâan*, a title of the *Mogol* kings; and the other *Shangol*; the former of whom was slain. *Gudarz* afterwards beat four armies of the *Turks*, took an hundred thousand of them prisoners; and, some time after, *Afrasiab* himself was taken and slain.

THIS is the account of the original of the *Turks*, given by *Mirkond* (G), a famous *Persian* historian, which differs greatly from that penned by *Fadlallah* (H), another *Persian*, who

* Anc. hist. vol. ii. p. 173, 181. & seq. BEL. Biblioth. orientale, p. 895. Art. Tour. ubi supr. p. 40. Ant. hist. vol. ii. p. 185.

c MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. Hist. Persia, p. 33. D'HERBEL. See anc. hist. vol. ii. p. 173, & seq. MIRKHOND. ubi supr. p. 45, & seq. 52, 56, & seqq.

(A) By some written *Aphridun* or *Afridun*, *Phridun* and *Fridun*, *Pheridun* and *Feridun*; but we never use *ph* for *f*, in oriental words.

(B) These are to be understood more properly of the countries to the north of the river *Jihûn* or *Amû*, containing all that part of *Asia* which goes at present by the name of *Tartary*.

(C) Some write *Irege*, but improperly; for, in oriental names, the same character ought not to be used for two different sounds, when one of them has a character peculiar to it. To prevent confusion therefore, we never use *g* before *e* or *i* instead of *j*, which is the proper letter.

(D) It may be written also *Manujer* or *Manujeher*, not *Manuger*, for the reason assigned in note C; much less *Manugjer*, by joining *g* and *j*, to make a double character; which is not only unnecessary, but highly improper, as it may mislead one to read *Manugjer*. Observe also that we always use *ch* as in *charm*, never as *kh* in *chronicle*.

(E) Written by some *Nuder*. This is a consequence of not inserting the vowel points; and of taking the *Arabic* *Waw* or double *u*, sometimes for a vowel.

(F) He is reckoned the 9th king of *Persia*, of the *Pishdâd* race, and third from *Fraydûn*, or *Feridûn*.

(G) *Mirkhond*, or *Mirkhawend*, as the *Persians* pro-

nounce it, is an abbreviation of the true name of this author; which is *Mohammed Ebn Amîr Khawând Shâh*, or *Khawând Shâh*. He wrote a general history of the world, in *Persian*, from the creation to the year 875 of the *Hjra*, and of *Christ* 1471, consisting of seven thick volumes in folio, collected from a great number of histories, general and particular (1).

There is a *Persian* abridgement of the whole work of *Mirkhond*, by his son *Gayyath Addin*, surnamed *Khond Amîr*; whom *D'Herbelot* confounds with his father (2). He also wrote a history of the *Mogols* and *Tartars*, *Jenghîz Khân* and his children, which was published about the year 1508 (3).

Teixeira, a Portuguese traveller and geographer, published an abstract of *Mirkhond*'s history; but it is too concise, and, in many places, confused, as well as defective. Nor are the larger extracts of the reigns of kings, furnished by *D'Herbelot*, in his oriental dictionary, sufficiently particular and accurate. However, for want of better, we have made use of them, and the translation of *Teixeira* by *Stephens*, which is also very incorrectly printed.

(H) Called also *Khajah Rasîd*; from whom chiefly *Abu'lghâzi Khân*, cited lower down, extracted his history. An account is given of *Fadlallah*, and his collection, in sect. iii.

(1) *D'Herbel.* p. 582. *Art. Mircond.* & p. 709. *Art. Raoudhat al Sasa. De la Croix Hist. of Genghis Can.* p. 430. 446. (2) *See Herb.* p. 994. *Art. Khondemir.* (3) *De la Croix, ubi supr.* p. 422.

wrote the history of the *Mogols* and *Tartars*, at the command of *Ghazân Khân*, one of *Jenghiz Khân*'s successors in *Persia*. a

It is easier to account how the *Persian* historians came to differ so much, than to reconcile them: for those who wrote before the *Turks* obtained the dominion in their country, framed their history to aggrandize their own nation, and depreciate the *Turks*, whom they hated, for the injuries received from them; whereas those who wrote under the *Turkish* monarchies, through fear or flattery, conformed themselves to the traditions of their masters; or, not thinking it for their honour to adopt the old *Persian* account, framed another, more agreeable to their humour; from whence naturally arose the contradictions we meet with.

NOR is the *Persian* story perhaps more true than that of the *Turks*; at least it is, on many accounts, liable to exception; particularly as to the chronology of those first kings, and the length of their reigns. b

It is observable, that the account above given of *Afrasiab*, makes his life of an incredible length. The historian, being aware of this, remarks, on the occasion, that he waged war with so many princes, that he must have lived three or four hundred years. Hence some authors make *Afrasiab* or *Farfiab* (I) (which signifies *conqueror of Persia*), a title common to those kings of *Turkestan*, who obtained so many victories over the *Persians* in ancient times: and, for the same reason, others compare his reign to a very dark night which covered *Persia*.

HOWEVER that be, all the *Turkish* families, which have made a noise in the world, claim to be descended from this great conqueror. *Seljuk*, founder of the *Seljuk* monarchy, would have it believed, that he was the thirty-fourth of his descendants, in a right male line; and the *Othman* monarchs, who pretend to be related to the *Seljuks* by the family of *Oguz Khân*, assume in their titles that of *Afrasiab*, as well to denote their nobility as valour; especially as they have, in latter times, obtained great victories over the *Persians*. c

Remarks on
Afrasiab.

AFRASIAB must have been eight or nine generations later than *Oguz Khân*, who, according to the *Turkish* historians, was cotemporary with *Kay-umarraz*, first *Persian* king of the *Pishdad* race; and conquered *Persia* during the minority of his successor *Husheng*, at what time the great lords were at variance among themselves. But as none of the early *Persian* historians make mention of these great conquests, some of the latter are apt to think that they might have been effected in the interval between the death of *Kay-umarraz*, and the reign of *Husheng*, a space of two hundred years; during which time, we are told, the historians have not taken notice of any transactions. d

HOWEVER this may be, according to the extract we have from *Mirkbond*, a modern author, he mentions no such interregnum: he only says, that when *Kay-umarraz* died, his grandson *Husheng* was a minor; and that, as soon as he came of age, he ascended the throne. Now, though we should consider the throne to be vacant during his minority, yet we cannot rationally suppose that it lasted two hundred years.

Khân of Tur-
kestan.

ONE would imagine that *Abulghazi Khân*, who undertook professedly to write a *genealogical history of the Turks*, could not have avoided speaking of the Khâns of *Turkestan*, and particularly of *Afrasiab*: so far from that, he treats of no descents from *Oguz*, but those relating to the *Mogols* and *Tartars*; and never so much as mentions *Afrasiab*, except once, on occasion of *Ilek*, Khân of *Balâsigûn*, who, he tells us, was descended from *Afrasiab Khân*, without saying any thing more of this hero, or his race. e

Turkish gene-
alogies,

BUT to return to the origin of the *Turks*. If the authors, who have come to our hands, had given us the genealogy of *Seljuk*, it might have been of use in settling this point. However, if we may judge by that of *Ozmân*, or *Othmân*, founder of the *Othmân* empire, their pretences to antiquity seem very suspicious: for, in three lists of that prince's ancestors, two given by *Leonclavius*, one in his *history of the Soltâns*, the other in his *Mussulman history*, and the third by Prince *Cantemir*, in his *history of the growth and decay of the Othmân empire*, all taken from the *Turkish* historians themselves (K); though, in all of them, I say, we meet with the name of *Oguz*, yet none of them makes mention of either *Afrasiab* or *Turk* (L); *Bulkbas* (M) being put instead of the latter in one of them, which alone runs so high as *Japhet*. The list found in the *history of the Soltâns*, which was translated from the *Turkish*, ends at *Lekrek*, who is but the fifth in the other given in the *history of the Mussulmans*. And though both f

^f D'HERBEL. p. 895. Art. Touran. p. 66. Art. Afrasiab. & p. 800. Art. Selgiouk. ^e ABUL-
GHAZI KHAN hist. Turks, &c. p. 19. D'HERB. p. 683. Art. Ogouz Khân. ^b D'HERB. ubi supr.
ⁱ MIRKHOND. ap. Teixeira. p. 13. ^k ABULGHAZI KHAN. hist. Turks, p. 44. ^l P. 1. ^m P. 50.
^a Pref. p. 14.

(I) Called also *Arjash*: he kept his court at a city in *Turkestan*, called *Hest Khân*, or *Hest Kho-ven*. See D'Herbelot, Art. *Hest Khân*.

(K) We shall insert them hereafter, in the *Othmân* history.

(L) This omission may possibly be owing to the aver-

sion which the *Othmâns* have to be called *Turks*, as will be observed when we come to give their history.

(M) Unless *Bulkbas*, or *Abul Khas*, may stand for the father of the *Khâs* or *Gau*, who are the wandering *Turks* or *Turkmâns*.

a genealogies are said to ascend from son to father, yet *Othmán's* ancestors by one are fifty-seven, and by the other only seventeen, to *Lekrek*.

PRINCE *Cantemir's* list wants three ancestors, found in the former with which it best agrees, and ends at *Takva*, called in the other *Diptakoy* (N); only adding, that he was of the house of *Jafet*. But although this author represents his list as the best and most correct of any which are to be found in the *Turkish* historians, yet he observes, that his author, *Saadi Effendi*, does not venture to warrant it as certain. In short, the whole history of the origin and descent of the *Turks* carries the marks of fiction: for, although we should admit that there might have been such persons as *Afrasiab*, *Ogúz*, and *Turk*, among the ancestors of the *Turks*, yet it is manifest, that both the times and actions ascribed to those heroes must be false (O), as well as the tradition of *Turk* being the son (P) of *Japhet*; since he is not to be found in the genealogy of that patriarch, given by *Moses*, which both the *Christians* and *Mohammedans* follow.

THE truth may possibly be, that the Sultans of either the *Gazna* or *Seljuk* families, first *Turkish* sovereigns in *Persia*, who were *Mohammedans*, having had, by tradition, one *Turk* for their common ancestor, or feigning him to be such, their historians, to honour them, by carrying his origin as high as they could, made him the son of *Jafet*; whose posterity, according to the *Mohammedans*, as well as *Jews* and *Christians*, peopled the north parts of *Asia*. The *Othman* *Turks*, who succeeded the *Seljuks*, thought they could not do better than claim or acknowledge the same original; and the successors of *Jenghiz Khán* in *Persia*, the two *Bukbarias* and *Karazm*, being *Mohammedans*, consented to be branches of *Turks*, that they might have the son of so great a patriarch as *Jafet* at the head of their ancestors. It must farther be considered, that they who were the first historiographers to this last race, being *Persians*, took care to make their history tally with that of former writers of their nation, who made all the inhabitants of *Tartary*, from one end to the other, to be sprung from the same common stock. But it is hardly to be presumed that the *Mogols*, and other tribes of the east, who continued in their old religion, acknowledged themselves to be descended from *Turk*, though they were possibly a branch of the *Turkish* nation; whom yet they always hated for their inroads, and had lately conquered.

ACCORDING to the *Chinese* historians, the *Huns* and *Turks* are the same people; who, at different times, went under those different names. They give them the appellations of *Hyong-ni* and *Tú-kí-ik*, that is, *Huns* and *Turks*; the first is that which they had before the *Christian* æra; the second, that which a remnant of those *Huns*, re-established in *Tartary*, assumed afterwards; and say that they dwelt in the neighbourhood of the great desert, extending from the country of *Korea*, in the east, to that of the *Getes*, in the west; which part of *Tartary* was their habitation from all antiquity: that *Mau-ton*, son of the last *Chinese* monarch of the first family, or the *Hya* race, was the first *Tanjú*, or emperor, of these *Huns*; and the same with the famous *Ogúz Khán*, so renowned amongst the present *Turks* and *Tartars*, and acknowledged for the founder of their empire: that, in the reign of one of his successors, they came to be divided under two distinct *Tanjús*; one branch was called the northern, the other the southern *Huns*; but the *Persian* historians distinguished them by the names of *Tartars* and *Mogols*: that the northern *Huns*, being destroyed by the *Chinese*, removed westward; and passed, at least part of them, into *Europe*: that the southern *Huns*, after this, became best known by the name of *Turks*; about which time they were subdued by the *Juijen*, eastern *Tartars*; and at length, being greatly reduced, they retired into the mountain of *Erganakon*, where they forged iron for their conquerors: that they afterwards overthrew them in their turn, and established a new empire under the name of *Turks*, as will be more fully related lower down.

IN this account we discover two very material facts, hitherto unknown to the historians of *Europe*, and perhaps to those of the west of *Asia*; namely, first, the original of the *Huns*, about which *Jornandes*, and other writers, have related such ridiculous fables: secondly, that the *Huns* and *Turks* are the same people, under different names; which latter seems not to have been given till about the year 500, as noted before; at what time they became known by it in *Europe*.

^a Ven-hyen-tum kaw, Kam-mo, Ye-tum chi van fan tum pow swi fu, as by *Guignes sur l'origine des Huns &c*
des *Turks*. ^p Ven-hyen-tum shau, Kam-mo. ^q See sect. iv. ^r See anc. hist. vol. vii. p. 456, & seq.

(N) Son of *Bulkkas*, and father of *Lekrek*, who, in *Cantemir's* list, is named *Ulij Khán*; from whom *Ogúz Khán* was the third in descent.

(O) See what is remarked with regard to the *Turkish* chronology, in the preface to *Abulgházi Khán's* history, p. 7. Also the new collection of voyages and travels, 4to. vol. iv. p. 412.

(P) His right of primogeniture is also disputed; for some historians give it to *Chin*, whom others make the second son. However, the oriental *Turks* maintain, that *Turk* was the eldest, whom they call *Jafet Oglan*, the son of *Jafet*, and account the founder of their nation (1)

(1) See *D'Herbelot. Art. Turk.* p. 898.

S E C T. II.

A general description of Great Tartary, with an account of the Turkish tribes or nations inhabiting it, according to the Arab authors.

Great Tartary.

BEFORE we treat of the several branches of the *Turkish* nation inhabiting *Great Tartary*, it will be necessary previously to insert some general account of that vast region; that the reader may be better able to form a notion in what part of it the several tribes formerly were, or at present are, situated.

Bounds and extent.

TARTARY, or rather *Tatary*, in its greatest extent, is situate between fifty-seven and one hundred and sixty degrees of longitude (A); and between the thirty-seventh and fifty-fifth degrees of latitude: being bounded on the north by *Siberia*, or that part of *North Asia* which belongs to *Russia*; on the west by the rivers *Don* (B), the *Wolga*, and *Kama*, which separate it from *Russia*; on the south, by the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas, *Karazm*, the two *Bukhariâs*, *China*, and *Korea*; and on the east, by the oriental or *Tartarian* ocean. From this account it appears, that *Tartary*, or *Great Tartary*, as we call it, is a vast region, situate almost in the middle of *Asia*, and extending the whole length of it, in that part from west to east, the space of one hundred and four degrees in longitude, or four thousand one hundred and forty-five geographical miles: but its breadth is not proportionable; being not above nine hundred and sixty miles where broadest, and, where narrowest, three hundred and thirty.

Division.

THIS vast region is divided into two great parts; the one called the *Western*, the other the *Eastern Tartary*: which last is scarce one-fourth part so large as the former; beginning at about the one hundred and thirty-ninth degree of longitude, and ending at the one hundred and sixty-first. Hence it contains only twenty-two degrees of longitude, or is but nine hundred geographical miles from west to east, though eight hundred and eighty broad, from south to north. But with this part of *Tartary* we have nothing to do at present: for although some oriental authors would derive all the inhabitants of *Tartary* in general from the same stock, making the people of *Katay*, under which denomination they seem to comprise all the inhabitants of *Eastern Tartary* (of whom they had scarce any knowledge at all), to be descended from *Turk*, the son of *Jafet*; yet, in the genealogy of those tribes given by *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, and doubtless in that of *Fadlallah* (C), from whom chiefly he extracted his history, we meet with none but what are to be found in *Western Tartary*: for which reason we shall confine our description, in this place, to that part only.

Western Tartary.

IN this vast region of *Western Tartary* (containing in extent one hundred and thirty-nine degrees of longitude out of one hundred and sixty-one), although the lands belonging to every nation or tribe are marked out, and well known to the inhabitants; yet as there are few or no cities, towns, or villages, to direct strangers, their several situations or possessions are best distinguished and ascertained by the natural marks or boundaries, such as mountains, rivers, lakes, and the like, with which *Western Tartary* abounds. But it will be sufficient for our present purpose to mention only the most remarkable of them.

Chief mountains.

THE principal mountains, or rather chains of mountains, found in this part of *Great Tartary*, may be divided into three classes: first, those which run along the northern borders of it; and though perhaps not always contiguous, or of the same denomination, go under the general name of *Ulug Tâg* or *Dâg*, that is, the great mountain: secondly, those which make the southern bounds, and are called *Kichûg Tâg*, or the lesser mountain: the third great chain is called mount *Altay*, lying nearly in the middle, between the *Caspian* sea and *Eastern Tartary*, and extending between the other two, in about the one hundred and tenth degree of longitude.

and deserts.

THE chief deserts or plains are, first, those of *Kipjâk* or *Kapchâk* in the west, extending many days journey on the north and north-east of the *Caspian* sea. These are generally fertile lands. Secondly, those stretching eastward from *Kipjâk* to mount *Altay*. Thirdly, that called the *great Kobi*, or *sandy desert*, by the *Mogols*, and *Sba-mo* by the *Chineses*. It is divided by ridges of hills into three or four parts, and extends eastward from mount *Altay* to *Eastern Tartary*.

Rivers.

The Jaïk

THE principal rivers of *Western Tartary*, besides the *Dnieper*, *Don*, and *Wolga*, are the *Jaïk*, or *Taïk*, and *Yem*, both descending from the *Ulug Tâg*, and falling into the *Caspian*

(A) Reckoning from the west end of the isle of *Ferro*, supposed to be twenty degrees west of *Paris*, and seventeen degrees thirty-five minutes west of *London*.

(B) The limits might be carried westward, beyond the *Dnieper* or *Borjphenes*; but these parts were rather

conquered of later ages, than originally inhabited by *Turkish* or *Tartar* tribes.

(C) We cannot be positive as to this point, because *De la Croix*, in his history of *Genghis Kân*, taken chiefly from *Fadlallah*, has mentioned only the *Mogol* tribes.

a sea, on the north side. The river *Ili* or *Kbongis*, which rises out of the *Kichuk Täg*, on the borders of *Little Bucharía*, about the one hundred and fourth degree of longitude, and runs north-west into the lake *Palkasi* (D); on this river the *Khán* of the *Eluths* or *Kalmúks* usually resides. The river *Irtish*, *Irtis*, or *Erbis*, which rises into mount *Altay*, and runs westward, inclining to the north, between two branches of it, into the lake *Saysan* (E); from whence issuing again, it passes north-west, through part of *Siberia*, and falls into the *Obi*, which has its source out of the same mountains, about one degree to the north of that of the *Irtish*; and seven or eight degrees to the north-east rises the *Kem* or *Jenisea*, which runs westward for the space of seven or eight degrees, and then, turning northward, enters *Siberia*.

THE next river of note is the river *Selinga*, which rises out of the lake *Kofogol* or *Hutúkú* (F): *Selinga* not far from the source of the *Jenisea*, takes a sweep southward round by the east, and falls northward into the lake *Baykal*, in *Siberia*, about thirty leagues north-west of the city *Selinghinskoy*, which stands upon it. Into the *Selinga* runs the *Orkon*, coming from the south-west; *Orkon* and into the *Orkon* the *Tula*, rising eastward in Mount *Kentey*: two rivers very famous in *Tula*. the history of *Jenghíz Khán*. Out of the same mountain (G), and not far from the source of the *Tula*, rise two other rivers still more famous than the former; first, the *Onon*, called also *Onon* or by the *Mogols*, *Saghalian Ula*, or the dragon river, and by the *Russians* *Amúr*; which running north-eastward, and then taking a large sweep by the south, rolls along the bounds of *Eastern Tartary*, and falls into the *Eastern* ocean, in about the 53d degree of latitude, and 159th of longitude. On its bank stand two cities; *Nerchinskoy*, or *Nipchew*, a frontier of the *Russians*, almost due north of *Pe-kin*, in *China*; and *Saghalian Ula*, possessed by the *Chineses*.

THE second river is the *Kerlon*, or *Kerulon*; which running north-eastward, falls into the lake *Kulon*, or *Dalay* (H), and passing out again, under the name of *Ergona*, or *Argun*, joins the *Saghalian Ula*, about one hundred and seventy miles beyond *Nerchinskoy*. To these let us add the river *Kálka*, from whence, tho' small, the *Kálka-Moguls*, or *Mongols*, take their name. It rises in the mountains, separating the *Eastern* from the *Western Tartary*; and, running westward, falls into the lake *Puir*, and then into that of *Kulon*, before spoken of.

HAVING mentioned the principal lakes of *Western Tartary*, in our account of the rivers, we shall take notice only of two more; first, the *Kámish*, about four hundred and eighty-four miles long, and near as many broad (I). The second, *Isikol*; a lake of small extent (K), but renowned among the inhabitants in the west of *Tartary*, for being the place where *Turk*, their great ancestor, fixed his residence, or royal seat.

As to the political state of *Western Tartary*, we shall only say in general, that it is intirely possessed by the *Mogol* tribes, under several *Kháns*, whose dominions are named after the people, or their prince who rules over them. The first and chief of these *Mogol* nations are the *Eluths*, nicknamed *Kalmúks* by the *Mohammedan Tartars*. These are divided under two *Kháns*. The first are called *Ayuki Eluths*, from their *Khán Ayuki*, who has the western part of *Tartary*, bounded by the river *Jaik*, containing most of that country which was formerly called *Kipjá*, or *Kapchák*, and extending about 10 degrees eastward from the river *Jaik*, in the 72d degree of longitude. The second are called *Dsongari* or *Kontaisi Eluths*, from the title of their prince, stiled *Kontaisi*, whose dominion extends from 72 degrees of longitude as far as the end of mount *Altay*, in about the 102d degree.

THE second nation or branch of the *Mogols* are the *Kálka*, *Kbálkba*, or *Hálba Mogols*: their country extends from mount *Altay* eastward to the source of the river *Kálka*, whence they derive their name, in the borders of *Eastern Tartary*, and 139th degree of longitude. The third branch are the *Mogols* or *Mongols*, properly so called; whose territories lie to the south of that of the *Kálkas*, between them and the great wall of *China*; to which empire both nations are subject.

BESIDES these *Kháns* (who with their subjects are idolaters, of the religion of *Tibet*, or the *Dalay Lama*) there are two others in *Great Tartary*, who possess that part of it called *Turkestan*, situate to the north of *Great Bucharía* and *Karazm*, between those countries and the dominions of the *Eluths*; of which we shall speak more particularly in a subsequent section, and now return to our subject; for explaining which, this short description of *Tartary*, with the help of maps, may suffice.

(D) It is about forty miles long and thirty broad, in latitude forty-eight degrees, longitude ninety-seven, reckoning from the isle of *Ferro*.

(E) *Saysan* or *Isan*, called also *Honhotu Nor*, ninety miles long from west to east, and forty broad; in latitude forty-seven degrees thirty minutes, longitude one hundred and four degrees.

(F) Or *Klutuku*, 70 miles long from south to north, and 20 broad. In lat. 52°. long. 118.

(G) It lies in about 126 degrees of long. and 48 of lat.

(H) Sixty miles long from south-west to north-east, and 27 broad. In lat 48° 30'. long. 135.

(I) In lat. 50. long. 83° 30'.

(K) Lat. 46°. long. 94° 30'.

Turkish na-
tions,

according to
the Arabs.

It is generally agreed by the oriental historians, that the inhabitants of *Great Tartary* are originally *Turks*, or so many branches of the same nation: but those who wrote of *Turkish* affairs, and even the *Turks* themselves who inhabited *Persia* before the time of *Jengbiz Khân*, seem to have had but a slender knowledge of the several tribes of people into which their nation was said to be divided. The *Arab* author of the book miscalled *The geography of the Nubian*, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, says, the *Turks* were branched into many different kinds of people; as the *Tobbat* (L), *Taghazghaz* (M), *Kharkirs*, *Kaymaks*, *Khazaljes* (N), *Hofarens*, *Mohametans*, *Torkhosh*, *Odkhosh*, *Khoshbaks* (O), *Khalaj* (P), *Olghars*, and *Bolghars* (Q).

THIS geographer affords us little more concerning those different people than their names^a; but describes the countries inhabited by some of them; from whence we shall extract so much as may be proper to lay before our readers.

Tobbot.

THE country of *Tobbot* (*Tibet*) with part of *India*, borders on the west on *Mâwâra'nabr* (or *Great Bukharia*), and on the east on *Sin* (or *China*). The chief cities are *Tobbat* and *Shib*, *Wakhan*, *Sakita*, *Berwan*, *Ug*, *Mejag*, *Ramajag*, and *Danekbu*. The country of *Wakhan* and *Sakita* border on those of *Wakhash* and *Jil*, in *Mâwâra'nabr*. *Wakhan* abounds with rich mines of the finest gold and silver. In it is a lake called *Berwân*, forty leagues in length, and twenty-four in breadth.

Taghazghaz.

THE land of the *Taghazghaz*, who are governed^b by a *Khakân*, is bounded on the east by *Kharkir*, on the south by *Sin*, and on the north by the people of *Kaymak*. It contains four cities; *Kakhân* or *Tantabee*, *Masa*, *Jormok*, and *Bakhwân*. *Kakhân*, the capital, has twelve iron gates, and is seated on a great river, that runs eastward: 'tis two months journey from *Bersajan* the higher, in the country of *Farghâna* (R), and twelve south-east from *Bakhwân*. In the mountains near this last city are found the musk goats. There is among the *Taghazghaz Turks* a nation who adore the fire^c.

Kharkir.

THE inhabitants of *Kharkir* border on the sea of *Sin*, and possess four populous cities, all lying within the compass of four days journey. The country is large and fertile, abounding with water. Some of its rivers descend from the country of *Sin*; the greatest of them, called *Menbar*, is very rapid; running between rocks, and driving mills for grinding rice and wheat. On its banks grow aloe trees and *costum dulce*. In its stream is found a fish called *shatrun*; which, being eaten, affects the seminal vessels. It is said, that it has not many bones; that the flesh is divided into joints, and does not smell like other fish. The city where the king resides is most strongly fortified, with walls, ditches, and counterescarpes, and is three stages from the sea; where there is a large peninsula, called that of the *Hyacinth*, from the precious stones of the same name, which are found there in abundance^d.

Kaymak.

THE land of the people of *Kaymak* has, on the south, *Taghazghaz*; on the south-west *Khazalj*, where it joins with *Tobbot*; on the west *Khalakh*; and on the east the sea of darkness; wherein are islands, to which the merchants pass on horseback, and lie every night on trees. The king of *Kaymak* is equal to the greatest monarchs for power and grandeur; the inhabitants are very numerous, and worship the fire. It contains sixteen cities; the principal whereof are *Astur*, *Buragh*, *Sisian*, *Mannon*, *Mostânab*, *Khakân* (S); the regal seat, *Benjar*, *Dholan*, and *Hanawes*; to these may be added *Karan Hiya*.

River Gham-
mas.

THE great river *Ghammas*, rising in the mountains of *Benjar*, runs eastward to the city *Astur*, on its south bank, six stages distant, through the desert; thence to *Sisian*, on the north side, twelve stages; it proceeds forwards to the regal city *Khakân*, which stands on the south side: then turns northwards to *Mostânab*, on its west bank, four stages distant. From this city it advances eastward till it falls into the sea, one stage distant. Along all the coast of *Kaymak* is found gold, when the sea rages; and the country produces plenty of musk; but not so good as that of *Tobbot*, which is the best of all^e.

FROM *Karan Hiya*, the first city of *Kaymak*, to *Khakân*, or the royal city, are twenty-four stages, from west to east. From *Khakân* to *Buragh* four stages, south-westward; and eighteen stages, through the desert of the *Turks* of *Khalakh*, to *Tarân* (T). From *Tarân* to *Benjar* are thirty-six stages: thus, to *Kasra* forty-five miles; to *Damorrtab*, crossing a mountain in the way, four stages; to *Kbaykham* castle twenty stages, eastward; and to *Benjar* four stages.

^a Geogr. Nubienfis, p. 145.
p. 141—145.

^b Ibid. p. 144.
^d Ibid. p. 145 & seq.

^c 'Tis said to extend to the dark Oriental ocean.
^e Ibid. p. 213 & seq.

(L) These were probably a colony from *Tibet* or *Tobbot*, as the *Igûrs* or *Vigûrs* seem to have been.

(M) Misalled *Bagharghars* in the *Latin* translation.

(N) Or rather perhaps *Khazalj*, hereafter mentioned.

(O) These must be the *Kajjaks*, written also *Ky-jaks*, and *Kijjaks*; also *Kapjak*, and *Kipchak*.

(P) The *Kalatz*.

(Q) The *Bulgarians*, or *Wolgarians*.

(R) Which belongs to *Mâwâra'nabr*.

(S) *Khakân*, with this author, is the name of the chief city of every country of the *Turks*.

(T) Perhaps rather *Taraz*.

- a THE country of *Khazalja* has several cities in it; among which are *Bersajan* the higher, *Khazaljans*, *Nawaketh*, *Rudban*, *Talan*, and *Bersajan* the lower. From *Atas* (in *Farghana*) to *Bersajan* the higher are six stages, through the country of the *Turks*: to *Nawaketh*, in the entrance of *Khazalja*, almost ten stages. From *Atrakana* to *Karantia*, the first city of *Kaymak*, ten stages, through the deserts. From *Tarán* to *Bersajan* the lower, consisting of towns and fields, thirty-nine miles. From *Bersajan* the lower to the higher thus; first, to *Ayas* castle six miles; to *Kukfawb* twelve miles; to *Kulan Ghaya* town fifteen miles; to *Borak* town fifteen miles: it stand on a mountain, from whence the river *Borak* descends, and, running westward, through the territories of *Aylan*, falls into the river *Ajshib* (the *Sibun*, or *Sir*): to *Ajsira* fifteen miles; to *Ghane Burekt* town twenty-four miles; to *Jerk* town twelve miles; to the city of *Khakán* twelve miles; to *Kobab* thirty-six miles; to *Bersajan* the higher near ten stages, with the *Karawán*^f.

THE *Arabian* geographer says little or nothing of the other *Turkish* nations, and their countries, except the *Odhkos* and *Olgharians*; of whom almost every thing he relates may be suspected of fable. We shall, however, give the reader a taste of what he has collected on the occasion. The country of the *Odhkos* has on the west the land of *Al Aazaz*; on the east nations, and their generations. In the south part is the lake *Takama*, 250 miles in compass, whose water is exceeding green, but sweet. Four stages east of the lake is the mountain *Jorda*, or *Bald*; which is so slippery, that to get to the city at top, they were forced to dig into the bowels of the hill, and to ascend by the help of ladders. The north side of the country is covered by the great mountain *Taraan*, extending for eighteen stages from west or east.

THIS tribe of *Turks* are reported to have broad faces, great heads, thick of hair, and flaming eyes. They have a peculiar language, and worship the fire. However, some of them are pretended to be *Moslems* or believers^g.

EIGHT days journey from the castle of *Jordab* aforesaid is the mountain of *Kokaiya*, which is inaccessiblely steep, and always covered with snow and thick clouds. It extends thence to the north of *Bolgar*, and surrounds the country of *Tajij* and *Majij*, which is full of cities, cultivated lands, and exceeding populous^h.

As these are the famous nations of *Gog* and *Magog*, after whom so much enquiry has been made in *Europe*, to little purpose hitherto, it may not be amiss to give the reader some account of them, and their country, from the *Arabian* authors, who pretend to be acquainted with both. As a convincing proof of this, they inform us, that the people of *Tajij* are of a proper size; but those of *Majij* not above three spans high: that they are covered with a sort of thick down, and have large round hanging earsⁱ.

BUT let us hear the report of an eye-witness, reputable by his office, *Salam* the interpreter; who was sent by no less a personage than *Mohammed Amin Billab*, sixth *Khalifah* of the *Abbás* family (U), in order to discover the mountain of *Kokaiya*, with the bank of *Tajij* and *Majij*, of which such strange things had come to his ears.

SALAM, who had with him fifty men, and provisions for a whole year, leaving *Sarra Man-ray* (X), where the *Khalifahs* then resided, took his way by *Tafis* (Y), having had letters from his master to the king of *Armenia*, who gave him others to the king of *Al Sarir* (Z). This king sent them to him of *Lán* (A), and he passed them on to the lord *Fila Sháb*, who gave them five guides. Having, in twenty-seven days, reached the bounds of the regions of *Besejert* (B), they came to a black long stinking land, in which they travelled ten days, using perfumes, to keep off the noxious smells. They travelled a month farther, through a desert country, where they saw the ruins of many cities, destroyed by the people of *Tajij* and *Majij*. In six days more they arrived at the castles near the mountain *Kokaiya*; in the opening of which appears the bank. Those in the castles spoke *Persian* and *Arabick*. There is also a city there, whose king is called *Khakán Odhkos*; and the inhabitants, who are *Moslems*, have temples and academies.

FROM that city they went to see the bank, two stages distant. Here they found a mountain, with a ditch cut in it one hundred and fifty cubits wide, and within the chanel an iron gate, ^{Surprising bank.}

^f Geogr. Nub. p. 211.

^g Ibid. p. 247 & seq.

^h Ibid. p. 248. 276.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 249.

(U) He began his reign in the year 195 of the *Hijrah*, of *Christ* 808; and enjoyed the *Khalifat* five years.

(X) A city on the east side of the *Tigris*, 64 miles or stages to the north of *Baghdád*; now in ruins.

(Y) *Tafis*, or *Tefis*, is at present the capital of *Georgia*.

(Z) Or of *Shirwán*, a province of *Persia*, on the *Caspian* sea.

(A) Or *Allan*.

(B) Rather perhaps *Beskbert*, or *Baskir*, a people of

Kipjak, bordering on the *Russian* dominions. However that be, as the course of this journey is so manifestly northward, 'tis unaccountable how *Bayer* should suppose *Lán* to be *Labijan* in *Ghilán*; and *Besejert*, *Besa* or *Phasa* (the old *Pasagarda*), to the south-east of *Persepolis*: as if the country of *Tajij* and *Majij*, in *Tartary*, lay to the south-east of *Sarra Manray*, instead of the north-east; or that to get to *Besa*, instead of going directly south-eastward, the way was first to travel twice as far north to *Tafis*, and then turn back again south-eastward, to reach that city.

gate, fifty cubits high, supported by great buttresses, with an iron bulwark, crowned with a iron turrets, reaching to the top of the mountain, which is as high as one can well see. The reader, by the height of the gate, may judge of the size of the valves, lintels, and threshold of the gate, with that of the bolts, lock, and key, which are described. What is most curious of all, the governor of the castles before-mentioned takes horse every *Friday*, with ten others, and, coming to the gate, strikes the bolt three times with a hammer, weighing five pounds, and then listening, hears a murmuring noise within; from whence they conclude, that the *Tajîj* and *Majîj* are confined within bounds. *Salam* was told, that they often appeared on the turrets of the bulwark; and that a high wind had once blown three of them over; who, being measured, were found to be each but three spans high (C). *Salam* returned by the cities *Lokman*, *Aaraban*, *Berfejan*, and *Taraz*, to *Samarkand*, after having spent twenty-eight months in the journey.

The Olghars. THE *Olghars* possess inaccessible mountains, on which are garisoned castles; where the kings fortify themselves, and lay up their provisions. The chief of these, and capital of *Olgharia*, is named *Hiyâm*. At the south foot of the hill, on which it stands, runs the large river *Rudba* (D), eastward; and seven days journey down the stream is another city, callen *Jajân*. There are in this country several other cities.

Mountain Moregar. NORTHWARD of the city *Hiyâm* is the great mountain *Moregar*, which is covered with snow, and divides *Olgharia* from *Besjert* (E). In a river, descending from it southward, is found much gold, and *Lapis Lazuli*; and in the woods, along its banks, are caught the *Alnebr*, monstrous beasts, which are carried into all parts of *Armenia* and *Greece*; whose skin is very beautiful, and furs surpass all others in goodness: but the yellow fox-skins, being scarce, are reserved for the use of the kings of those regions.

ON the side of the above-mentioned river stands a high mountain, out of which gush a thousand springs, that flow into the river *Margha*. On the top of it stand *Nuja* and *Badegha*, one day's journey asunder; and on its skirts *Daranda* and *Darku*, three stages distant from each other; and the last, which lies most eastward, ten from *Jajân*. The lake of *Karazm* is six stages distant to the south^k.

Gaz and Walak Turks. BEYOND the mountain *Moregar*, southward, dwells a nation of wandering *Gâz Turks*, called *Khanaket*, who destroyed the land of *Samarik*, or *Walak Turks*, which is divided from that of *Khanaket* by the same mountain. To *Samarik* belongs the city *Lokhmân*, seated on the mountain *Sunia*, out of which rises the river *Lokhmân*, on whose west side stands *Danbaba*, a beautiful city; from whence boats go up the stream, as far as a great lake, and thence to the city *Jermân*^l.

Bolgar country. WITH regard to the country of *Bolgar*, it is only observed, that there is in it a city called *Babîn*, built upon the top of a hill, and strongly fortified: that, to the north, lies the mountain *Kokaiya*; beyond which are found no dwellings, nor any living creature, by reason of the intense cold: and, lastly, that the land is washed^m by the *Atel* (F). This river consists of two branches; the eastern, flowing out of *Kbarkir*, between *Kaymâk* and *Olghâr*, runs westward, till it comes to *Bolgar*: there it divides into two arms (G), one of which turns to the east, and passing through the countries of *Rûs* (H), *Bolgar*, and *Bertas*, at length falls into the sea of *Khozâr* (I): the other flows westward, to the sea of *Nites* (K).

Khozar kingdom. THE city of *Atel* (I), twenty stages from the borders of *Bertas*, is the capital of *Khozâr*, and divided into two parts by the river, very populous, and three miles long. The king of *Khozâr* resides in the east part; the merchants and commonalty in the other. The *Khozârs* are *Christians*, *Mohammedans*, and *Pagans*: but there is no contention among them about religionⁿ.

To this account of the *Arab* geographer we may add, from others, that the *Khozârs* were descended from *Khozâr*, the youngest brother of *Turk*; that their king was stiled *Khakân*; that they made a great figure in the seventh century; and that the capital of the country was called *Balanjar*: besides which, two other cities are mentioned, viz. *Siyakoweth* and *Saray*^o.

Remarks on the foregoing account.

FROM this account of the *Turkish* nations, and the countries they inhabit, the reader may perceive how little *Tartary* was known to the *Arabs*; as well as what a knack they have at invention. They have mentioned rivers, lakes, and mountains, which, in all probability,

^k Geogr. Nub. p. 245.

^l Ibid. p. 266.

^m Ibid. p. 276.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 243, & seq.

^o D'HEREEL. p. 1003. Art. Khozar.

(C) There are found among the orientals many such traditions as these, of a long standing, grounded on the like testimony; which are as firmly believed by the unthinking multitude as so many articles of faith.

(D) This seems to be derived from *Rudh*, the *Persian* word for a river.

(E) Perhaps rather *Baskkert* or *Easkkert*; that is, the country of the *Baskirs*.

(F) *Atel* or *Edel*, the *Wolga*.

(G) The author here must make the *Don*, or *Tanaïs*, a branch of the *Wolga*.

(H) Or *Russia*.

(I) That is, the *Caspian* sea.

(K) Or the *Euxine*.

(L) This seems to be the present *Astrakhan*.

a never were in being; nor are their names to be found in later writers: they have placed large and rich cities, where never any thing but deserts existed; and, in many particulars, had recourse to fiction. In short, if we except the names of nations, which might have been formerly in use, and of a few places which are still known, the whole seems to be romance. Neither are we sure, from what our author has written, that all the nations whom he mentions were branches of the *Turks*: in all probability they were only so in the opinion of the *Arabs*; it being customary to call the different people, under one power or dominion, by the same name; or to give the name of the people who are nearest, to all the rest who are beyond them, either for want of knowing better, or to avoid prolixity in speaking of them.

S E C T. III.

An account of the Turkish tribes or nations, as delivered by the Turkish and Tartarian historians.

b **T**HE oriental authors, who wrote in and after the time of the *Seljuk Soltans* reigning in Turkish *Lif-* the west of *Asia*, seem to have been a great deal better acquainted with the *Turkish* nations, than the *Arabs*, although some of them extend their branches much too far; including, under that denomination, not only the *Mogols*, *Tatars*, and *Igurs* or *Vigurs*, but also the inhabitants of *Kitay*, or *Katay*^a, which contained the northern provinces of *China*, and great part of *Tartary*, to the north and north-west of it. Others, as *Mirkbond* and *Arabshah* (A), more distinctly inform us, that the posterity of *Turk* was divided into four great tribes, named *Erlat*, *Jalayr*, *Kawjin*, and *Berlas*, or *Perlas*^b, which were again subdivided by *Oguz Khan* into twenty-four others, of which the principal are the *Mogols*, the *Turks* properly so called, the *Igurs*, the *Kangbelis* (B), the *Kipchaks*, the *Kazelaks* (C), and the *Tamgaj* (D). These twenty-four tribes were likewise divided into the right and left wing, called by the *Mogols* *Jivangar* and *Berangar*, which, by their fundamental laws, were never to mix or marry one with the other^c.

THIS scrap, which *D'Herbelot* has given us from the oriental historians, was all to be met with on the subject, till the history of *Abulghazi Khan* of *Karazm* (E) appeared of late, one of whose chief designs was to treat particularly of the tribes of the *Turkish* nation, and mark the descent of each. As this book is one of the chief funds which afford materials for the history of the *Turks* and *Tartars*, it will be proper to inform the reader on what authority it is grounded. *Abulghazi Khan*, sixth successor of *Hulaku*, grandson of *Jenghiz Khan*, who subdued *Persia*, being desirous to preserve the memory of the *Mogol* tribes, as well as the great exploits of his ancestors, sent one *Pulad*, or *Fulad*, a nobleman skilled in the *Mogol* language, into *Tartary*, in order to collect materials for that purpose. At his return, the *Khan* put his memoirs into the hands of his grand Wazir or Visier *Fadlallah*, that he might compose a regular history from them; and ordered *Pulad* to assist him in the work, which consists of three folio volumes (F), and was finished in the year of the *Hejrah* 702, and of *Christ* 1302. It was from this history chiefly that *Abulghazi Khan* extracted his, excepting as to that part which relates to the *Uzbeks* of *Great Bukharia* and *Karazm*.

^a D'HERBELOT. Bibl. orient. p. 897. Art. Turk. p. 898. Art. Turk. p. 685. Art. Ogour Khan.

^b ARAESHAN. hist. Tim. l. i. § 4. D'HERBEL. ^c D'HERB. ubi sup.

(A) *Arab Shah*, a *Turkish* historian, who wrote the life of *Timur-bek*, or *Tamerlan*, in elegant *Arabic*: but gives that prince a very bad character; probably on account of the victories obtained by him over the *Turks*, and the ravages he made in their country. This history has been published in *French*, translated by *Vatier*.

(B) Or *Kanklis*.

(C) Or *Kazlaks*; but *Karliks* in *Abulghazi Khan*.

(D) *Tamgaj*, or *Thomgaj*, or *Tamgaz*, is by all the oriental authors reckoned a tribe of *Turks*, which he takes to be the *Gaz*, descended from *Gaz*, tenth son of *Jafet*; and from them came the *Turkmans*. But *Abulfeda* says, the country of *Tamgaj* is that of *Katay*. See *D'Herbelot*, Bibl. orient. Art. *Gaz*, *Tamgaj*, and *Tamgaj*.

(E) It is written in the *Mogol* or *Turkish* language, and under the title of *Shajari Turki*, that is, a genealogical history of the *Turks*. It is divided into nine parts: the two first treat of the *Khans* and tribes descended

from *Turk*, the son of *Jafet*, to the time of *Jenghiz Khan*: the third relates the life and actions of that conqueror: the five next those of his sons and successors in the several parts of *Tartary*: and the ninth treats of the *Khans* of *Kharazm*, to the death of the author, who was sovereign of that country, which lies on the east side of the *Caspian* sea. The *Khan* dying in 1663, before the history was quite finished, his son and successor *Amusha Mehmet Khan*, completed it two years after. Besides the history of *Khejaki Rashid*, as he calls *Fadlallah*, and eighteen others which he does not name, he made use of particular memoirs relating to several *Mogol* tribes (1). *Abulghazi Khan*'s history, which was procured by *Strahlenberg*, while prisoner in *Siberia*, has been translated into *Russian*, *German*, *French*, and *English*.

(F) The first volume is in the *French* king's library, and was translated by *De la Croix* the son, but not published.

(1) See *Abulghazi Khan's history*, p. 30, and 68. Also collect. voy. & trav. 4to. vol. iv. p. 407.

Turkish
tribes.

ACCORDING to this author, the several different nations or tribes of people, called *Aymaks*, may be distinguished into two sorts; those descended from the *Mogols* or *Mongols*, and those not descended from them. Whence many of these latter are derived, does not appear from *Abu'lghâzi Khân's* history^d; but they must be either *Mogols* or *Tartars*, who had lost the memory of their origin; or else tribes sprung from the *Khâns* preceding *Alanza*; for all the *Aymaks*, it seems, are derived from the *Khâns*.

WITH respect to the tribes not descended from the *Mogols*, the following five derive their name from *Ogûz Khân*; viz. the *Kankli*, *Kipjaks*, *Karliks*, *Kalach*, and *Vigurs*; the last of which only, as we are informed, sprung from *Mogul Khân*.

1. THE *Kankli* dwelt, for some time, jointly with the *Turkmâns*, in the sandy deserts; but when these last began to live in towns, the former went to inhabit about the rivers *Issikul* and *Talash* (G), where they have remained for a long time. *Jenghîz Khân* put to the sword ten thousand of them, whom he found there; the rest, to the number of fifty or sixty thousand, had before become subjects to *Soltân Mohammed Karazm Shâh*, whose mother was of this tribe.

2. THE *Kipjaks* (H) have always inhabited the banks of the *Don*, *Volga*, and *Jaïk*.

3. THE *Karliks* have constantly dwelt in the mountains of the *Mogols* country, living on the produce of their lands. This tribe elected their *Khân*, and might have amounted to twenty thousand families in the time of *Jenghîz Khân*. This conqueror having sent an envoy to persuade them to submit, *Arslân*, their *Khân*, carried him a pretty daughter, besides very magnificent presents. The receiver, in return, gave him a relation in marriage: but, when he was gone, said, the name *Arslân Sirak* (I) suited him better than that of *Arslân Khân*. The *Moguls* use the term *Sirak*, signifying a poor-spirited man, when they speak of the *Tajiks* (K), who are a very simple people^e.

4. *KAL-ACH* signifies *hungry*. There are, at present, several numerous branches of this tribe, not only in the country of *Mawara'nabr*, or *Great Bukharia*, but also the *Persian* provinces of *Khorasân* and *Irâk*^f.

5. THE *Takrins*. *Bugay Zinanz*, *Khân* of this tribe, being invited by *Jenghîz Khân* to submit, he sent, among other presents, a daughter, who appeared so beautiful in the eyes of *Ugaday*, or *Ostay Khân*, that, after his father's death, he married her, and loved her above all his other wives.

6. THE tribe of the *Kerghis*, which was but thin at first, increased considerably in time, by the accession of *Moguls*, and other families who joined them, for sake of the agreeable country which they inhabited. *Urus Inal*, their prince, unable to resist *Jenghîz Khân*, who summoned him, by two ambassadors, to submit, sent that great monarch magnificent presents, and, among the rest, a bird called *Shungar* (L). The *Ikar*, or *Ikrân Murân*, now called *Jenisea*, glides along the borders of the *Jerghis* (M), and falls into the *Azokh Jenghîz*, or *bitter sea*. Near its mouth, our author tells us, there is a great town, called *Alakhzin*, which signifies *pieb* (N); which name it took, because the inhabitants thereof, and the dependent towns, have none but pieb horses (O): these horses are very tall; a colt of a year old being as large as a horse of three any-where else. There are likewise rich silver mines in its neighbourhood. The story goes farther; that the favourite widow of *Tauli Khân*, son of *Jenghîz Khân*, to whose share the *Kerghis* fell, sent three officers, with a thousand men, up the river, by water, to discover this country. After a long stay, they returned, with only three hundred of their company; the rest being lost, as they pretended, by the badness of the air. These gentlemen confirmed, as truth, all which had been reported of the place; and even declared, that they had loaded their vessels with silver, but were obliged to throw it overboard, for want of hands to get it up against the stream.

^d See p. 31.

^e *ABU'LGHAZI KHAN's* history of the Turks, &c. p. 14. 31, & seq.

^f *ABU'L-*

(G) The *French* translator says they are now called *Tekiz* and *Ili*: but he seems to have been mistaken, at least with regard to the last.

(H) Called also *Kopjaks* and *Kapchaks*. These are supposed to be the same with the *Kofaks*, who inhabit the same parts: and both may be the remains of the *Kbozârs* or *Khazari*, who had an empire to the north of the *Caspian* sea, in the time of the *Greek* emperor *Justinian*.

(I) This must signify, *the sneaking lion*.

(K) *Tajiks* are the trading people or inhabitants of conquered countries: the *Tartars* of *Karazm* give the

Persians that nick-name in contempt or aversion, being their enemies, and of a different sect in religion.

(L) Or *Shenkar*; a bird of prey, found in the plains of *Tartary*.

(M) At present, by *Kyriakov's* map, they are placed near the borders of *Russia*, and the *Ural Tâg*.

(N) *Strahlenberg* mentions the ruins of a town called *Alak Sin* or *Chin*, which signifies the *chequered tribe*; but places it without the great wall of *China* (1).

(O) The *Russians* have a tradition like this, of a pieb people, somewhere in *Siberia*, called by them *Pesraya Orda*, or the pieb tribe. See history of the *Turks*, &c. p. 648.

(1) See his *hist. geogr. desc. of the north and east parts of Europe and Asia*, introd. p. 75.

^a 7. THE tribe of *Ur-mankats*, so called, from their living in places most remote, and full of forests, are neighbours to the *Kerghis*, on the *Ikâr Murân*, and submitted, at the same time, to *Jenghiz Khân*. There is another tribe who bear the same name; and follow the same course of life, but they are *Mogols* ¹.

8. THE tribe of *Tatars*, or *Tattars* (by the western nations of *Europe* called *Tartars*), one of the most ancient and famous of the *Turkish* nation, being descended from *Tatar Khân* (P), consisted formerly of above seventy thousand families, and had only one Khân, who was very potent: but coming afterwards to be divided into several branches, its power, by degrees, declined. The principal branch settled in the country of *Biurnaver*, near the borders of *Kitay*, to which it was brought in subjection: but, in some time revolting, the emperor of *Kitay* forced them, by arms, to return to their duty: and this happened often to be the case with them. Another branch went and inhabited the river *Iâr*, or *Ikrân Murân* ^k above-mentioned. *Gaubil* informs us, from the *Chinese* annals, that, in the time of *Jenghiz Khân*, they were settled along the rivers *Kerulon*, and *Onon* or *Amur*; and were tributary to the emperor of the *Kim*, who reigned in *Kitay* ¹. From this tribe all the rest, and the country they inhabited, took their name, among the nations of the southern *Asia* and of *Europe* ^m.

9. THE *Virats* (Q). This tribe inhabit the banks of the *Sekir Murân*, or eight rivers, which fall into the *Ikâr*, or *Ikrân Murân*, that is, the *Jenisea*, on the east side (K). After maintaining the war a considerable while against *Jenghiz Khân*, their Khân *Tokta-beghi*, with his two sons, *Inalzi* and *Tauranzi*, were obliged to submit. Several tribes have sprung from them. 1. The *Torga-uts*, so called, because they dwell beyond the country of *Salika*, which lies beyond that of the *Moguls*: but, at present, they are under *Ayuki Khân*, and make the whole or part of the second branch of the *Eluths* or *Aluths*, called *Eluths-Ayuki*, or *Torga uti* ⁿ. 2. The *Kuris*. 3. The *Utilas*. 4. The *Tumats*, who dwell in the country of *Barku-chintugum* (S): their Khân, *Tatula-Sukar Khân*, was obliged to submit to *Jenghiz Khân*. 5. The *Boygazins*. 6. The *Hirmuzins*. These two last tribes dwell near the *Kerghis*, and are very peaceable. 7. The *Telanguts*. 8. The *Oras-uts*. 9. The *Kussutmaits*. These three last have been always famous for their skill in physic and magic, as well as hunting and fishing; which carried them to dwell near forests and rivers ^o.

STRAHLENBERG relates, that the *Kalmuk* nation, properly called *Eluths*, call themselves *Avirat*, and *Virat*, or *Dorbon Virat*, that is, the four *Avirat* tribes, which are, *Torga oth*, *Koshioth*, *Kayoth*, *Dsongar* and *Dorb-oth*, which two last make but one tribe. He likewise observes, that the terminations *oth*, *ath*, and *auth* (or *ät* and *öt* ^p, as others write them), in those and the like words, are the same: that the *Mongols* call the above-mentioned four tribes not only *Avir-ät*, but also *Vil öth*, and *Avil-öth* (T): and that these are descendants of the same people, whom the later *Greek* writers call *Avari* ^q, and *Abari*; but *Jornandes*, more nearly, *Aviri* ^r: of both which words *D'Herbelot's Avairat* ^s is a kind of compound ^t. But as our author makes the *Avari* or *Var*, and *Huni* or *Khuni*, the same with the *Igurs* or *Un igurs*, how can they be *Kalmuks* or *Eluths*, who are a very different people from the *Vigurs*? We have already shewn how very uncertain it is to trace the origin of people by the names found in historians of foreign countries: and, to speak the truth, Mr. *Strahlenberg*, though very happy in many of his conjectures, yet was so bigotted to this method, that he takes the smallest resemblance in the name as a certain proof of his point; and often strains matters beyond measure, to make things answer his purpose.

10. THE *Naymans* is a very antient tribe, and very rich (U): they dwell in the country of the *Moguls*, called *Karakum*, or *black sand* (W); but did not use agriculture. Their Khân, mans.

¹ ABU'LGAZI KHAN, p. 36, 39.

^k Ibid. History of the Turks, &c. p. 36, & seq. and 39.

^m ABU'LGAZI KHAN, p. 38. GAUBIL. hist. de Jenghiz Khân, p. 3.

ⁿ See new collect. trav. p. 401. a; and SOUCIET's obs. math. p. 148, 160, & seq.

^o ABU'LGAZI KHAN, p. 40. ^p ABU'LGAZI KHAN writes *it*, as *Torga-iits*.

^q MENANDER, c. 7.

^r De reb. Get. p. 597. ^s Bibl. orient. p. 148. ^t STRAHL. hist. geogr. descr. pref. p. 6, & seq.

(P) *De la Croix*, in his history of *Jenghiz Khân*, says, the *Tartars* are the same called *Su Moguls*, or the *Moguls of the waters*; and that they took the name *Tatar* from a river of that name, in the country of *Su Mogul*. Yet, in another place, he derives it from *Tatar Khân*.

(Q) Perhaps the *Burats* or *Brats*, still inhabiting thereabouts.

(R) *Abu'lghazi Khân* says (3), the *Moguls* call them *Kok Muran*, *On Muran*, *Kara Ussin*, *Sebikan*, *Ikrân Muran*, *Akar Muran*, *Zagan Muran*, and *Khaja Muran*. *Muran* signifies a river.

(S) Perhaps the plain of *Bargu*, mentioned by *Marco Polo*, was in this country.

(T) Hence perhaps the name of *Eluths* or *Aluths*.

(U) For this reason, along with the name, *Strahlenberg* supposes the *Naymans* or *Noymans*, are the *Nomæi*, afterwards called *Aramæi*, of *Pîny*. But it is surprising that *De la Croix*, without any apparent grounds, should affirm, that these *Naymans* are the *Issidon Scythians*, and that their capital *Issidon* is called by the moderns *Sukkir* (4). Besides, *Sukkir* is now known to be *Su-chew* in *Ghina*, at a great distance from the country of the *Naymans*.

(W) A name given to barren sandy deserts.

(3) *Geneal. hist.* p. 41

(4) See *hist. Jenghiz Khân*, p. 5, 6, 7.

in the time of *Jenghiz Khân*, was called *Tayyan*, who, with his son *Kuchluk*, was slain by that conqueror. *Gaubil* informs us, that the *Naymans* were contiguous to the *Moguls*, near the city of *Holin*, or *Kara-kuran*, to the north of the great sandy desert. At present they are settled near the *Sira Muran*, to the north-east of *Pekin*^w.

The Karaits.

11. THE *Kara-its* (X), that is, *swartby*, so called from the swarthy complexion of seven brothers, from whom they sprung. *Korzakur Khân*, surnamed *Bufruk*, son of *Margus-Ili-Khân*, was the father of *Tayrel Khân*, to whom the emperor of *Kitay* gave the title of *Wang* (Y): hence some writers give him the name of *Wang Khân*. This is the famous *Ung Khân*, stiled *Prester John*, by *Marco Polo*, and other *European* writers, who represent him both as a *Christian* king and priest; but without the least foundation that appears from any history but their own. The *Kara-its* were neighbours to the *Naymans*, and possessed a great part of the countries along the rivers *Tula* or *Tola*^x, and *Orgbun*^y.

The Ungutti.

12. THE *Ungutti* (Z), that is, *men well to pass*; for these people, being situate near the *Chinese* wall, had great wages of the emperors of *Kitay*, to guard it and its gates. In the time of *Jenghiz Khân* this tribe consisted of about four thousand families, whose *Khân Alakus*, making an alliance with that monarch, contributed much to render the conquest of *Kitay* easy, by going to meet him as he approached, and giving him a free entrance by the wall^z.

The Turkâks.

13. THE *Turkâks*. This word signifies *a guard*, in the *Turkish*: for, among the *Turks*, while, one half of the night, the guard take their repose, the other beat on something, to shew they are on the watch; and, when they want to be relieved, call to those at rest, *Turkak*, that is, *get up and beat*. *Tur* signifies *get up*, and *kak*, *beat*. This tribe is very numerous^a.

Vig'rs or Oygûrs.

WE come now to the *Mogul* or *Mungl* tribes, which are in all forty-five. The first of these are the *Vigûrs* (A), who took their rise in the time of *Ogûz Khân* (B), as hath been before related. They dwelt originally between the mountains *Tugra Tubusluk*, *Uskunluk-tugra*, and *Kut*, on the west of the *Moguls*; from whom they seem to have been separated by the mountain *Kut* or *Altay*. As there are, in this country, nineteen rivers, ten on one side, and nine on the other, those who settled about the former were called *Un Vigurs* (C), and such as dwelt along the latter *Tokos Vigurs* (D). These two tribes, which consist of more than an hundred and twenty branches, possessed a great number of towns and villages, yet had no *Khâns*; till at length falling out together, the first elected a prince, called *Mangatati*, to whom they gave the name of *Il-ittar*; and the second chose another, whom they called *Il-irghin*. Their descendants had the same titles: but, an hundred years after, the two tribes, coming to unite, had but one sovereign, stiled *Idikut*; which, in *Turkish*, signifies, *sent by the spirit* (E), but, in the *Usbek* tongue, *a free independent person*.

Their branches.

THEY lived thus in union two thousand years, in the above-mentioned mountains: after which a new difference arising between them, they separated, for good and all; one part remained where they were, and the other went to dwell on the banks of the river *Irtish*. These last dividing again into three branches, one went and dwelt in *Bish-balik* (F), and cultivated the lands about it: the second dispersed themselves in the neighbourhood of that city, feeding on their cattle: and the third branch continued on the *Irtish*, where they lived by fishing, and hunting of fables, castors, martens, squirrels, and other beasts. On the flesh of these they fed, and clad themselves with their skins, which had always been their cloathing.

BANERZIK (G) *Idikut*, their *Khân*, submitted to *Jenghiz Khân*, in order to secure himself against *Kavar* (H), *Khân* of *Turkestan*; and every year sent him considerable presents. He joined the conqueror also, when he went to attack *Mohammed Karazm Shah*.

^w See SOUCIET, as before, p. 185; also the map of Tartary subject to China, according to BENTINCK's Notes on the history of the Turks, Mogols, &c. p. 76. *Jenghiz*, p. 4. note 6.

^x ABU'LGHAZI KHAN, p. 42, & seq.

^y Then called Kollanuar, GAUBIL's history of *ibid.* p. 45.

(X) Written *Kerit*, and *Keit*, by Europeans.

(Y) In the translations *Annak*; and, by European writers, no less faultily, *Ung*.

(Z) Perhaps the same as *Onbiot* and *Ankût*.

(A) *Wigûrs*, *Igûrs*, or *Oygûrs*, as the word is variously written. It signifies *helpers*; at least that sense has been given to it by the Mohammedan historians, to honour this tribe, which was very potent, for joining with *Jenghiz Khân*. This seems to have been done in imitation of *Mohammed*, who gave the name of *Ansârs*, or helpers, to a family of *Arabs* on the like occasion. We judge the *Vigûrs* to have been a colony from *Tibet*, as has been already observed, if not the *Ikori* or *Juijen*.

(B) If so, how could they be now existing? since we are told, none of the *Moguls* escaped the slaughter made in the army of *Il Khân*, except *Kayan* and *Nagos*.

(C) From these it is supposed came the *Unns* or *Huns*; but more especially the *Onagri*, *Unigari*, *Iguræi*, and

Inugri, as they are called by authors; also *Utrigori* and *Kutrigori*, *Uth-urgari* and *Kuth-urgari*. Whether this difference in the names had any real foundation, as belonging to different tribes of people, who appeared at different times, or in different parts of the *Roman* empire, or was owing to those who transmitted accounts of them either mistaking or corrupting the names, seems pretty hard to determine, considering how greatly words have been distorted by those means.

(D) *Un* signifies *ten*, and *Tokos* nine, in *Turkish*.

(E) *Idi*, being *sent*, and *Kut*, *spirit*. *Abu'l-faraj* stiles him *Idikûb*, and says, it signifies *lord of the empire*. *Hist. dynast.* p. 283.

(F) *Bishbalig* was in *Little Buklaria*, near the city of *Turfân*.

(G) He is called *Parcbukorte Tikin* in the *Chinese* history.

(H) Rather, perhaps, *Gur*, or *Kur Khân*.

^a IN regard many of the *Vigûrs* were skilled in the *Turkish* language, and expert in writing, *And learning.* *Jenghiz Khân* made use of them in all his expeditions, as secretaries to the chancery; in which quality also his descendants, who reigned in *Mawara'labr* and *Persia*, employed them for a long time ^b. On this occasion it may be observed, that the *Vigûrs* or *Oygurs* were the only people inhabiting *Great Tartary*, who had the use of characters, which were the same with those now found in *Tibet*, where they are called characters of *Tangut* ^c.

THE *Ur-mankats*. They lead much the same course of life with their namesakes before-mentioned; and are descended from *Ogûz Khân*: which is all that is said of them ^d. The Urmankats.

It has already been remarked, that the descendants of *Kayan* took the surname of *Kayat*; and those of *Nagos* that of *Durlagan*, or *Nagofser*: whence, in a short time, they came to lose their true names. The tribes mentioned as sprung from them, are thirty-eight in number; thirty derive their pedigree from *Kayan*, and five from *Nagos*.

THE tribes descended from *Kayan* are the following. 1. From the three sons of *Alanku* *Nirkha* or (I) sprung a numerous tribe, in the *Mogul* language surnamed *Nirkha*; that is a pure family; *Niron* tribe: in memory that the founders of it were begotten without any commerce with man, as hath been before related: elsewhere it is said they took the surname of *Niron* ^e.

2. THE *Kunkurats*, or *Kankrats* (K). These are sprung from *Kunkurat*, a son of *Zurluk* *The Kunkurats.* *Mergan*, who descended from *Kayan* (L). They dwelt along the river *Kalassui* (M), in the time of *Jenghiz Khân*; to whom their *Khân Turk-ili*, who was his relation, went over ^f.

3. THE *Burkuts*; and, 4. THE *Kurla-uts*. These two tribes formerly inhabited along with *The Burkuts.* the *Kunkurats*, who are related to them.

5. THE *Ankarab*; and, 6. THE *Alaknuts*; are descended from the two sons of *Kaba Shîra*, *The Ankarab.* brother of *Zurluk Mergan*. *Ulu*, called also *Ulu Iga*, and *Ulu Kufin*, the mother of *Jenghiz Khân*, was of the latter tribe.

7. THE *Kara-nuts*. These are sprung from *Karanut*, the eldest son of *Busyuday*, third brother *The Karanuts,* of *Zurluk Mergan* ^g.

8. THE *Kurlas*, one of the most eminent tribes among the *Moguls*, are sprung from *Kurlas*, *The Kurlas.* son of *Meyfir-ili*, son of *Konaklot*, son of *Busyuday*, youngest brother of *Zurluk Mergan*. *Bertizena*, *Khân* of the *Moguls*, when they sallied out of the mountain *Irgana Kon*, was a descendant of *Kurlas*. This tribe is divided into many branches, who have the surname of *Niron*. 1. The *Kataguns*, descended from *Bokum Katagum*, the eldest of *Alanku*'s three sons. 2. The *Zalzuts*, from *Boskin Zalzi*, second son of *Alanku*. 3. The *Bayzuts*, from *Bassikar*, and *Hurmalankum*, sons of *Kaydu Khân*. 4. The *Zipzuts*, from *Zapzin*, *Baydu Khân*'s third son. 5. The *Irigbents*, from *Zapzin* also ^h. 6. The *Zenas*, surnamed *Nagos*, but different from the *Nagofser*: they sprung from *Kauduzena* and *Olekinzena*, sons of *Hurmalankum*. 7. The *Butakins*, from *Butakin*, eldest son of *Tumana Khân*, grandson of *Kaydu Khân*. 8. The *Uruths*, from *Uruth*, second son of *Tumana Khân* ⁱ. 9. The *Mankats*, from *Mankat*, *Tumana*'s third son: these are nick-named *Kara Kalpaks* by the *Russians*, and possess at present the western half of *Turkestan*, with the city of that name. But *Kyrihow*'s map makes the *Kara Kalpaks* and *Mangats* distinct tribes. 10. *Badurghins*, from *Samkarum*, third son of *Tumana Khân*. 11. The *Budats*, from *Batkilti*, *Tumana*'s fourth son ^k. 12. The *Burlas* or *Berlas* (N), from *Zedemzi burlas*, son of *Kazuli*, *Tumana*'s sixth son. Of this tribe was the great *Timur-beigh*, or *Tamerlan*. 13. The *Kayums*, from *Udur-bayan*, seventh son of *Tumana Khân*. 14. The *Vilots*, from *Balzar*, *Tumana*'s eighth son, called *Oglan*, or *the lame*, because he halted. 15. The *Bassuts*, or *Tessuts*, from *Olzingan*, ninth son of *Tumana* ^l. 16. The *Kayats* are descended from the six sons of *Kabul Khân*; in whom, being strong men, and great warriors, was revived the name of *Kayat*, which had been in a manner unknown for above three thousand years. 17. The *Borzugan Kayats* sprung from the five sons of *Tessugbi Bahâdur Khân*, of whom *Temujin*, afterwards *Jenghiz Khân*, was the eldest. They were all of a fair complexion, inclining to yellow, with a red circle between the

^b ABU'LGHASI KHAN, p. 13, & seq. 31. & seq. & 46.

^d ABU'LGHASI KHAN, p. 38.

^e Ibid. p. 48, 52, & seq.

^f ABU'LGHASI KHAN, p. 60.

^g Ibid. p. 46, & 58.

^h Ibid. p. 48, 55.

ⁱ GAUBIL in SOUCIET. obs. math. p. 146.

^j ABU'LGHASI KHAN, p. 48, 52, & 75.

^k Ibid. p. 59.

^l Ibid. p. 59, 567, 575.

(I) An account of most of the descendants of the three sons of *Alanku*, down to *Jenghiz Khân* are mentioned hereafter, on occasion of the *Mogul* tribes being derived from them. Some write *Alankawa*.

(K) *Konkorats* and *Kongorats*.

(L) It appears, from several circumstances, that this *Zurluk Mergan* lived many ages before *Alanku*, and possibly, during the time the *Moguls* remained shut up in the mountain of *Irganakon*; since the tribe of *Kurlas* derive themselves from him, and *Bertizena*, *Khân* of the *Moguls*, at the time of their famous fall from thence,

was a descendant of *Kurlas*. Mention is made of *Zurluk Mergan*'s two brothers, *Kabay Shira* and *Busyuday*, but not of his father: he was such an excellent archer, that, being to fight on horseback with *Kabay Shira*, and seeing him thro' fear bend down on one side for shelter, in pity, would not kill him, but struck the pendent out of his ear, without touching the jewel at which it hung.

(M) Now *Orkhan*, according to *Bentink*'s notes on *Abu'lghazi Khân*.

(N) Written *Perlas* by the *Persians* and *Turks*.

black and white of their eyes; which kind of eyes the *Moguls* call *Borzugan*, from whence a their descendants had that name ^m.

The Ilzigans. 9. *THE Ilzigans.* This tribe is descended from *Ilzigan*, brother of *Kurlas*, son of *Meysir-Ili*, before-mentioned.

The Durmans. 10. *THE Durmans*, that is, *four*, in the *Moguls* language (O), derive their origin from the four eldest sons of *Bizin Kayan Khân*; who, resenting the election of *K. pzi Mergan Khân*, though it was made pursuant to the will of their father, left the country: but their descendants, in process of time, came and dwelt in the dominions of *Kipfi Mergan*. From these are descended two tribes. 1. The *Barians*, from one of that name. 2. The *Sukut*, from the son of a *Durman*, by a she-slave. This slave coming before her time, through the abuse she received from his wife, went and hid the infant among shrubs, called, in their language, *Yulgun*; but, by the *Moguls Sukut* (P): the father finding it here next morning, from thence gave it the name of *Sukut* ⁿ.

THE tribes of the *Nagosler*, or *Durlagans*, descended from *Nagos*, are five.

The Bayuts. 1. *THE Bayuts* are divided into several branches, the most considerable of which are the *Sadagbin Bayuts*, and the *Makrim Bayuts*, so named from the rivers *Sadagbin* and *Makrim*, on the banks whereof they inhabit; being neighbours to the *Virats*.

2. *THE Jalayrs* (Q) are a very ancient tribe: they were formerly scattered over a great extent of country, and had many princes; till the *Kitayans* having declared war against them, they were obliged to come closer together, in order to be in a capacity to assist one another. Their families were so numerous, that they spread over seventy different provinces (R), which they called in their language *Kurân*; and the greater part of them dwelt in a quarter of the *Moguls* called *Umân*. But the emperor of *Kitay* having defeated, and carried away, a great number of them (S), the rest fled, and were reduced to live on roots.

Their distress. THIS happened in the reign of *Dutumin Khân* (T), father of *Kaydu Khân*; who going to be married in another country, left his second brother, *Mutulun*, to take care of the house, and his seven other brothers. These repairing one day to a very level spot of ground, near their habitation, where they used to perform their exercises and tournaments, they found the *Jalayrs* digging for roots, which rendered the place unfit for their diversions. They immediately informed *Mutulun* hereof, who hastened thither with a strong force, and put the *Jalayrs* to flight: but the latter returning to the charge, after great loss, at length overcame *Mutulun*, killed him, and his seven brethren: not content with this, they ruined their habitations, and put to the sword as many of their subjects as fell into their hands.

The Kaydu Jalayrs. KAYDU *Khân*, being informed of this misfortune, returned home forthwith, and sent to demand of the *Jalayrs* the reason why they had killed his brothers. The *Jalayrs*, terrified at the message, sent five of the chief persons concerned, with their wives and children, to the *Khân*, to be disposed of as he thought fit: but he was content to keep them as his slaves; which proved of good account to him: for they took the surname of their master, serving him and his posterity faithfully, to the fourth generation; insomuch that some of his descendants had ten, twelve, and even twenty, families of them, for their portion. In the reign of *Jenghîz Khân* the other *Jalayrs* took the name of their captive brethren ^o.

BESIDES the *Mogul* tribes before-mentioned, there are nine others: but it is uncertain whether they are sprung from *Kayan* or *Nayos*.

The Markats. 1. *THE Markats.* *Toktu-begbi Khân*, of this tribe, was always at variance with *Jenghîz Khân*. One time, in the absence of that hero, he carried away his wives and subjects, with all that fell into his hands. Another time, lying in ambush for *Jenghîz Khân*, he made him prisoner while he was taking a walk; and it cost his subjects a large sum of money to ransom him.

The Umma-uts. 2. *THE Umma-uts*, formerly called called *Urma-uts*. From them are derived four tribes. 1. The *Kunakhmars*, sprung from a person of that name. *Menglik*, surnamed *Izka*, or the devout, for his piety and virtue, was of this tribe, and married the widow *Ulun-iga* (U), mother of *Temujin*, or *Jenghîz Khân*, who was then but thirteen years of age. Some years after *Vang Khân* (W), of the *Kara-its*, sent a letter to him, proposing to kill *Temujin*, and divide his possessions between them. This was to be done at the time of a visit *Vang Khân* was to make to

^m ABU'LGHAZI KHAN, p. 61.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 49, & seq.

^o Ibid. p. 53, & seq.

(O) But, in the language of the *Eluths* or *Kalmûks*, *Dirb* is *four*, according to *Strahlenberg's* table of dialects.

(P) Hence it looks as if the *Durmans* had a language of their own, different from the *Mogul*.

(Q) Or *Chalayrs*; in the translations *Salaghirs*, doubtless by a wrong reading.

(R) Or districts.

(S) Perhaps into *Karchin*, to the north of *Pe-che-li*; where, at present, the *Chalayrs* inhabit: *Karchin* (or *Kara-chin*) signifies the black tribe.

(T) Grandfather of *Jenghîz Khân*, in the seventh generation.

(U) Otherwise called *Ulunkuzin*.

(W) Or *Wang Khân*, the famous *Ung Khôn* of the European writers. In the translation *Aurak Khân*.

- a *Menglik*. Soon after he gave *Temujin* an invitation, under pretence of treating about a marriage between his daughter and the other's eldest son. *Temujin*, who frequently visited him, as having been an intimate of his father's, immediately set forward, with only two domestics: but meeting on the road with his father-in-law, who informed him of *Vang Khan's* treachery, he returned, and so escaped the snare. 2. The second branch of the *Umma uts* is the *Arlats*, *its branches* sprung from *Arlat*, second son of *Menglik Izka*, by his first wife. 3. The *Kalkits*, from *Kalkit*, third son of *Menglik*; so named because he could not speak plain. From the *Kalkits* are derived, 4. The *Kishliks*, from one *kishlik*. This man, who, with his brother *Baydu*, kept the horses of a great lord belonging to *Vang Khân's* court, going to his master's with a several-days gathering of mares milk, overheard him bid his wife get ready his arms, for that the
- b Khân intended to invade *Temujin* unawares; and being sprung from the *Moguls*, as soon as they had delivered in the milk, they went and discovered the plot; for which service *Jenghiz Khân* made them, and their descendants for nine generations, *Tarkân* (X); which frees them from all sorts of taxes.

3. THE *Vishuns*: 4. The *Suldus*: and 5. The *Oklians*. Of whom nothing more is men- *The Vishuns.* tioned, than that they are branches of the *Moguls* ^p.

- c THIS is the account of the tribes or branches of the *Turkish* nation, given by *Abu'lghâzi Khân*; which, though the most extensive of any which has yet come to our hands, is, after all, very superficial: nor indeed could it well be otherwise, since it does not appear, that any of the inhabitants of *Tartary* had written records, or even made use of letters, except the *Ighirs* or *Vigirs*, before the time of *Jenghiz Khân*: and their oral traditions must needs, from the nature of the thing itself, have been very imperfect, as well as liable to much uncertainty, and even corruption.

HOWEVER that be, *Abu'lghâzi Khân*, and the authors whom he made use of, differ much *Disagreement* from those quoted by *D'Herbelot*, and apparently go upon a different plan (Y). For he speaks *of authors.* neither of *Turk's* posterity being divided into four tribes, nor of any subdivision into four others by *Ogûz*, conformable to *Mirkbond*, and the earlier *Persian* historians. In all probability we should discover a still greater disagreement, had *D'Herbelot* but given us the names of all the *Turkish* tribes from that author, or his son *Kond Amîr*, who wrote a particular history of the *Mogol* tribes, *Jenghiz Khân* and his successors ^a.

- d WHAT in *Abu'lghâzi Khân* seems most singular is, that he mentions no particular tribe pro- *No tribe called* perly called *Turks*, as the *Persian* historians have done. Whether he omitted them, in conse- *Turks.* quence of nothing being said about them in the authors he made his extracts from (Z); or as intending to treat chiefly of the *Moguls*, which seems indeed to have been his main design; or lastly, because there is at present no tribe in all *Tartary* existing under the name of *Turks*, that *now in Tar-* people having long since passed into other countries, or been destroyed by wars; we cannot deter- *tary.* mine. But let whatever will have been the reason, it is certain, that there was formerly a particular tribe or nation among the inhabitants of *Tartary* named *Turks*; for they are mentioned both by the *Roman* and *Chinese*, as well as the *Arab* and *Persian* historians already cited. This will appear more evident still from their history, delivered in the following section.

S E C T. IV.

The affairs of the Turks with the nations bordering on Tartary, and among themselves, from their first appearance, till the time of Jenghiz Khân.

- e I T may well be questioned, whether all the different tribes of people inhabiting *Tartary* are *Particular* branches of *Turks*; but it seems probable that there was a particular nation among the antient *tribe of* *Scythians* who went by that name; since the *Turci*, perhaps better written *Turki*, are mentioned by *Pomponius Mela* the geographer ^a, and *Pliny* ^b; who place them among the nations dwelling in the neighbourhood of the river *Tanais*, and the *Palus Mæotis*.

How the *Turks* should be known so early to the *Romans*, and not to the *Greeks*, who lay *oriental* much nearer to them, may seem a little strange; for they are not mentioned by *Ptolemy* (A), *Turks,*

^p *ABU'LGHÂZI KHAN*, p. 47, & seq. and p. 73. cap. ult.

^b *Hist. nat. l. vi. c. 7.*

^a See before, p. 115. note G.

^{*} *De situ orbi, lib. * **

(X) Or *Terkan*, as written by *De la Croix*.

(Y) Their history undoubtedly was calculated to do honour to the *Mogols*; as that given by the authors before mentioned was to do honour to the *Seljuks*.

(Z) We can form no judgment on this point from the history of *Jenghiz Khân*, published by *De la Croix*,

which, though extracted chiefly from *Fadlallah*, the principal author made use of by *Abu'lghâzi Khân*, mentions scarce any tribes besides those which are *Mogols*.

(A) For the *Turci* can't be said to be the *Turks*, without straining matters beyond reason.

nor any writer of that nation, who has come to our hands, before the middle of the sixth century. Then, indeed, they speak of them for the first time; but, far from placing them in the west of *Asia*, they give them a situation in the farthest east: yet it must be confessed, that the name of oriental *Turks*, by which they call them, should seem to be conferred on them, with a view to distinguish them from other *Turks*, known to them in the west. However this be, it is surprizing that *Khalkondilas*, who, in his history of the fall of the *Greek* empire, treats of the name and origin of the *Turks*, should say nothing of these eastern *Turks*, mentioned by preceding historians: but indeed he seems to be quite a stranger to the *Seljuks*, or any kind of *Turks*, though living near the northern borders of the empire (B), before the time of the *Ogúzians* or *Othmáns*.

Their situation,

according to the Greek

THE *Bizantine* historians tell us, that these oriental *Turks* were the same formerly called *Sakæ* (C): that they dwelt beyond the *Sogdians* (D); and were divided into eight tribes (E): that they had greatly increased in power within a few years, so as to border on the *Roman* empire: that their king, named *Disabules*, sent ambassadors in the fourth year of *Justin* the younger (F); and that they brought with them iron, to sell, to make it believed, that there were mines in their country: that *Disabules* encamped near the mountain *Ek tak*: that this name signifies the mountain of gold; and was given to it on account of the abundance of fruits and cattle which were on it: that it stood in the most eastern part of his dominions: that to the south of it was a place called *Talas*, and four hundred stadia to the west a plain, called *Ikar*^c.

and Chinese historians.

WHETHER this *Talas* was the same mentioned by later travellers^d, or the plain of *Ikar* had any relation to the river *Ikar* or *Ikran*^e, now called *Jenisea*, we shall not pretend to say: but 'tis certain this account agrees very well with what is related by a curious missionary, from the *Chinese* history, which begins to speak of the *Turks*, whom they call *Tu-que*, in the year 545; at which time they were an inconsiderable people, who dwelt to the north-west of *Turfán* (G), in *Little Bukharia*; and, not long before, their employment was to work iron, near a mountain called *Kin* (H) (that is, gold): but, in a few years, they grew very powerful; subduing the whole country between the *Caspian* sea and the river *Lyau*, in the province of *Lyau-tong*. They were divided into *Tu-que* of the north, and *Tu-que* of the west; and had great wars either among themselves, or with the *Chinese*, to whom they were very formidable.^f Whether they made any conquests in *China* itself, does not as yet appear: but we are told, that the founders of the dynasties of the latter *Tang* and *Han* in that empire were of these *Tu-que*^g; the former commencing in the year 923, the latter in 947, of the *Christian* æra.

Set up iron-works, near the

mountain Kin.

BESIDES the great conformity between the *Roman* and *Chinese* history, relating to the rise of the *Turkish* power, it is worth observing, that they both confirm a very remarkable circumstance in the history of the *Mogols*, and almost prove them to be the same people with the *Turks*; namely, their working in iron, near a mountain called *Kin*. This mountain is probably the same with that of *Irganakon*, *Erkana*, or *Arkenekom* (I), situated in the extreme north parts of the *Mogols* country; where, we are told, a foundery was erected by the chiefs of the *Kayat* (K) tribes, thence called the *Arkenekom* smiths^h (L). And hence the fable related by *Abu'lghâzi Khân*, of the *Mogols* making a way through that mountain, by melting the iron minesⁱ, doubtless had its rise.

WHETHER the mountain *Kin*, which in *Chinese* signifies gold, be the same with that called *Ek tak*, or *Ak tak* (M), I will not pretend to say, the situation of this last not being sufficiently fixed by the *Byzantine* writers: neither does the name signify the same as *Kin*; for although those historians explain it *gold*, yet in reality *Altún tâk* or *tâg* signifies the mountain of gold, in

^c MENANDER, cap. 6. to the 14th. SIMOCATTA, l. vii. c. 8. ap. new collect. of voy. and trav. vol. iv. p. 557.
^d RUBRUQUIS, in new collect. voy. and trav. vol. iv. p. 556. ^e See ABU'LGHÁZI KHÂN's hist. p. 39.
^f GAUBIL hist. Jenghiz Khân, p. 2. New collection of travels, 4to. vol. iv. p. 435. ^g GAUBIL, p. 11. in the notes. ^h DE LA CROIX, hist. Jeng. p. 6.

(B) In *Hungary*, in and before the time of *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*.

(C) According to this account, the name of *Turks* was but newly sprung up. What was their former name must be very uncertain. The antient historians were not always geographers, and guessed in this case as the moderns do, who are oftener in the wrong than in the right. Besides, how should the *Greeks* know much of people who lived at such a distance, and with whom all intercourse had been broken off for some ages?

(D) By the *Sogdians* are to be understood the inhabitants of the country about *Samarkand*, called *Sogd*; or, in a larger sense, all *Mawara'lnahr*, or *Great Bukharia*.

(E) By the *Kagán's* or *Khân's* letter to the emperor *Mauritius*, their number was only seven.

(F) Which was in 569.

(G) Named perhaps from the *Turks*.

(H) Or *Tu-kin*. *Kin* in *Chinese* signifies gold: possibly that called *Irganakon* by the *Turks*.

(I) D'Herbelot writes *Erkenekûn*.

(K) *Kayat* signifies, a smith.

(L) De la Croix (from whom, in his life of *Jenghiz Khân*, p. 6. we have this circumstance), tells us of an annual feast observed by the *Mogols*, in memory of this foundery; or rather, perhaps, of their having found out the way of working iron, which, *Suidas* informs us, the *Turks* were in his time unacquainted with. *Abu'lghâzi Khân*, in his history, p. 28. pretends the feast was appointed in memory of their famous sally out of *Irganakon*.

(M) Perhaps *Artag*; to the east of which the *Mogols* dwelt, between it and the mountain *Kurtog*. See *Abu'lghâzi Khân's* history, p. 10; and *Gellius* ap. Horn. arc. Noæ, p. 246.

a the *Mogol* or *Turkish* language; *Ek tak*, or *Aktak*, the *white mountain*. Perhaps it went by both names, and the *Greeks* brought home only the latter.

In effect, if we may be able to judge, from the imperfect account that is left us, of the roads which the ambassadors took to and from the *Turkish* camp or court, the mountain *Ek tak*, in case it be the same with that of *Kin*, must be rather to the west than east of it.

THAT our reader may the better judge of this, we shall lay before him what little we find concerning those roads.

WITH regard to the route taken by *Zemark*, the first ambassador from the *Romans* to the *Turks*, we are only told that he was sent back with *Maniak*, prince of the *Sogdians*; and that, being arrived in his country, he travelled from thence to mount *Ek tak*, and returned to *Constantinople* through the country of the *Kliatorians*, and town of *Koalites*. The ambassadors sent to *Toxander*, son of *Disabules*, took a different course: they sailed from *Constantinople* to *Sinope*, on the north coast of *Asia Minor*, and thence crossed over the *Euxine* sea to *Kherfonesus*: they proceeded through the country of the *Opturians*, and other sandy territories, and the south frontiers of *Taurica*: then, passing over marshy places, full of reeds, they came to the country of *Ak Aga* (N); so named from a lady, who formerly commanded the *Scythian* country, and received that power from *Anongeus*, prince of the *Utragurians*. Lastly, they arrived at the places where the trophies of *Toxander* were set up^k.

THIS is all we meet with relating to the roads into the country of the *Turks*, taken by the *Roman* ambassadors: nor is there any thing said of that road which the ambassadors of *Disabules* took in their way to *Constantinople*; farther than that, after travelling over a vast extent of country, and mountains covered with snow, they entered (O) into the *Caspian* straits.

OUR author is somewhat more particular in his account of the road taken by the ambassadors *Kliat* here one of the ambassadors taking the shortest but most desert road, the other advanced along the morafs for twelve days together; then, continuing his journey over hills, at length came to the river *Hik* (P); and next to the river *Daïk* (Q). From thence, travelling along another lake, they arrived at *Attila* (R), and the country of the *Hungars*. Proceeding through a dry desert country, along several great lakes, they came to a morafs, into which the river *Kofon* discharges itself. Then they entered the country of the *Alâns*; but were afraid of the *Horo* lay in ambush, in *Sivania*, to intercept them), they turned off to the right, and, striking thro' the *Darina* (S), or two gates, a pass, arrived in *Apfelia* (T): thence they proceeded to *Retaurion* (U), and the *Euxine* sea; afterward, crossing the *Phasis* (X), they came to *Trabizond*, and so to *Constantinople*^l.

WE are beholden to *Menander* for these notices; which, though short, deserve to be preserved, as being almost the only account we find of travels into *Tartary* for many centuries together.

BUT to return to the affairs of the oriental *Turks*. *Disabules* having, at the request of the *Sogdians* (Y), whom, with the *Nephtalites* (Z), he had newly conquered, sent two embassies to the *Persians*, to solicit a trade for silk; the *Persians* were not content with rejecting the alliance of the *Turks*, on account of their inconstancy and breach of faith, as they alleged; but, to give them an aversion to the country, poisoned their ambassadors: from whence began the enmity between those two nations. It was on this occasion that *Disabules* sent ambassadors to the emperor *Justin*, as before-mentioned; who concluding a treaty of peace, the *Turks* became the friends and allies of the *Romans*; with whom they never had any dealings before. Much about the same time the *Kliats* (A) also, who were subject to *Disabules*, and inhabited near the borders of the *Roman* empire, sent ambassadors to *Justin*. The country of the *Turks* was then divided into four governments, all under the command of *Disabules*: several nations, and, among the rest, the *Avares* (B) and *Hungors* (C), were subject to them: but 20,000 of the former had revolted, and passed into *Europe*^m.

^k MENAND. C. 13. 19.

^l Ibid. c. 6.

^m Ibid. c. 6, 7, 15.

(N) *Ak Aga* signifies, the *white lady*.

(O) One would have imagined, that they passed southward, between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas; but the *Caspian* straits are placed between *Media* and *Parthia* by *Ptolemy*, and a day's journey from *Rages* by *Arrian*; which *Rages* or *Ragau*, in all probability, is the same with *Ray* or *Rcy*, once the capital of *Persian Irak*, about eighty miles south-east of *Kazvin*.

(P) This may be the *Yem*.

(Q) Which seems to be the *Taik*, or *Taik*.

(R) Doubtless the *Volga*; called also *Atil*, or *Edel*; or else some town upon it.

(S) *Darayn* signifies, in *Arabic*, the *two gates*.

(T) *Apfelia*, somewhere in *Mingrelia*.

(U) *Retaurion*, a town, or castle, belonging to the *Romans*.

(X) Now *Fash*, or *Rion*.

(Y) The *Sogdians* were the people about *Samarkand*, which stands in a valley called *Sogd*.

(Z) Called, by *Procopius*, *Ephtalites*, of whom hereafter.

(A) Perhaps the same with the *Kalatz*.

(B) *Ewogrius* says, the *Abari* were driven out of their country by the *Turks*.

(C) Perhaps *Un-igurs*.

The Persians
invaded.

THE ambassadors engaged *Justin* to make war upon the *Persians*, offering to ravage *Media* ^a at the same time: and, at the end of the fourth year (D), the emperor sent *Zemark* on an embassy to *Disabules*: who, professing much friendship, feasted the ambassadors under a tent, spread with carpets, of several colours, but plain manufacture; where they eat and drank all day. At this entertainment there was no wine; for no grapes were found in their country; but they had other liquor, which was sweet and agreeable. Next day they were treated in another tent, whose furniture was rich and elegant.

Soon after, *Disabules*, setting forward on his march against the *Persians*, took *Zemark* with him, and some of his retinue; but left the rest in the country of the *Kliatorians* (E). He also gave the ambassador a concubine of his, who was one of those called *Cerkhises* ⁿ (F).

Roman em-
bassies.

In the second year of the emperor *Tiberius* (G), *Valentine* was sent on an embassy to *Disa-* ^b *bules*, in company with 600 *Turks*, who came to *Constantinople*, with several ambassadors: but *Disabules* dying soon after *Valentine's* arrival, he was the next day admitted to audience by his son *Toxander*; who charged the *Romans* with artifice, and breach of faith, for confederating with the *Varkonites*, or *Avares*, who were in rebellion against him. After this, he gave the ambassador to understand, that he had subdued the *Alains* and *Utrigorians*; and that *Anan-ceas* (H) was then actually encamped before *Bosphorus* (I), with an army of *Turks*. In short, the *Greek* historian complains, that he treated the ambassador very ill ^o.

Conquests of
the Turks.

THIS account we have from *Menander*. The next news we hear of the *Turks* is from *Simokatta*; who informs us, that the *Kagân* (K) of his time (whom he names not), so famous among the oriental *Turks*, sent an ambassador to the emperor *Mauritius*, in the beginning of the summer (L), with a letter, speaking in high terms of his victories: the superscription ran thus; *The Kagân, the great lord of seven nations, and master of seven climates of the world, to the king of the Romans*. In effect, continues *Simokatta*, this *Kagân* had conquered the *Abtelians*, or *Nephtalites*, and seized their dominions: after which, being elated with his success, he joined *Stembiskador*, and subdued the *Avares*. Next he marched against the *Ogorites* (M), and conquered them (N), killing 300,000, and put to death their king *Kolk*.

Their civil
wars.

THIS victory was followed by a civil war among the *Turks*. One of his relations, named *Turon*, having revolted, he was obliged to implore the aid of *Sparzugun*, *Khunaxolus*, and *Tuldik*; with which he defeated the tyrant in the plain of *Ikar*. After he had thus settled his affairs, he sent the above-mentioned embassy to the emperor *Mauritius*, to acquaint him with his good success. The *Kagân*, farther to keep things in a settled posture, made alliance with the inhabitants of *Taugasta* (O), whose prince was called *Taysan* ^p.

THESE are all the transactions which the *Romans* had with the *Turks*, till the time of the *Seljuks*. Let us now turn our eyes towards the *Higher Asia*, and see what they were doing on that side.

The Huns;

WE have already given an account of the origin of the *Turks*, from an extract lately made from the annals of *China*, and published by Mr. *Guignes*, under the title of *The origin of the Huns and Turks*; who, from thence, appear to have been the same people under different names. We shall in this place give the substance of that memoir at large, as it may help to supply and explain many imperfect and obscure passages in the history which follows of those people, taken from the oriental historians.

named also
Turks.

THE *Huns* were a considerable nation of *Great Tartary*; and had the dominion there more than 200 years before the Christian æra. They inhabited formerly ^q in the neighbourhood of the great desert, extending from the country of *Korea*, on the east, to that of the *Getes* (P), on the west. The *Chinese* historians give them two different names, *Hyongnû* and *Tû ki ûk*; that is *Huns*, and *Turks*. The first is that which they had before the time of Christ: the second, that which a remnant of these *Huns*, re-established in *Tartary*, assumed afterwards.

ⁿ MENAND. C. X. 13.

^o Ibid. c. 19.

^p SIMOKATTA, l. vii. c. 7, 8.

^q Ven hyen tum

kau; Kam-mo, or Kang-mu. Yc tum chi van san tum pow swi thu.

(D) The fourth of his reign, An. Chr. 569: and second of the fifty years truce with *Khosroes*. I presume.

(E) Or *Kliats*, before mentioned.

(F) Doubtless either *Chirkassians*, or *Kerghis*.

(G) That is, in 580.

(H) Perhaps the same with *Anangæus*.

(I) A city of the *Romans*, in the *Taurica* *Kherfoneus* of the old *Panticopium*; and, if still existing in the *Krim*, is either *Yeni kala*, or *Kerch*.

(K) *Khân*, *Kaan*, or *Kahân*, as the present *Mongols* and *Eluths* pronounce it.

(L) In the year 600.

(M) These *Ogorites*, or *Ogars*, seem to be the *Oygûrs*, or *Figûrs*, often mentioned before: they were become powerful by their numbers, and dexterity at their weapons: they inhabited the banks of the river *Til*, called

by the *Turks* the black river (*Kara-su*, or *Kara-murem*). The ancient princes who commanded them, were called *Var*, and *Khuni*, or *Hunni*; whence those people have taken the same names. *Simokatta*, book vii. ch. 7.

(N) *Simokatta* seems to confound the conquests of *Disabules* with those of the *Khân* of his own time.

(O) A famous city of the *Turks*, near *Sogdiana*, according to *Calistus*, c. 30. *Sogdiana* is the same, at present, with the province of *Samarkand*, in *Great Bukharia*, or perhaps with *Great Bukharia* itself.

[(P) Or *Jetab*, as the orientals write it; the desert which Mr. *Guignes* calls the desert of *China*, is that vast desert to the north of the *Chinese* wall, called by the *Chinese* *Shama*, and by the *Mongols*, who inhabit it, *Kebi*; a word which signifies a desert].

- a THESE *Huns* or *Turks* ^{Way of living.} dwelt in tents, placed in carts, and removed from place to place, for the conveniency of pasture to feed their cattle ; which supplied them with both food and cloathing. They despised old people, and only set a value on the young, as more proper for war, which was their sole occupation. Their riches consisted in sheep and cattle ; but chiefly in the number of slaves taken in war. The skulls of their enemies served for cups to drink out of in their principal ceremonies. Once every year they assemble at the imperial camp, and sacrifice to their ancestors, heaven, the earth, and spirits. Every morning the emperor adored the rising sun, and in the evening the moon. The left hand was the post of honour with these people, as it is at present with the *Turks* : and in all their encampments the emperor's tent was placed fronting the north. At his death, they put into the coffin with his body his richest habits ; and conveyed him to his sepulchre, attended by all those of his family, and his officers. For the space of one month, they attended on him in the same manner as when he was alive : and the men of valour engaged in tilting, like our knights formerly, in their tournaments.

Thus lived the *Huns* in the earliest times, that is, under their *Tanjais*, or emperors ^{Barbarous custom.} : but their manners changed in time. When re-established in *Turkestan*, they introduced a barbarous custom, with regard to their kings. As soon as their grand *Khân* was dead, his son, or nearest relation, was declared emperor ; and, to know if his reign would be happy and long, they put a silk cord about his neck, and after drawing it so tight as to stop respiration, then slackened it, and the first words which he pronounced in coming to himself, were considered as predictions of what was to happen in his reign.

- c THESE *Huns* have inhabited *Turkestan* from all antiquity ^{Ogûz Khân} : and it appears from their history, that, in process of time, several *Chinese*s also removed into that part of *Tartary*. After the ^{their first em-} reduction of the *Hya* dynasty, a prince of that family, son of the last emperor (Q), retired ^{perior.} thither with all his people ; and, according both to the *Chinese* and *Persian* ^u historians, the *Tanjais* or emperors of the *Huns* are his descendants. *Dibbakawi*, mentioned by *Mirkond* (R), is no other than the emperor *Yu*, founder of the same *Chinese* dynasty : and one of his descendants, named *Mau-ton Tanju*, is the famous *Ogûz Khân* (S), who is considered throughout *Tartary* as the founder of the empire of the *Huns* (T) : he maintained fierce wars against the *Chinese*s. His posterity reigned a long time over the whole nation of the *Huns*, with the title of *Tanjû* ; being the contraction of a word which, in their language, signified *the son of heaven* ; and often committed hostilities against the *Chinese*s, notwithstanding the treaties of peace and alliances which were made with them.

- UNDER one of these princes named *Pû kû Tanjû* ^x, the empire of the *Huns* began considerably to decline. A terrible famine, which happened among them, proved the fore-runner of ^{Their power declines.} many other evils. The *Chinese*s, taking advantage of their miserable circumstances, attacked them ; but, at their humble suit, granted them peace. Yet scarce were the *Chinese*s retired, when the *Eastern Tartars* entered their country, and obliged them to remove more to the north. But that which was the source of all their evils, and completed the ruin of this empire, was the dissention which crept into the royal family, on the following occasion. *Pû kû Tanjû* (U) put to death a brother of his, who was to have been his successor, in order to place his own son on the ^e throne. Hereupon, a prince of the same family, the son of an emperor, concluded, that the succession belonged to him ; which had like to have cost him his life : but being warned in time of his danger, he found means to escape, and put himself at the head of certain hordas or tribes, who proclaimed him emperor.

Thus the empire of the *Huns* came to be divided into two parts. Those of the south, over ^{Their empire divided.} whom the new monarch reigned ; and those of the north, subject to *Pû kû Tanjû*. It is this division of which the *Persian* historians *Mirkond* and *Beidâwi* make mention ; giving to one party the name of *Mogols*, and to the other that of *Tartars* (W).

AFTER this defection, the northern *Huns* found the *Chinese*s less disposed to assist them in their ^{That of the northern Huns destroyed.} calamities than they were before. They were continually opposed by those of the south ; who

^r Ye tum chi. Ven hyen tum kau.
hyen tum shau. Kam-mo.
Kam-shu.

^s Swi shu. Tam shu. Ven hyen tum kau.

^u AL BEIDAWI. MIRKOND.

^x Kam-mo. Ven-hyen tum kaw.

(Q) [This emperor's name was *Kye* ; he reigned fifty-two years. The dynasty continued 441, and ended 1767 years before the birth of Christ. Mr. *Guignes* omits the dates of many remarkable transactions, which renders his extract imperfect and obscure].

(R) *Dibbakawi*, or, as others write, *Dibbakui Khân*, is mentioned by *Abu'lghazi Khân*, in his history of the *Turks*. If he is the same with *Yu*, he began his reign in the year 2207 before Christ.

(S) [*Mau-ton* must be considered as his *Chinese* name ; *Ogûz* as his *Tartarian* or *Turkish*. All the inhabitants of *Western Tartary*, as well as the *Othmán Turks*, put him among their earliest ancestors, and greatest conquerors].

(T) Kam mo. Ven-hyen tum kau. [The history, in this place, seems to be obscure, if not confused : from the circumstance of the *Hun* emperors being descended from the son of the last emperor of the *Hya*, he seems to be the same with *Ogûz Khân*. If the time of their reigns had been specified, it would have cleared up the point.]

(U) [In the copy before us, 'tis here spelt *Pounou*, which is before written *Poucou*].

(W) [The *Tartars* seem to be the subjects of *Pû kû Tanjû*].

at length granted them peace. They then resolved to carry their arms into *Mawara'nahr*; where, elated with their success, they, without regard to the faith of treaties, bent their forces against *China*. But there they found the *Huns* of the south, who repulsed them vigorously. At length the *Chinese*, always aided by these latter, after several battles, determined utterly to destroy the *Huns* of the north; which they effected by their general *Tew-hyen*, who, in the reign of *Hyan Ho-ti* (X), emperor of the *Han* dynasty in *China*, defeated the northern *Huns* in *Tartary*: and, in order to transmit to posterity the memory of this victory, he caused an inscription to be cut on a mountain in *Turkestan*, indicating the time when it happened (Y).

THE *Persian* historians^y ascribe this defeat of the *Huns* to *Tür*, the son of *Feridün*: but it is easy to see, says our author, that they were led into this error by the similitude of the names *Tew* and *Tür* (Z): withal, being fond of their antient heroes, they laid hold of this occasion to advance their fame.

They advance
westward.

OF the *Huns*, thus vanquished^z, some remained in *Tartary*, and mingled with the tribes who had been brought from the farthest parts of the east, to re-people this country. But the major part of them continued to advance towards the west, through the regions to the north of *Samar-kand*, till they reached the *Caspian* sea, and parts about *Astrakán*. Here, where the *Chinese* historians lose sight of them, ours begin to have them in view; and, conducting them into *Europe*, over the *Palus Mæotis*, after pointing out their various migrations, seat them in *Pannonia*, as hath been already mentioned.

Southern
Huns

THE southern *Huns*, who^a remained in their antient country, preserve their power, till such time as a tribe of the oriental *Tartars*, named *Juijen*, intirely subdued them, and brought almost the whole extent of *Tartary* under their dominion. The title borne by their kings was that of *Khán*, or *Khákán*, which was substituted in the place of *Tanjú*. The *Huns*, thus driven out, went and established several principalities in the northern *China*; which were destroyed one after the other. One of them, whose princes descended from the emperor of the *Huns*, was defeated by *Tay-vú-ti*, emperor of the northern *China*. Upon this misfortune, the whole family, together with the *Huns*, retired into a mountain of *Tartary*, named *Erkena-Kom*. These people, at that time most known by the name of *Turks*, were employed, according to the *Chinese*, as well as *Mohammedan* historians^b, in forging iron works, for the service of the *Kháns* of the *Juijen* *Tartars*; and continued in this manner to support themselves for a certain number of years; that is, till the *Juijen* came to be attacked by the nations inhabiting to the west of them.

subdued by the
Juijen;

the Juijen by
the Turks.

TU-MWEN (A) *Khán*, at that time head of the *Irkena-Kom* *Turks*, marched out of the mountain, at the head of these people, and defeated the enemy. *Tu-mwen*, making a merit of this service which he had done the *Khákán* or emperor, imagined he was intitled to demand his daughter in marriage. The *Khákán*, far from being of the same opinion, rejected the proposal with disdain; saying, that *it did not become a slave to aspire to such an alliance with his sovereign*^c. *Tu-mwen*, incensed at so contemptuous a repulse, immediately revolted against his prince; and, having slain the *Juijen* envoy, entered into a confederacy with *Ven-ti*, emperor of the northern *China*. Next year he marched against the *Juijen*, defeated them, and slew their *Khán*; after which he assumed that title, and caused himself to be called *Tu-mwen Ilkhán*.

Empire of the
Turks.

IN this manner was established a powerful dominion in *Tartary*, at that time called the empire of the *Turks*. To preserve the memory of the origin of this family, they used to assemble every year, and, with much ceremony, beat a piece of hot iron upon an anvil: a custom which continued to the time of *Jenghiz Khán*^d, who descended from this *Tu-mwen Khán*; and 'tis from hence that some of our historians have represented this prince as the son of a blacksmith.

Hungarians
whence.

THE *Juijen*, thus driven out of their country by the *Turks*^e, in all probability passed into *Europe*; where, being known by the name of the false *Avares*, or *Abares*, they mixed with the *Huns* of the north, who had been settled there a long time before: and these two people uniting together formed the nation of the *Hungarians*; that is to say, *Hun-Ikorians*: which last name is that which the *Juijen* went by in *Great Tartary*.

THIS is the true original of the second *Huns*, or *Turks*, in *Turkestan*, according to the *Chinese* historians. But, not content with a beginning which had not something extraordinary in it, they affirm^f,

^y MIRKOND. D'HERBELOT.
Chin shu. U-tay shu.

^d LA CROIX hist. de Jenghiz Khán.

^z Ven hyen tum kau. Kam-mo.

^b Kam mo.

^e Kam-mo Nicephorus Cal.

^a Hu han shu. Kam-mo.

^c Kam-mo.

^f Ven hyen tum shau.

(X) [He began his reign A. D. 89.]

(Y) [Mr. Guignes would have done well to mention when this was, or in what year of *Hyan Ho-ti*, emperor of the *Han*, this defeat happened.]

(Z) [In the *French*, *Tew* and *Tour*. This conjecture seems too forced. Besides, the *Persian* historians refer the reigns of *Tür* and *Feridün*, or *Fraydhün*, to the ages long before the *Christian* æra.]

(A) [By the *Mohammedan* historians written *Tumana Khán*. *Abulgházi Khán* makes him the fifth ancestor of *Jenghiz Khán*; and puts the fall of the *Mogols* out of *Irganakor*, under *Lertizena Khán*, nineteen generations before; and, by his reckoning, above 2300 years. See *Anc. Hist.* vol. i.]

a that a nation of *Tartars*, being at war, was so intirely defeated by their enemies, that only one child escaped the slaughter, whose arms and legs, however, they cut off, and then threw him into a lake: that a she-wolf, touched with the misfortunes of the boy, drew him out of the danger he was in, and provided for his support: that the child, out of gratitude, married this wolf; and, returning with her into the mountains to the north-west of the *Igûrs* country, she there brought forth twelve children; whose descendants took the name of *Affenas*. Falle of the Zenas.

THE account which is given (by the western historians) of *Ti-mwen Ilkhân*^g, will explain the above fable. This prince, named *Tûmana* by the *Persian* historians, was the son of *Biffiker*, son of *Kaydu*, descended from *Bûzenjir*, son of queen *Alankawa*. This queen of the *Mogols* or *Turks*, then inhabiting the mountains of *Tartary*, and before the re-establishment of their empire, being left a widow, with two children, according to the account both of the *Mohammedan* and *Chinese* writers, took the government of her small state, during the minority of her sons, and constantly refused to marry again. However, her firm attachment to widowhood did not hinder her from being the mother of three other children, one of whom was named *Bûzenjir*. The grandson of *Bûzenjir*, called *Dutumin*, had nine children, eight of whom perished on a certain occasion: and our author is persuaded, that the above-mentioned fable had an eye to this massacre. How explained.

THE ninth son of *Dutumin*, who escaped, was *Kaydu*, the father of *Biffikar*, and another called *Hurmalankum*, whose children bore the name of wolves; on which the fable is apparently founded: but then this history does not respect the *Turks* in general, but only the particular hord of them called *Zenas* (B), or *Affenas*, as the *Chinese* pronounce it, descended from *Hurmalankum*. Tribe of the Zenas, or wolves.

THE *TU-MWEN ILKHAN*, after he had subdued the *Juijen*, attacked and defeated several other people of *Tartary*. His sons, imitating their father's example, formed an empire, which extended from the *Caspian* sea to *Korea*. But as so vast a region could not long remain under the dominion of one prince, these *Turks* divided into two branches^h, the eastern and the western, who had each their particular *Khân*. Eastern and Western Turks.

THE empire of the latter extended as far as the *Sibun*ⁱ, and more than once became formidable to the kings of *Persia*, particularly *Hormûzd*, or *Hormisdas*, son of *Kosrû Anushîrwan*. But, in process of time, this empire of the western *Turks* was destroyed by other *Turks* of the hord named *Wbey-ke*, who founded a new dominion in the same country; and from these *Wbey-ke* *Turks*, in the opinion of our author, were descended the four famous *Seljuk* dynasties of *Irân*, or *Persia* at large, *Kermân*, *Rûm*, or *Asia minor*, and *Syria*, reigning in *Aleppo* and *Damascus*. Wbey-ke Turks, from whom the Seljûks.

As for the oriental *Turks*, who inhabited at the farther end of *Turkestân*, their branch was destroyed by the people named *Khitân*^k, who came originally from *Eastern Tartary*: the *Khitân* were, in their turn, invaded from the same quarter, by the *Nyuche Tartars*^l, who are the *Altûn Khâns* (C) of the *Mohammedan* writers, and called by us at present *Manchews*. This nation having ruined the empire of the *Khitân*, some of the latter passed into *Persia*, and there established a dynasty, known to the *Mohammedan* authors by the name of *Kara Khatayans*. destroyed by the Kitan.

THE *Turks*, after the destruction of their empire, as above related, formed themselves into small principalities; and every hord had its particular *Khân*. The *Kera-its*, or *Kara-its*, one of the *Turkish* tribes^m, were, in the twelfth century, governed by a prince named *Tûli Khân*, otherwise called *Onk Khân*ⁿ, whom the *Arab* writers stile *King John*, and *European* travellers *Prester John*. Broken into tribes.

THE posterity of *Ti-mwen Ilkhân* dwindled insensibly, and was on the point of being extinguished, or at least of never making any considerable figure again in *Tartary*, when the famous *Jenghiz Khân* appeared^o.

THIS is the original of the *Turks*, according to the *Chinese* historians; but compared, in certain periods, with the accounts given by the western *Asiatic* writers. In this comparison, however, Mr. *Guigues* does not sufficiently distinguish what is taken from the authors of each kind, either in the text, or by the references: neither does he assign dates to all the principal facts. When he says *Dibakkâwi Khân* is the emperor *Yu*, and that *Mau ton Tanjou* is *Ogûz Khân*, it does not appear whether those are the words of the *Chinese* annals, or only conjectures of his own. Supposing them to be the *Chinese* account, there will be found a great disagreement between it and the *Tartar* relation: for *Ogûz Khân* will be the nineteenth in descent from *Dibbakâwi*, or *Yu*, Some remarks on the foregoing extract.

^g Hist. gen. des Tartares. MIRKEND. hist. de Jenghiz Khân. Hist. des Monguls. Ywen shu. Kam-mo.
^h Kam shu. Kam-mo. ⁱ Ferdufi. ^k Sumi shu. Kam-mo. Ven hyen tum shau. ^l ABU'LE-
 FARAJ. BEIDAWI. ^m Ywen shu. ⁿ ABU'LFAR. ^o GUIGUES orig. des Huns & Turks.

(B) *Zena*, in *Turkish*, signifies a wolf, as hath been observed before.

(C) [And the *Kin Tartars* of the *Chinese* historians:

Altûn being the *Turkish*, and *Kin* the *Chinese*, appellative for gold, as hath been already remarked.]

according to the former, and but the fifth according to the latter. By this latter also *Tu-mwen* ^a is only the fifth ancestor of *Jenghiz Khân*: but the *Chinese* annals set him at the head of the *Irganakon* sally, instead of *Bertizena*, nineteen generations before. If Mr. *Guignes* had been more copious and distinct in his extract, it would have supplied many defects, and cleared up many obscurities in the history of the *Turks*, which, for want thereof, we meet with in the *Mohammedan* historians, from whom we are now going to give an account of their affairs, till the *Seljuks* founded their empire in *Iran*.

Subdivides the
Abtela.

MIRKOND, the *Persian* historian, informs us, that, when *Kasra Anushirwân*, the famous *Khosroes* (D) of the *Greek* historians, came to the throne, which was about the year 531, he was possessed of *Mawara'nabr* (E), to which he added other countries; and, among the rest, that of *Abtela* ¹.

b

Their domini-
ons.

THE country of *Abtela*, which signifies, in *Persian*, *water of gold*, takes its name from a people so called; who, some time before, had conquered it. The *Greeks*, corrupting the word, call them *Nephtalites* (F), *Eutalites*, and, more nearly, *Ephtalites*. They were denominated, by the *Arabs*, *Hayâtelab*. According to *Procopius*, the *Ephtalites* were those called the *white Huns*: they seem to have been masters, for a time, of all *Mawara'nabr*, or *Great Bukharia*; to which *Abulfeda* gives the name of *Hayâtelab* ². Dr. *Hyde* observes, that *Heyâtelab* was the title of the king of *Katlân* ³, a province in the eastern part of *Mawara'nabr*: and *Eutychius* informs us, that *Gosbnawaz*, king of *Abtelab*, who raised *Firûz* to the throne of *Persia*, about the year 465, was king of *Balkh* ⁴, and part of *Khorasân*; which shews, that the dominions of the *Abtela* had once been very extensive (G); though we may suppose their power to have been much reduced, at the time when *Anushirwân* conquered them. ^c

BUT while this prince was busy in extending his dominions, they were invaded by *Khâkân Chini*, king of *Tatary* or *Tartary*, with a mighty army, who took from him *Samarkand*, *Bokhâra*, and several other cities in *Mawara'nabr*, which he afterwards was forced to quit upon the successes of his grandson *Hormoz* ⁵.

D'HERBELOT reports from *Mirkond*, that *Anushirwân* having repulsed the *Hiyatelab* beyond the mountain *Parapamisus* (H), in the twelfth year, marched against the *Khâkân* of the oriental *Turks*, who then reigned in the *Transoxane* provinces, and obliged him to sue for peace, as also to yield him one of his daughters in marriage ⁶. *Eutychius* relates this transaction with some variation: he tells us, that the *Persian* monarch, resolving to revenge on the *Hiyatelab* the injury done his grandfather *Firûz*, first makes an alliance with the great *Khâkân* of the *Turks*, and acquaints him with his design; that then, marching against the enemy, he overthrew them, and killed their king. By this means the country of *Balkh*, and the adjacent parts of *Khorasân*, were delivered up to him: after which he encamped in *Fargâna* (I), and married the *Khâkân's* daughter ⁷. ^d

THE reader, from what has been said, may see that *Khâkân* is a general name given by the *Persian* historians to the princes of the *Turks*, called also emperors of *Tartary*, of whom we find mention from the time of *Babram jaur*, son of *Tazdejerd* I. king of *Persia*, who began his reign about the year of Christ 417 ⁸, as a people different, at least with regard to their original country, from the antient *Turks*, or inhabitants of *Turkestan*, situate to the north of *Persia*, with whom the *Persians*, according to their history, had wars (K), in the earliest times of their monarchy. The former are called oriental *Turks*, by way of distinction; and the gentile name of *Chin* is added to the title of *Khâkân*, in all probability to denote their coming from the eastern parts of *Tartary* towards *China*: although it must be observed, that *Chin* is a general name, sometimes used by the orientals, to comprehend both those regions ⁹. ^e

¹ MIRKOND. ap. Teixeira, p. 163.

itin. mund. p. 156.

² EUTYCH. annal. vol. ii. p. 111.

LOT. Bibl. orient. p. 680. art. Noushirwân.

TEIXEIRA'S hist. p. 105.

³ ABULF. descr. Chowarazm, p. 29.

⁴ HYDE in Peritsof.

⁵ MIRKOND. ap. Teixeira, p. 163.

⁶ D'HERBE-

⁷ EUTYCH. annal. vol. ii. p. 188.

⁸ Ibid. p. 83.

⁹ See

(D) Son of *Kabades*. The *Persians* write *Khesraw* and *Kobad*.

(E) Which name answers to *Transoxana*.

(F) Hence some *European* authors have supposed those countries to have been peopled by *Jews*, particularly of the tribe of *Naphthali*.

(G) D'Herbelot says they were the antient *Indo-Scythæ*, and inhabited the countries of *Kandakâr*, *Tibet*, and *Barantola*, a part of *Tibet*; from whence he supposes the name to be derived. Bibl. orient. art. *Hiathela* and *Nousherwân*, p. 421, 680.

(H) This can't be the name given by *Mirkond*; nor can we determine what mountains D'Herbelot intends thereby. We presume he means those dividing either the country of *Balkh*, or *Khorasân*, from *India*. Au-

thors, often endeavouring to explain, become more obscure; and, out of an affectation of shewing their skill in geography, betray their want of it. There is no point in which they have committed more errors, than in giving the antient names for the modern; or those of their own fancy, instead of the names found in the writers they copy from: what is still worse, they commonly omit inserting, by way of note, the names used in the original; which often puts it out of the power of others to correct their mistakes.

(I) A province of *Mawara'nabr*, or *Great Bukharia*, beyond the river *Sikân* or *Sir*. *Herb. Hormoz*. 457.

(K) These were the *Tajiks*, whose princes had the title of *Khân*, or *Khakan*. See p. 134.

a HORMUZ (L) succeeded his father *Anushirwân*, about the year 566, and was not long after invaded by the Greek emperor (M); of which *Shabafbab*, his cousin-german, son of the *Khakân*, whose daughter *Nushirwân* had married, taking the advantage, passes the *Jibân*, or *Jamâ*, with 300,000 men (N), and subdues *Khorasân*. *Persia* being in this distress, *Babram Chubin*, the bravest man of his time, was sent for to oppose the enemy (O); who taking with him but 12,000 experienced foldiers, made a great slaughter of them, slew their king, and took his son prisoner, besides an immense booty: but afterwards being defeated in his attempts against *Khosraw Parvîz*, the son and successor of *Hormoz*, he fled into *Turkestan*, where he served the *Khakân Chini* ^a.

b FROM that time the *Turks* seem to have remained quiet, till the year 654; being the nineteenth of the reign of *Yazdegerd*, last king of *Persia*; at which time vast multitudes of them (P) from *Turân*, or *Turkestan*, passed the river *Sihûn*, or *Sîr*, and laid waste the countries to the south of it. At the same juncture the *Arabs* invaded his dominions on the other side; and he dying next year, the whole, by degrees, fell a prey to the latter. At length, in 716, the *Arabs* drove the *Turks* out of *Karazm* and *Mawara'nabr*. ^{They over-run Persia.}

c HOWEVER, from that time they swarmed all over the dominions of the *Khalifah*, and, by degrees, got the possession of them: for being a handsome people, and famous for their courage, the *Khalifahs*, and, after their example, several of the princes, who, in time, threw off their yoke, caused great numbers of young *Turkish* slaves to be bought, and educated in their courts. Out of these they formed troops of militia, who often rebelled, and deposed the *Khalifah* himself. In effect, at length their commanders became masters, not only of the *Khalifat*, and persons of the *Khalifahs* ^b, whose guards they were; but also of great dominions, which they erected in *Khorasân*, *Karazm*, *Egypt*, and *India* itself ^c, as hath been already set forth at large.

BUT to return to the affairs of the *Turks* at home. In the year 894 *Ismael al Sammâni*, who, throwing off his subjection to the *Khalifah*, set up for king of *Mawara'nabr* and *Khorasân*, marched into *Turkestan*; and, defeating the *Khân*, took him prisoner, with 10,000 men, besides a vast treasure. Some time before his death, which happened in 909, he made another expedition thither, subduing several provinces ^d.

d THE *Turks* seem to have kept within their bounds till the reign of *Nûb Ebn Mansûr*, sixth king of the race of the *Sammâni*, who ascended the throne in the year of the *Hejrah* 365 (Q), and of *Christ* 975. This prince, being possessed of all *Marawa'nabr* and *Khorasân*, gave the government of two considerable districts to two brothers, *Abuali* and *Faëkb*. These, at length, quarrelling together, the latter first, and then the former, rebelled, and invited *Kara Khân* (R) of *Turkestan* to invade the dominions of *Nûb* (S). The *Khân* joins them; and, routing the army of *Nûb*, takes *Samarkand* and *Bokhâra*, while *Nûb* made haste to muster another. *Kara Khân*, falling sick, was advised by his physicians to return to *Turkestan*; which he attempted to do, but died by the way. ^{Invited by rebels. Hejrah 365.}

e HOWEVER, the rebel brothers still held out, and raised great forces; being assisted by the neighbouring princes: at what time *Sabektekin*, a famous general of *Nûb*'s, having returned with laurels from *India*, the king, by his assistance, marched against, and, after a doubtful battle, routed them ^e.

AFTER this battle, *Nûb*, at the request of *Sabektekin*, made his son *Mahmûd* general of his forces, and went to *Bokhâra*; *Sabektekin* to *Gaznûn* (T), a territory in *Khorasân*, and *Mahmûd* to *Nishabûr*; whence *Abuali* and *Faëkb* who had retired thither, fled; but, raising forces, they drove out *Mahmûd*: however, the latter, rallying his troops, and being joined by his father *Sabektekin*, routed the brothers in their turn. *Abuali*, upon this, submitted to *Nûb*; but *Faëkb* retired to *Ilek Khân*, who succeeded *Bokra Khân* in *Turkestan*, and was persuaded by him to make war on *Nûb*.

f NUH, being informed of what was in agitation, ordered *Sabektekin* to attend him, and *Mahmûd*, with his troops, between *Kesh* and *Nesâf*, near *Samarkand*; but an accommodation ^{Ilek Khân withdrew.}

^a MIRKOND. ap. Teixeira. p. 186. EUTYCH. annal. vol. ii. p. 200.

& seq. art. Turk.

^c See before, vol. i.

^e Id. ibid. p. 255, & seq. D'HERBELOT, p. 679. art. Nuh ben Mansour.

^b See D'HERBELOT. p. 898,

^d MIRKOND. ap. Teixeira. p. 197, 206, 237, 239.

(L) He is also called *Hormozd*, whence the Greek *Hormizdas*; also *Tajedar*, or the crown-carrier; because he wore the *Taje* on all occasions.

(M) This was *Mauritius*, whom, according to the Greek historians, *Hormizdas* invaded first, in 587. See Anc. Hist. vol. vi. p. 534.

(N) Teixeira has 400,000.

(O) Teixeira still calls them *Tartars*.

(P) This is the first time *Mirkond* calls them *Turks*, according to Teixeira's abstract.

(Q) D'Herbelot, by mistake, puts this event twenty years lower: and tho' Teixeira does not date all his facts, yet he seems more correct in his numbers.

(R) So D'Herbelot. Teixeira calls him *Bokra Khân*.

(S) These troubles, according to D'Herbelot, began about the year 371 of the *Hejrah*, of *Christ* 981.

(T) Of which the city *Gaznab*, or *Gazna*, is the capital.

being agreed on, whereby *Faëkh* was to have the government of *Samarkand*, an intire end was put to these troubles in 995; and *Nûb* died in peace two years after, having reigned twenty-two years, leaving his son *Abu'lbares Mansûr*, a youth, to succeed him at *Bokbâra*, in the dominion of *Mawara'nahr* and *Khorasân*.

Re enters Ma- On the death of *Nûb*, *Ilek Khân* invades *Abu'lbares*; and, being joined by *Faëkh*, governor
wara'nahr. of *Samarkand*, attacks *Bokbâra*: from whence *Abu'lbares* flies, but soon after returns again, on assurances of fidelity given by *Faëkh*, whom he makes his general, and *Baktuzun* governor of *Khorasân*^f.

Troubles in MAHMUD GAZNI (U), son of *Sabektekin*, whose government *Khorasân* was, complaining
Khorasân. of this injury, *Abu'lbares* gives him *Balkh*, *Termed* and *Herat* in lieu thereof: but *Mahmûd*, not being content with the exchange, marches to *Nisabûr*, from whence the king fled; yet, fearing to be deemed a rebel, turns off, without seeing that city. *Baktuzun* marches to the king's relief; and, meeting him on his return, under some pretence conspires with *Faëkh*, and puts out his eyes, after he had reigned one year and seven months. They enthrone *Abdalmâlek*, the eighth king; but *Mahmûd* marching against the traitors, they fled different ways; *Faëkh* carrying the new king to *Bokbâra*. Thus *Mahmûd* became possessed of all *Khorasân*. The traitors, gathering forces, marched against him; but *Faëkh* dying, the expedition came to nothing.

Takes Bokhâ- MEAN time *Ilek Khân*, taking advantage of these troubles, advances to *Bokbâra*, under pre-
ra. tence of assisting *Abdalmâlec*. The young king, giving credit to his words, sent the best commanders he had to return him thanks, whom the *Khân* secured. *Abdalmâlec*, in a fright, hid himself, with an intent to escape; but *Ilek Khân* having taken the city, and strict search being made, *Abdalmâlec* was found, and sent to *Uškand* (X), where he died in confinement. This happened in the year 999.

Seizes the His subjects proclaimed king a younger brother of his; but he enjoyed not the dignity long.
king. *Ilek Khân*, being thus possessed of *Bokbâra*, seizes the blind king *Abu'lbares Mansûr*, his two brothers, and two uncles, with others of the royal family, who were all confined apart, and attended by his women slaves. She who attended *Abu Ibrahim Monteser*, taking a liking to him, procured his escape by means of her vail. Being at liberty, he went to *Karazm*, where crouds resorting to him, he sent a numerous army to *Bokbâra*, which defeated *Ilek Khân's* forces, and took their general prisoner. Marching forward, he routed another of his armies, commanded by *Takin Khân*, governor of *Samarkand*.

Defeated MONTESER, after this, returned to *Bokbâra*; but, *Ilek Khân* soon marching against him, he
twice by Mon- fled; and passing the *Jibûn*, came to *Nisabûr*, in the year 1000: about the beginning of the
teser. next year, by the assistance of the *Turkmâns*, he marched into *Marawa'nahr*, where *Ilek Khân* met him with a great army: but as they lay encamped near each other, the *Turkmâns* one night, by surprize, fell upon the *Khân's* camp, and killing many men, put the rest to flight: after which they returned to their hords, with the better part of the plunder. *Monteser*, finding himself deserted by the *Turkmâns*, crossed the *Jibûn*, which was then frozen, upon the ice. Mean time the *Turkmâns*, repenting that they had left him any part of the booty, returned to take it away; but coming to the river by day, found it thawed, and were thus baulked, as not being able to pursue him. *Monteser*, after this, got some victories in *Khorasân*; but finding he could not stay in that province, repassed the *Jibûn*, with his followers: and though he lost most of his men, in a conflict with the *Skena*, or governor of *Bokbâra*, yet, with the rest, he assaulted that city by night, and took it. Upon this *Ilek Khân* hastened thither; but being met in the territory of *Samarkand* by *Monteser*, was there overthrown; with whose plunder the victor's army was enriched. This was in 1003.

A third defeat. *Ilek Khân*, after this defeat, having recruited his forces, marched again towards *Monteser*, and found him, when those who had assisted him were gone. What was worse, one of his generals going over to the enemy, with 4000 men, he, despairing of success, fled. Finding no possibility of crossing the *Jibûn*, he came to *Bokbâra*, with very few followers; and though the governor promised to assist him, yet knowing that he was pursued by *Ilek Khân's* general, to whom most of his men had gone over in disgust, he left the city; and getting into *Khorasân*, hid himself in a poor house; which being forced in the night by one who was in search of him, he was there killed in 1004^g.

Hejrah 395. THIS was the fate of the dynasty of the *Sammâni* family in *Persia*, which properly ended in *Nûb Ebn Mansûr*, in whose reign sprung up the *Gâzni* monarchy, under *Mahmûd Gâzni* before-mentioned; the foundation of which was laid by his father *Sabektekin*. This *Sabektekin* was a *Turk* by nation, and originally a slave to *Alptekin*, another *Turk*, who was general to *Nûb*

^f MIRKOND. ubi sup. p. 259, & seq.

^g Id. ibid. p. 267, 270, & seq.

(U) Or *Gaznerji*, so called from the city *Gaznah*, where his father resided.

(X) D'Herbelot writes *Dizghend*.

a' *Ebn Mansûr* : on whose death *Sabektekin* succeeded in that post ; and, by his conquests in *India*, and authority with the soldiery, became equal in power to the king himself. *D'Herbelot* tells us, that he defeated *Kara Khân* of *Turkestan* in several battles (though *Teixeira* speaks of but one, which he had with *Ilek Khân*) ; and that, at his return from the expedition, he died at *Balkh*, in the year 997 ; which is the same year in which *Nûb Ebn Mansûr* died.

Hejrah 387.

HOWEVER that be, his son *Mahmûd*, who succeeded to his father's power and authority, being disgusted, as hath been before-mentioned, at his government of *Khorasan* being given to another, by *Abu'lbares*, successor of *Nûb Ebn Mansûr*, subdued the whole province to himself ; and having intirely pacified the troubles which reigned there, as hath been before set forth, in the year 998, went from *Gûznab* to *Balkh*, where the *Khalifah Kâder* sent him a rich vest, by way of investiture in his new dominions : and thus the monarchy passed from the *Alsamâni* to the *Gâzni* ^b.

Hejrah 389.

Soon after, *Mahmûd* concluded a perpetual peace with *Ilek Khân* ; and to make it the firmer, took one of his daughters in marriage. In 1002 the governor of *Sistân*, or *Sejestân*, having revolted, he has recourse for assistance to *Ilek Khân* ; who, in 1005, taking advantage of *Mahmûd* being engaged in the war of *India*, sends two generals to invade *Khorasân* ; but *Mahmûd* returning on the news, they soon were obliged to retreat. *Ilek Khân*, upon this, applies for succour to *Kader Khân*, of *Ketan Kotan* (Y) ; who, joining him with 50,000 horse, gathered in *Ketan Kotan*, *Turkestan*, and *Mawara'nabr*, they passed the *Jibûn*.

Invaded by

Ilek Khân.

Hejrah 393.

Hejrah 396.

MAHMUD, on this news, hastens to *Balkh*, with a noble army of *Turks* (Z), *Gaznis*, and other people, to meet the enemy. They came to a battle ; and *Mahmûd's* forces giving ground, he, almost in despair, rushed into the thickest of the enemy, and cutting his way through them, came up to *Ilek Khân* ; whom his elephant, unhorsing him, tossed up in the air. His men, at this, resuming their courage, put the enemy to flight. This battle happened in 1006 (A), and proved one of the most bloody which was fought in that age ⁱ.

Who is over-

thrown.

ILEK Khân, after this loss, retired into *Mawara'nabr* ; where understanding that his brother *Togân* (B) *Khân*, who had been with him in that fight, had sent to make his apology to *Mahmûd*, he marched against him ; but *Mahmûd* interposing, they were reconciled ^k.

DURING these invasions by *Ilek Khân*, great numbers of *Turks* took the opportunity of passing out of *Turkestan* into *Mawara'nabr*. Amongst the rest was *Seljûk*, who, with his family and followers, settled about *Samarkand* and *Bokhâra*, where, by degrees, they acquired large possessions : at length, in 1034, being the fifth year of the reign of *Soltân* (C), *Massîd* son and successor of *Mahmûd Gazni*, the grandsons of *Seljûk*, *Mohammed* and *Dawd* (D), (called afterwards *Togrâl-beg* and *Jaffar-beg*) passing the *Jibûn* or *Amû*, and sat down about *Nesa* and *Abiwerd*, or *Baward*, in *Khorasân*, where they began some commotions : but, on their return to *Massîd*, who was then in *India*, they sat still, and sent an envoy to him, offering to become his subjects. *Massîd* rejected their message with contempt : yet, contrary to the advice of his council, set out again for his *Indian* conquests, before the affairs of the *Turks* were settled. They, in his absence, began to make their inroads through *Khorasân*, with so much success, that, in two years, they conquered almost all that province, with ^l *Persian Irâk* (E) ; founding, in 1037, the second great monarchy of the *Turks*, in the south of *Asia* ; which, in time, spread over all *Persia*, and the countries westward, as far as the *Archipelago* : whereof we shall give the reader an account in the next chapter.

Rise of the

Seljûk dynas-

ties.

Hejrah 426.

Hejrah 429.

^b D'HERBEL. p. 679. 792. 533. Art. Nouh ben Mansour, Sebektekin, and Mahmoud.

p. 278. D'HERB. p. 554.

^k TEIXEIRA, p. 281.

ⁱ D'HERBELOT, p. 800, & seq. Art. Selgiouk.

TEIXEIRA, p. 292, & seq.

(Y) 'Tis hard to say what country this is : in *Teixeira* there is added, doubtless by himself, *which we call Katay*. 'Tis true, the empire of *Kitay* or *Katay* might have extended, at this time, under the *Kitân*, as far westward as *Kâshgar* ; and this *Kader Khân* been the governor, or one set up there for himself : or the country here mentioned might have been *Kotan* or *Hotor*, a noted city and province to the south-east of *Kâshgar* ; which formerly had kings of its own, but then seems to have been under the *Kitân* hereafter mentioned.

(Z) These *Turks* were either such as he and his father, who were *Turks*, always commanded ; or else *Seljûk Turks*, who, many years before, had settled in *Mawara'nabr*. But neither *D'Herbelot* nor *Teixeira* are explicit enough on this point.

(A) Three other authors, made use of by *D'Herbelot*, place this event in *Hejrah* 410 or 1010 of *Christ*, and vary much from the account of *Mirkond*. These authors call *Ilek Khân* king of the oriental *Turks*, and

all the country beyond the *Jibûn*. They add, that, dying in his own country, in 403 (1012), he was succeeded by his son *Kader Khân* ; who, being joined by *Arslân Khân*, king of *Turkestan*, they passed the *Jibûn*, and advanced to *Balkh* ; but that, being met by *Mahmûd*, mounted on a white elephant, they were driven back to that river, wherein most of them perished. The *Soltân*, crossing the *Jibûn*, quite ruined the enemy's country, and then returned in 410, 1019, above-mentioned (1). According to this account, there were two great monarchies of the *Turks* existing in *Tartary* at the same time. *Ilek Khân*, who, in the other account, is called king of *Turkestan*, is here made king of the oriental *Turks*, and *Kader Khân* to be his son.

(B) Or *Dogân Khân*.

(C) His father *Mahmûd* was the first who took the title of *Soltân*.

(D) *Dawd*, or *Daud*, is the same with *David*.

(E) That is, the *Persian Irâk*. There is another call'd the *Arabian Irâk*.

(1) *D'Herbel.* p. 554 & seq. Art. Mahmoud.

Turks empire HAVING brought down the foreign history of the *Turks*, from their first appearance out of *Tartary*, to this period, we ought now to return to their domestic affairs, and see what they were doing in *Tartary* among themselves, or with their kindred nations, during that interval. But here we are at a greater loss than before: for the memory of transactions, which are not committed to writing, can never possibly be lasting; and oral records are soon defaced. In short, we scarce know any thing of their domestic affairs during that long interval. We can only collect, in general, from certain circumstances, that their dominion, which once extended over all *Tartary*, in process of time became divided among several Khâns; and their power being thus broken, gave other nations an opportunity of depriving them of the greater part of what they formerly possessed.

That of the western Kitan, WE learn from the *Chinese* history, that, at the beginning of the tenth century, the *Kitân*, or *Lyaü*, who founded the empire of *Kitay*, or *Katay* (which comprized the northern provinces of *China*, with the adjoining part of *Tartary*, thence called *Kara Kitay*), subdued all the countries westward from *Korea*, as far as *Kâshgar*^m. And the *Persian* authors inform us, that, in the year 1017, 300,000 *Tartars* and *Mogols*, comprized under the name of *Turks*, issuing from the borders of *China*, ravaged the country from the oriental ocean, as far as *Balâsfâgûn*, then the capital of what is more properly called *Turkestân*: but that *Togân*, or *Dogân Khân*, who at time reigned there (F), not only prevented their progress any farther westward, but, obliging them to retreat, pursued them for three months together, and killed more than 200,000 of themⁿ.

called Karakitayans. THESE, which are here called *Tartars* and *Mogols*, were doubtless no other than the *Kitân*, or those from *Letan Kotan* before-mentioned^v; who, under *Kader Khân*, or his successor, aimed to have extended their dominions, which already reached from *Kitay* to *Kâshgar*, as far westward as the *Caspian* sea. Not but a great part of their army might have consisted of *Mogols* and *Tartars*; these people probably, at that time, having been subject to the *Kitân*, as we know they were not long after.

Their settlement. THE *Kitân*, having, in 1124, being dispossessed by the *Kin*, another nation (G) of eastern *Tartary*, retired westward, and founded the empire of the westward *Lyaü*, near *Kâshgâr*^p. The historians of the west of *Asia* call these *Lyaü*, or *Kitân*, who, after this event, became better known to them, *Karakitayans*; and say they settled in the parts about *Imil* (H), mixing themselves with the *Turks*^q; who, at that time, were divided into many nations, under different chiefs. The *Kitân* found some tribes about *Turfân*, and others on the borders of *Great Bukhâria*, whom they defeated.

The Turkish empire ceases in Tartary. THESE seem to have been independent tribes, which owned no subjection to the Khân of *Turkestân*; who, though possessed of but a part of the dominions of his ancestors, still preserved a shew of grandeur. But, in a short time after, his power began greatly to decline; insomuch that *Ilek Khân*, who reigned at *Balâsfâgûn*, about the middle of the twelfth century, to defend himself against the *Kankli*, *Karliks*, and *Kipjaks*, resigned his dominions to the king of the western *Kitân*, or *Karakatayans*, before-mentioned^r: and thus *Turkestân*, which for so many ages had been possessed by Khâns of its own, fell under the dominion of a foreign prince: for although some oriental historians pretend to derive even the *Kitayans* from *Turk*, the supposed son of *Jafet*; yet their language and manners, as well as remote situation, shew them to be people of a different origin.

The whole possessed by As soon as this prince was settled in his new dominions, according to *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, he assumed the title of *Kavar Khân*, that is, *great lord*. But *Mirkond* writes *Kûr Khân* (I), and says it was the title of the kings of *Karakitay*^s, adding, that after he had vanquished the *Kankli*, he pursued his good fortune, and conquered, in the year 1141 (K), the cities of *Kâshgar*, *Khoten*, *Bishbâleg*, and *Turkestân*: and thus all *Tartary*, between mount *Altay* and the *Caspian* sea, became again united under one sovereign, who was the greatest prince that had reigned in northern *Asia* for many ages before the time of *Jenghîz Khân*.

The Karakitayans. IN all probability all the *Turkish* tribes, and even those settled about *Turfân*, had submitted to *Kûr Khân*; since we find the *Vigûrs* or *Igûrs*, their neighbours to the east, were under his

^m GAUBIL, hist. de Gentch. p. 11.

ⁿ D'HERBEL. p. 899. Art. Turk.

^o See before, p. 139.

^p GAUBIL, ibid. p. 127.

^q MIRKOND. ap. Horn. arc. Noæ, p. 287, & seq.

ABU'LGHAZI KHAN'S

hist. p. 44.

^r ABU'LGHAZI KHAN, p. 44.

MIRKOND. ap. Horn. arc. Noæ, p. 288.

^s MIRKOND.

ap. Horn. arc. Noæ, p. 287.

(F) He was brother to *Ilek Khân*, as hath been before-mentioned, and probably succeeded him.

(G) The same with those called *Manchees*, now reigning in *China*.

(H) Called also *Amil* and *Anmil*, to the west of *Al-malek*, in *Little Bukhâria*.

(I) Which, in *Hornius*, is said to signify *king of kings*. Altho' this seems to be inserted as the explanation of

Mirkond, we shall not give it as his; since, in his account of *Timûr*, or *Tamerlane*, who assumed the title of *Kur-khân*, he says it signifies *the son-in-law* and *kingman* of kings and princes. See *D'Herb.* p. 878. Art. *Timour*.

(K) *Abu'lghâzi Khân* places these events in the year 1177, p. 44.

a protection; and so continued till the year 1212, when slaying his tax-gatherer, they went over to *Jenghîz Khân* ^a.

To check this growing power, *Sanjar*, sixth Soltân of the *Seljuk Turks*, before-mentioned, being at *Samarkand*, about the year 1145, was prevailed on to attack *Kârkhân* (L), king of *Karakatay*; but he was defeated, and all his *Hârâm* (or women) taken ^w.

IN 1172, *Takasb* (descended from *Sabektekin* ^x, the *Turkish* founder of the *Gâzni* monarchy), third Soltân of *Karazm* (a new dominion, which sprung up in the time of *Seljuks*), applying to the king of *Karakitay* for aid against his brother Soltân *Shâh*, he sent *Karamara*, his son-in-law, with a powerful army, which recovered the crown for him ^y.

b THE *Karazm* Shâhs were tributary (M) to the *Kûrkhâns*; but, on the death of *Takasb*, or *Tokusb*, his son, *Mohammed* refused to pay the tribute; and raising great forces, in the year 1200, first reduced *Bokhâra*, and the other cities of *Marawa'lnabr* (which had become independent under princes of their own); then, marching into the dominions of *Karakatay*, *Kûrkhân* overthrew his army, commanded by *Taniku Taraz*, a famous commander. After this, he took *Otrâr*, at that time the capital of all *Turkestan*, and returned home. Some years after, the *Karakitayans*, entering *Mawara'lnabr*, laid siege to *Samarkand*: but hearing, at the same time, both of the approach of *Mohammed*, and the revolt of *Kuchluk* the *Naymân*, against *Kûrkhân* his father-in-law, they raised the siege, and returned to *Turkestan* ^z.

THIS account of the *Karakitayans* reigning in *Turkestan*, we have made up the best we *Historians* *dis-* could, from the few imperfect memoirs we meet with extracted from *Mirkond*; according to *agre.e.*

c which, there were two *Kûrkhâns* who reigned in *Turkestan*, before the invasion of *Jenghîz Khân*; the first called *Gurjasb*, to whom, by the course of the history, *Ilek Khân* must have resigned his dominion; the other *Kuyang*, to whom *Kuchluk* retired. But *Abu'lghâzi Khân* *Abu'lghazi* makes only one Khân of the two, and differs in the date of his reign, and other circum- *Khân's* stances. He tells us, that the Khân of *Jurjut* (N) having conquered *Karakitay*, its prince, *Nusi Tayghir Ili*, was obliged, in the year 1177, to retire among the *Kerghis*, and thence to a town of *Kitay* (O), called *Imil*: that, two years after, *Ilek Khân*, a descendant of *Afrasiab Khân*, who resided at *Balâsâgûn* (P), being opposed by his neighbours the *Kanklis*, who had spoiled all his cultivated lands, for sake of his assistance, resigned the sovereignty of that city to the *Karakitayan* prince (Q), who immediately assumed the name of *Kavar* *Khân* (R), or the great lord; after which he conquered the towns of *Andijan*, *Tashkant*, and *Turkestan*, and made *Samarkand* tributary. After he was returned home, he sent *Aris*, one of his generals, with a numerous army, towards *Urgbenj* (S); who obliged *Vighish* (T), Khân of that city, to pay his master a tribute of 20,000 gold dinars. However, Soltân *Mohammed*, his successor, refusing to do what his father had done, prepared for war. But though he had gathered all the forces of his dominions, which extended as far as *Rûm* (U), yet he was defeated by *Kavar Khân*, and obliged to fly for shelter to the *Kanklis*, till he could find means to obtain a peace ^a.

IN the year 1209, *Kuchluk*, the son of *Tayyan* (X), Khân of the *Naymans*, having been *Karakitayan* defeated by *Jenghîz Khân*, and his father slain, fled for shelter to *Karakitay Kûrkhân*, who *empire,* received him honourably, and gave him his daughter in marriage ^b: which favours, not long

^a ABU'LGHAZI KHAN, p. 87. GAUBIL, hist. Jeng. p. 13.

^w D'HERBELOT, p. 736. Art. Sangiar.

^x Ibid. Art. Mohammed Khouarazm Shâh.

^y Ibid. p. 826. Art. Soltân Shâh.

^z Ibid. p. 609.

Art. Mohammed Khouarazm Shâh. p. 610. Horn. arc. Noæ, p. 288

^a ABU'LGHAZI KHAN, p. 44,

& seq. ^b Ibid. p. 85, 94.

(L) Named *Gurjasb*.

(M) *D'Herbelot* mentions nothing of this tribute in the life either of *Takasb* or his son *Mohammed*, extracted from *Mirkond*.

(N) Perhaps *Ning-hya*, in the province of *Shen-fi* in *China*, then the capital of an empire called *Hya*.

(O) Rather of *Karakitay*, and subject to *Kitay*.

(P) In the *English* translation *Jalâjâgûn*: it was the capital of *Turkestan*, about 140 miles to the north-east of *Tonkat*, on the river *Sir*.

(Q) It is hard to say which of the two accounts is, in the main, the most exact; but both are erroneous, as well as defective, in certain particulars. *Abu'lghâzi Khân* seems to make *Nusi Tayghir Ili* the founder of the dynasty of the western *Karakitayans*; whereas there were several kings of that race (1), which began in 1124, as hath been related above. On the other hand, *Mirkond* gives *Kuyang*, his second *Kurkhân*, a reign of eighty-one years, if we may depend on the extract (2).

So that, on a supposition that it ended in 1214, by the conquest of *Kuchluk*, whom that author makes *Kuyang's* successor, the beginning of it will fall in the year 1133; which is to make him begin his reign in *Turkestan* eight years before his predecessor; to whom, according to *Mirkond's* account, *Ilek Khân* resigned in 1141; whereas *Abu'lghâzi Khân* places that event in 1117. We frequently meet with such irreconcilable disagreements in the extracts made from the oriental historians: whether the originals are more consistent we know not; but possibly the difficulties might be cleared up from the history of the western *Lyaû* or *Kitan*, which, we are told, is given at large in the *Chinese* annals (3).

(R) A mistake, perhaps, in the reading, for *Kûrkhân*: for the same letters may admit of both readings.

(S) Or *Orkeni*, the capital of *Karazm*.

(T) A mistake, perhaps, for *Tekefb*, or *Tekasb*.

(U) Or *Anatolia*.

(X) Others write *Tayok Khân*.

(1) *Gaubil*, hist. Jeng. p. 23. & 127.

(2) *Horn. arc. Noæ*, p. 288.

(3) *Gaubil*, ubi supra.

after, he repaid with ingratitude. Upon his revolt, he sent ambassadors to conclude a peace with Soltân *Mohammed*, whom he left at liberty to take *Kâshgar* and *Khotan*, in case he could conquer them before him. *Kacbluk* attacked his father-in-law first, and prevailed for a while, but was at length defeated. Soltân *Mohammed*, on his side, entered *Kûrkân's* dominions, and would have made great progress, but for the revolt of one of his generals with part of his troops. This accident, which happened in the midst of a battle, put the Soltân in no small danger; so that at length he was forced, in the habit of a *Tartar*, to cut his way through the enemy to join his army. After which he founded a retreat; and, by slow marches, returned to *Karazm*.

Quite over-
thrown.

As for *Kacbluk*, he still continued his rebellion, and at length deprived his father-in-law of more than half of his dominions. But his ingratitude did not remain long unpunished: for, in 1216, *Jenghîz Khân* sent one of his most experienced generals against him; and although he advanced with an army superior to the *Mogols*, yet he was overthrown; and, flying with some troops, was at last overtaken near *Badagshân* in *Great Bukharia*, and put to death^d. After this the *Mogol* forces over-ran *Turkestân*, slaughtering all who opposed them. And thus an end was put to the very name, as well as dominion, of the *Turks* in *Tartary*.

^c D'HERBELOT, p. 610. Art. Mohammed Khouarazm Shâh.

^d ABU'LGHAZI KHAN, p. 94.

S E C T. V.

Character of the Turks before the time of Jenghîz Khân; and whether they were the descendants of the antient Scythians, or the present inhabitants of Tartary are descended from them.

Customs of the AFTER what has been said of the early *Turks* and their affairs, it might be proper to give some account of the manners and customs of those people: but our memoirs are very defective in such particulars. The *Byzantine* historians, already cited, take notice of very few things concerning them, and that only occasionally: as, that the *Roman* ambassadors found their king, *Disabules* under a tent, attended by a coach (or waggon) with two wheels^a: that it was their custom to shave the beard in token of grief; and that *Taxander* required this ceremony of the *Roman* ambassadors upon the death of his father^b: that, during the funeral, he ordered four *Huns* to be brought out of prison, and slain upon the tomb, with the horses of the deceased prince^c: that they pay public signs of respect to the fire and water, and chant hymns in honour of the earth: that, however, they adore only one God, creator of the visible world, and sacrifice to him horses, bulls, and sheep: lastly, that their priests can foretel future events^d.

ancient Turks,

purely Tartar-
ian.

By the report of *Rubruquis* the monk, and others, who travelled into *Tartary* in the thirteenth century, as well as of the orientals, who wrote the history of *Jenghîz Khân*, it appears that the same customs were common to the *Mogols*, and other inhabitants of *Tartary*, in the time of that conqueror.

Bad cha-
racter by

THE *Greek* historians, from whence we took these notices, say nothing as to the character of the *Turks*: but that defect may be easily supplied from the *Arab* and *Persian* authors, with whom the word *Turk* passes usually for a highwayman or robber. *Hafez*, a *Persian* poet, who lived in the fifteenth century, speaking of some evil, says, that it takes from our hearts all patience and repose, with as much violence as the *Turks* or beggars do the victuals from a well-furnished table. What is more surprizing, we meet with a distich in the *Turkish* language to this purpose: *Although a Turk or Tartar should excel in all the sciences, yet the barbarian would still be rooted in his nature*. It may be seen, in the history of the *Khalîfahs* of the family of *Abbas*, to what a degree the blood of the *Turks* was thought unworthy to be mixed with theirs, when it was proposed to give a princess of that house in marriage to *Togrûl Beg*, first Soltân of the *Seljûk* race.

Arabs and
Persians.

Why hated
by them.

BUT that these things were, in great measure at least, owing to prejudice, appears from a proverb which the *Persians* have, importing, that no person need ever scruple to kill a *Turk*, even though he was a doctor of the *Mohammedan law*. The *Arabs* and *Persians* bore hatred to the *Turks*, for the injuries received from them, for several ages together, not only by their frequent invasions from *Tartary*, but also by the disturbances they raised in their dominions. To explain this, it must be observed, that *Al Motasssem*, eighth *Khalîfah* of the *Abbâs* race, *Sbehâbaddin*, Soltân of the race of *Gaur*, *Al Mâlek al Sâleh*, Soltân of the family of *Ayyob* in *Egypt*, and several other princes of *Asia*, caused a great number of young *Turkish* slaves, the

^a MENANDER. c. 13.

^b Ibid. c. 19.

^c Id. ibid.

^d SIMOKATTA, l. vii. c. 8.

a handsomest who could be procured, to be bought, and educated in their courts (A); these being formed into troops of militia, as hath been already mentioned ^f, not only often rebelled, and deposed the Khalifâh, but, involving the country in cruel war, committed unheard-of outrages on the inhabitants ^g.

THIS is the true foundation of the great animosity which the *Arabs* and *Persians* bore the *Turks*; who, it must be acknowledged, always were a most turbulent and insolent race of mortals, as they still are, where they had power; though humble enough where they had none. However, they were not altogether so despicable and brutish as their enemies represent them. *Yet esteemed* The good air and mien of those young slaves above-mentioned pleased the eyes of the *Persians*; *for their hand-*

b infomuch that the poet *Hafez* himself, who had passed so severe a reflection on them, would have *homeneffs*. the word *Turk* to signify a handsome man: and was charmed with one of them to such a degree, that, in his *Divân*, he cries out, *If I could but gain the good-will of this Turk of the city of Shirâz, I would give, for the smallest of his favours, the cities of Samarkand and Bokhâra* ^h.

AUTHORS divide the *Turks* into two kinds, with respect to their way of living, some dwell- *Originally* ling in towns and fixed habitations, others in the fields, and leading a wandering life, like *lived* the *Bedwin Arabs*: these are called, by the *Turks*, *Guchgunji Atrak*, and *Konar Kocher*; which implies a roving kind of life, and without fixing dwellings ⁱ. From these the *Turkmâns*,

c and even the founder of the *Othman* family (B), descended. In effect, the *Turks* originally, like all the other nations inhabiting *Tartary*, lived in the fields, under tents, and without any *a wandering* houses, but such as were carried on carts. This appears plainly enough from the manner in *life*. which the *Roman* ambassadors found their king *Disabules* encamped, in the sixth century, with tents and carts, just as the *Mogols*, *Elûths* or *Kalmûks*, and *Turkmâns*, encamp at present. And we presume it will be very difficult to prove, that ever the *Turks* lived in towns, or fixed habitations, till such time as they had conquered them (C) from their neighbours in the south.

THUS we have, from the imperfect memoirs which are in our possession, given the best account we could of the origin of the *Turks*, of the tribes into which their nation is divided by the oriental authors, and of their affairs from the sixth century, when they became considerable, till the time of *Jenghîz Khân*. But, before we quit the subject, it will be necessary to

d examine into three particulars; 1. Whether the *Turks* are descended from the antient *Scythians*, *Descendants of* mentioned by the *Greek* and *Roman* authors. 2. Whether all the inhabitants of *Tartary* are *the ancient* either originally *Turks*, or sprung from one and the same root. 3. Whether *Turkestan* always *Scythians*. had the same situation and extent that it has at present.

FIRST, Whether the *Turks*, or, if you will, all the present inhabitants of *Tartary*, are descended from the ancient *Scythians*. If by *Scythians* is to be understood not those properly so called, but all the different nations mentioned by *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and other authors, which, under that common name, inhabited that vast region, it may, without hesitation, be answered, that the present inhabitants are descendants of the antient; or rather of such of them as remained in *Tartary*, over and above those which might have been destroyed, or migrated into other regions:

e for not only there is a great conformity in the persons, manners, and customs of both, but no other nation or nations can be assigned, from whence the present possessors of *Tartary* could proceed. To the south of them live people, such as the *Persians*, *Indians*, *Tibetians*, and *Chinese*, who always dwelt in cities, or fixed habitations; and, consequently, could never be tempted to change their country and way of living for those of the *Scythians*, unless compelled by force (D), of which we meet with no instance in history.

INDEED, if we descend to particular nations or tribes, and want to know whether the *Turks* *But from what* are sprung from the *Massagete*, the *Naymâns* from the *Iffidon Scythians*, or would trace the *tribe*. migrations of the *Sakæ*, *Huns*, *Sarmatians*, or other swarms from that immense and prolific hive, the attempt will prove a fruitless labour. This will plainly appear, if it be only considered,

f 1. That most of the names of the *Scythian* nations, which we find in the authors above-mentioned, did not properly belong to them, but were given them by the *Greeks*. Even the general name of *Scythians* was unknown to the *Scythians*, who, we are told by *Herodotus*, called themselves *Skolot*. Again; those names which cannot be affirmed to have been corrupted, or imposed by the *Greeks*, were such, perhaps, as were given to them by other nations (E). Thus the people, whom they called

^f See before p. 137.

^g D'HERBEL. p. 898, & seq. Art. Turk.

^h Id. ibid.

ⁱ D'HERBEL. p. 898. Art. Turk. CANTEMIR. hist. Oth. pref. p. 12.

(A) Much in the same manner as the *Janizaries* at present among the *Turks*.

(B) And hence the *Othmâns*, as well *Seljûks*, have been stigmatized with the name of *Turkmans*, by the *Arabs* and *Persians*.

(C) Thus the *Mankâts* and *Kassâts* never dwelt in cities, till they settled in *Turkistan*: yet still in summer

encamp in fields. So the *Elûths* or *Kalmûks* never lived in towns, till they conquered *Little Bukhâria* and *Tibet*, where the Khân, at certain times, resides.

(D) As the *Vigûrs*, who seem to be *Tibetians*, might have been.

(E) This is commonly done at present from various motives. The *Turks* call the *Poles Leb*, from a king or

called *Scythians*, were named by the *Persians* *Sagæ* or *Sakæ*, as we learn from *Mela* and *Pliny*; ^a yet the *Greeks* considered the *Sakæ* as a particular nation or tribe of *Scythians*. Hence the *Greeks* confounded the several nations together, gave one nation the name of another, and often the same nation several different names, as hath been already hinted.

2. ANOTHER reason which makes it very difficult, if not almost impossible, to discover what nations or tribes the antient names found in authors belong to, or to trace the several removals of those tribes, is; that it seems to have been always customary with the inhabitants of *Tartary*, as it is at present, to change their names on various occasions, as on removing their situation, dividing into different branches, being brought in subjection by other tribes, or in compliment to the reigning prince, if much beloved by them, of which some instances have been already produced ^k, and more will be given, when we come to the history of the *Tartars*. ^b

Inhabitants
of Tartary,
not all Turks;

As to the second question, whether all the inhabitants of *Tartary* are either originally *Turks*, or sprung from one and the same root, our opinion is in the negative: for there is no probability that people, so extremely different in their make and features, as most of the *Mohammedan Tartars*, and the *Elûths* or *Kalmûks* are, should proceed from the same stock, any more than fresh and salt water should proceed from the same fountain. It is true, all the inhabitants of *Western Tartary* (for those of the *Eastern* are out of the case) speak the same language, or at least dialects of it: but might not this happen through constant intercourse, or one power prevailing over the rest, as that of the *Turks* did in the sixth century, and that of the *Mogols* in the twelfth? the conquered people generally speak the language of the conquerors, as well as their own, which, by degrees, becomes extinct; as that of the *Kopts* almost already is in *Egypt*, where the *Arabic* prevails; the *Celtic* in *Gaul*, where the *French* takes place; and in *England* the *British*, which has been superseded by the *English*. ^c

though all
speak the
same language.

HOWEVER, it must be allowed, that the identity or affinity of languages would go for almost a certain proof of the identity of nations, as to origin, did they agree in the other circumstances before-mentioned; and might also be admitted as a tolerably sure rule in tracing the migrations of people; because the migrating nation cannot receive their language from people of a different tongue among whom they live; and therefore must be a-kin to the unmigrating nation, whose language happens to be the same with theirs. Thus the language which the *Ottomân Turks* speak, though mixed with *Persian*, *Arabic*, and even *Greek* words, demonstrates ^d that they came from *Tartary*, or are descended from some of the inhabitants of that region, known by the name of *Turks*; although it may not be easy to ascertain the particular tribe or tribes from which they draw their original.

WE come now to the third question, whether *Turkestan* always had the same situation and extent which it has at present. To this we answer likewise in the negative; and make no scruple to affirm, that it hath often changed its situation as well as bounds; which we shall endeavour to demonstrate in the next section.

^k See before, p. 124, & seq.

S E C T. VI.

Of the original country inhabited by the Turks, with a description of the present Turkestan.

Names of
Turkestan,

IT appears, from the account already given, both by the *Roman* and *Chinese* historians, that ^a the country possessed by the *Turks*, at their first becoming known in the world, was about the middle of all *Tartary*, towards mount *Altay*, which divides that great region, as it were, into two parts: and that, in a few years, they, from a very inconsiderable beginning, extended their dominion from the river *Lyau* in the east, as far westward as the *Caspian* sea. Thus almost the whole of *Great Tartary* (A), becoming subject to the *Turks*, might have taken the name of *Turkestan*, or *country of the Turks*; at least the oriental writers give that name to all the countries lying on the north of the river *Sihûn* or *Sir*, the *Jaxartes* of the antients.

and Turân.

THE name of *Turân* they extend still farther, making it to include all the countries to the north of the *Jihûn* or *Amû*, that is *Tartary* and *Mawarâ'nahr*, now called *Great Bukhâria* ^a; and thus they seem to make their own hero *Tûr* amends for the loss sustained by the *Tartarian* hero *Turk*, who has ingrossed all the inhabitants of *Tartary* as his descendants. But the ^b

^a D'HERBEL. p. 899. Art. Turk.

or general of the *Poles*. The *Uzbek Tartars*, by way of nick-name, call the *Elûths*, *Kalmûks*: and these, in return, name the others, *Hafak Puruk*. So the *Arabs* call the *Persians*, *Ajem*; that is, *barbarians*: as the *Greeks* formerly did all foreign nations.

(A) All but what is, by us, called *Eastern Tartary*, to the east of *Lyau tong*.

fault

a fault lay in the framers of the ancient *Persian* history, who, by leaving the final *k* out of *Tür*'s name, gave their rivals the *Turks* an opportunity, by the addition of that letter, to form one more suitable to the person who was to represent their great ancestor.

It may be presumed, if the name of *Turkeſtân* ever prevailed over all *Tartary*, that it *Extends over* continued in use so long only as the dominion of the *Turks* was entire: but that when their *Tartary* power was broken, and they became divided under many sovereigns, *Turkeſtân* also became divided into so many different parts, and lost the name, which seemed to have settled in the western part of *Tartary*, to the north of *Persia* and *Great Bukhâria*; where probably the descendants of their first Khân, *Disabules*^b, fixed their seat. From these quarters it was, that they made continual war upon the *Persians* and *Arabs*, for several ages together; and here

b they maintained their dominion longest, and with greatest lustre.

THIS, at least, we know from history; that, soon after the time of *Toxander*, in the seven-*Ceases in the*teenth century, the *Turks* fell to war among themselves, which probably ended in a partition*east*. of their dominions*: and, in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, we find the country of the *Turks* actually divided among several Khakhâns, or kings, some of whom had very large territories, called by different names, or those of the tribes under their subjection, as hath been already set forth^c in a foregoing section. However, it must be observed, that all those territories extending over almost the whole of *Western Tartary*, are represented as parts of the *Belâd Al Atrâk*, which is the *Arabic* word answering to the *Persian Turkeſtân*, that is, *the country of the Turks*.

c It may be presumed, that the nations who were not immediately subject to the successors of *Settles in the**Disabules*, were, in time, conquered or brought in subjection by some other nation or nations,*west*. more to the east or south: and thus the name of *Turkeſtân* came to cease, or be disused, in all but the western parts of that empire, where the *Turks* still preserved their power: on which account it always retained the name of *Turkeſtân* with the *Persians*.

HOWEVER, from time to time, the *Turks* in this western region, at different times, seem to *Revives in* have recovered or extended their dominion eastward, as they found opportunity, from their *the east*. own increase of strength, or the weakness of their neighbours, whom they had to deal with.

d Thus, in the time of *Ebn Saïd al Magrebi*, the geographer^d, *Kâshgar*, in *Little Bukhâria*, was the capital of *Turkeſtân*; as it seems to have been also in 996, under *Ilek Khân*. At least *Turkeſtân* must, at that time, have been divided into two distinct dominions, the western and the eastern; of which last, according to some authors^e, *Ilek Khân* was the sovereign lord, while *Arſlan Khân* reigned over the former.

EASTERN *Turkeſtân*, if we may so call it, that is, the countries east of *Kâshgar*, soon after fell *Extends over* into the hands of the *Karakitayans*; and from thence had the name of *Karakitay* given to it *Tartary*. by the *Persian* historians. But at length, about the middle of the twelfth century, both the eastern and western *Turkeſtân* were united again under one prince, in consequence of the surrender made by *Ilek Khân* of *Balâsagûn* to *Karakitay Kûrkhân*, or *Kavar Khân*^f: nor did the western *Turkeſtân*, upon that revolution, take the name of *Karakitay*, but still retained its own, at least with the *Persians*.

e BUT things did not long continue in this state: for, at the beginning of the thirteenth *Again con-* century, *Kuchluk* the *Naymân*, rebelling against his father-in-law *Kûrkhân*, wrested from him *tracted*. the eastern *Turkeſtân*; and thus once more caused a division of the empire. Some say both parts were united again in the person of *Kuchluk* himself, who succeeded *Kûrkhân*. Be that as it will, in a very few years after, *Jenghîz Khân* the great having over-run the whole western *Tartary* with his *Mogols*, all *Turkeſtân* became a province of his immense empire. Since which time we have heard no more of eastern *Turkeſtân*, or oriental *Turks*.

HOWEVER, the part of *Tartary* to the north of *Persia* and *Great Bukhâria*, still retained the *Remains in the* name of *Turkeſtân*; and, in the partition which *Jenghîz Khân* made of his empire among his *west*. four sons, fell to the share of *Jagatay* (B), who was the second. But, in process of time, these new monarchies being split into lesser states by intestine factions, and the descendants of one brother invading those of another, *Turkeſtân* fell into the hands of the *Uzbeks*, and, at last, into those of the *Kassîts* and *Mankâts*; who were formerly the subjects of *Juji*, eldest son of *Jenghîz Khân*; and at present is possessed by them: the *Kassîts* having the eastern part, and the *Mankâts* (better known in *Europe* by the nick-name of *Kara Kâlpaks*), the western part, under their respective Khâns; who, with their subjects, are *Mohammedans*.

FROM what has been said on this subject, it appears that *Turkeſtân* had not always the same *Why so subject* situation and extent; but varying both, from time to time, is found sometimes in one part of

^b See before, p. 130, & seq. * See also p. 134, & seq. ^c See before, p. 139, & seq. ^d ABU'LFEDA tabl. Chowarâsmiæ, &c. in edit Hudson, p. 53. ^e See before, p. 138. ^f See before, p. 140.

(B) See D'Herbelot. Art. Genghîz Khân, and Giagathay. But perhaps part of it was in the lot of *Juji*, and given by *Baytu* to his brother *Shaybani Khân*. See *Abûlgâzi Khân's* history of the *Turks*, p. 207. 563.

to change
place.

Tartary, ſometimes in another; juſt as the *Turks*, who, like the other tribes, lived for the moſt part in the fields, were able to ſtand their ground, or obliged to give way to ſuperior force. Thus countries, which have neither cities, nor any fixed habitations, may be ſaid to be of an itinerant nature, and follow their inhabitants where-ever they remove. However, the *Turks*, who inhabited to the north of either *Great Bukhâria* or *Persia*, had generally towns along the *Sir* in their poſſeſſion, as the *Mankâts* and *Kaſſits* have at preſent: and as it was from the ſame quarter that thoſe countries were, from time to time, invaded by them, it always retained, among the *Persians*, the name of *Turkeſtân*: with the deſcription of which we ſhall cloſe this introduction to the hiſtory of the *Turks*.

Preſent Tur-
keſtân's ſite.

THE preſent *Turkeſtân* is ſituate between 42 and 50 or 51 degrees of latitude, and between 73 and 90 degrees of longitude, reckoning from *Ferro*, one of the *Canary* iſles. It is bounded on the north by the *Aral Yâz*, or *mountains of eagles*, which are no better than hills in thoſe quarters; on the eaſt, by the dominions of the grand Khân of the *Elths* or *kalmûks*; on the ſouth, by the river *Sir*, which ſeparates it from *Karazm* and *Great Bukhâria* (C); and on the weſt by the *Caspian* ſea, and the river *Yem*. It may be about 660 miles in length from weſt to eaſt, and 540 in breadth from ſouth to north.

Natural ſtate.

THE country conſiſts generally of vaſt extended plains, which are very fruitful; and has but a few mountains, excepting thoſe before mentioned. It is watered by ſome rivers; ſuch as the *Tarâz*, or *Telâſh*, which falls into the *Sir*; the *Turugay*, which falls into the *Talâſh*; the *Karaſi*; and others of leſs note. They all deſcend from the north, and fall, for the moſt part, into the *Sir*; but authors differ as to the particular places where they enter that river. Here likewise one meets with ſeveral lakes. Among the reſt, one called *Kamiſh Nor*, that is, *the lake of reeds*, is 40 or 50 miles long, and 30 broad. That of *Iſſikol*, where *Turk*, the ſon of *Jafet*, is ſaid to have ſettled, is very near the eaſtern border of *Turkeſtân*, if not within it.

Principal
cities.

WHEN *Turkeſtân* was in its flouriſhing ſtate, under its own ſovereigns, and even till the irruption of *Jenghîz Khân*, it abounded with ſtrong and populous cities. However, theſe, or moſt of them, probably, were not built by the *Turks*, who lived moſtly in the fields, but by the old inhabitants in the country, or the *Arabs*, from whom they took them. Theſe were ſituate chiefly on the rivers in the ſouthern parts; eſpecially on the great river *Sir*; which was its natural common boundary on the ſide of *Mawarâ'nabr*, or *Great Bukhâria*. The chief of theſe were *Jenghikant*, *Jund*, *Yaffi*, *Sabrân*, *Saganâk*, *Uzkend*, *Otrâr*, *Tarâz*, *Eſſijab*, *Oſbanikat*, *Tonkat*, *Balaſigân*, *Benket*, *Tâſhkant*, *Shakrokîya*, &c.

Royal ſeats.

FOUR of the above-mentioned cities were, at different periods, the capitals of *Turkeſtân*; namely, *Jenghikant*, or *Kariyat al Jididab*, in the time of *Al Bergendi* the geographer. *Balîf-âgân*, or *Kambâlik*, enjoyed that honour from 1017 to 1177; and *Otrâr* was the metropolis in 1200; when *Soltân Mohammed Karazm Shâh* took it from *Karakitay Kîrkhân*, king of *Turkeſtân*.

MANY of the above-mentioned cities ſtill exiſt, notwithstanding the deſtruction made of them by the *Mogols*, under *Jenghîz Khân*: but we are better acquainted with the ſtate of them at that time, than at preſent; being furniſhed with very few modern accounts relating to this part of *Aſia*.

Yengi kant.

YENGI kant (E), or *Al Kariyat al Jadidab*, as the *Arabs* called it, both names ſignifying *the new city*, or *fortreſs*, was ſituate, according to the *Arab* geographers, near the river *al Shâſh* (F), which falls into the lake of *Karazm*. This we take to be the *Aral Nor*, or *lake of Eagles*, in that country. It was ten days journey [of the *Karawâns*] from *Karazm*, twenty from *Farab*

Jund, or Jand.

(or *Otrâr*), and twenty-five from *Bokhâra*^b. *Jund* or *Jand* was a little city, not far from thence. It is near the mouth of the *Sibûn*, and has produced ſeveral famous men. *Mirkbond* relates, that it was from this and ſome other cities thereabout that the *Scythian* ambaffadors went to meet *Alexander*, and reproached him for his ambition and rapine. On the approach of the *Mogols* under *Tuſhi*, ſon of *Jenghîz Khân*, in 1219, *Soltân Mohammed Karazm Shâh*, to whom it was then ſubject, ſent 5000 men to garriſon it. However, *Kutluk Khân*, the governor, fled: but the inhabitants, depending on the ſtrength of the walls, and its towers, which was very great, they ſtood on their defence, and might have held out a long ſiege, if it had not been ſurprized by ſtratagem, without bloodſhed. On this account their lives were ſpared; but they loſt all their effects¹.

^a See the maps of DE L'ISLE, STRAHLENBERG, D'ANVILLE, and the author of the new collect. voy. and trav. vol. iv. p. 477. ^b ABU'LFEDA deſcr. Chowar. p. 56. ^c ABU'LF. ubi ſup. 57. DE LA CROIX hiſt. Jenghîz Khân, p. 172, 177, & ſeq.

(C) But Mr. Strahlenberg's map extends it much to the ſouth of the *Sir*.

(E) This word *kant*, which ſignifies town or city, is written alſo *kunt* and *kent*; and ſometimes ends with a *d*, as the pronunciation varies from time to time, or in different places.

(F) *Sibûn*, or *Sir*, probably near its mouth, in the lake of *Karazm*. Some maps, which make that river fall into the *Caspian* ſea, place it between that ſea and the lake.

BENKAT is a great place of trade, belonging to *Al Shâsh*, or *Tashkunt*, being a league in length. The fortress is without the city; but the same wall serves both. Its district or liber-

M SHARIF

• Hitt. Jengh.

9 Hift.

4 Hist.
1 ABULF.

ABULF.

(I) 'Tis sometimes written *īālā'āgūn*, as in *Abū'lgāzi*

(K) Lat. 47 degrees.

ties are inclosed with a wall, as are its gardens and out-buildings. It is well supplied with running waters^x. a

Al Shâsh, or Tashkunt. AL SHASH was formerly a magnificent city, subject to *Samarkand*, near the *Sibûn*; from whence the water flowed to every house. It is four stages from *Khejend*, and five from *Fargâna* or *Andukand*^y. It is at present called *Tashkunt*^z; but much reduced from its former splendor, having been often destroyed and rebuilt; yet is the winter residence of the Khân of the *Kassits*, who possesses the east part of *Turkestan*^a. *Tusht* took this place from *Soltân Mohammed* in 1219; but not without much effusion of blood^b, and afterward put a great number of the inhabitants to the sword^c.

Fenakunt, now Shahrukhiya. FENAKUNT (L) was a strong city, on the eastern bank of the *Sîr*, in the time of *Jenghîz Khân*. That prince sent 50,000 men against it, under two generals: and tho' *Soltân Mohammed* had detached thither 10,000 men, yet it was taken, after a siege of three days. All the garison were put to the sword, and the inhabitants carried into slavery^d. It was so ruined on this occasion, that there remained no vestigia of it till 1392, when *Timûr Beg* ordered it to be rebuilt, and peopled: and, as that conqueror gave it to his son *Mirza Shabrokh*, it was from him called *Shabrokhhiya* (M). So we are informed by the author of *Timûr's* life^e. At present it is a miserable place, of about 200 cabins, dependent on *Tashkunt*; from whence it lies about sixteen leagues to the east^f, or rather perhaps to the south. b

Tunkât, or Tonkât. TUNKAT, or *Tonkât*, is a city and mart of the province of *Ilâk*. Before the time of *Jenghîz Khân* it was inclosed with a wall, in which were many gates. It stood on a river; from whence water flowed into the town, and through its territories. It had a castle for its defence, and was adorned with the palace of a prince. While it was in the hands of the *Arabs* and *Persians* it had a wall, extending from the mountain *Shâbâleg* to the end of the valley of *Al Shâsh*, built to hinder the irruptions of the *Turks*. This city was the nursery of many learned men^g, and called *Dar al ilm*; that is, *the palace of the sciences*; on account of the academy of arts and sciences, which was formed there. It was a place so fitted for pleasure, that it became a saying, *that God never made a more delicious dwelling than Tonkât*^h. *Jenghîz Khân* held a general diet here in the year 1224; which was so numerous, that its plain, though seven leagues in length, was scarce able to contain the number of people who were assembled on that occasionⁱ. c

City Turkestan. To the cities before described 'tis necessary to add that of *Turkestan*, which we omitted to mention among the towns of this country; because we find no ancient place of that name in the oriental authors; though possibly it then existed under some other denomination, being mentioned often by *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, in the earliest times of his history. It stands on a river that comes from the north-east, and falls into the *Sîr* a little below the town (N): though built of brick, is yet a very pitiful place, and remarkable for nothing but an agreeable situation: however, in this condition it enjoys the honour of being the capital of *Turkestan*, and is the residence of the Khân of the *Mankûts*, who possesses the western part of this country^k. d

^x ABU'LF. ubi sup. p. 66. ^y ABU'LF. ubi sup. p. 33, 65, 66, 72. ^z Hist. Timûr Bek, p. 406.
^a ABU'LG. p. 569. ^b DE LA CROIX hist. Jengh. p. 177. ^c ABU'LG. p. 114. ^d DE LA CROIX
 hist. Jengh. p. 172. ABU'LG. hist. Turks, p. 114. ^e Hist. Timûr Bek, p. 373. ^f ABU'LG. p. 569.
^g ABU'LF. ubi sup. p. 67, 72. ^h DE LA CROIX hist. Jengh. p. 182, & seq. ⁱ Ibid. p. 356.
^k ABU'LG. p. 568.

(L.) By *Abû'lghâzi Khân* written *Farnakant*, and by *De la Croix*, hist. *Jengh.* p. 172, *Fenaket*.

(M) *De la Croix*, in his hist. of *Jenghîz Khân*, p. 172. confounds *Fenak*, as he writes the name, with *Tonkât*; and as *De l'Isle*, in his last map of *Persia*, makes it the same with *Shabrokhhiya*. *Strahlenberg*, in his map of *Tar-*

tary, gives the three to one place. *Arabsâb*, in his history of *Timûr*, l. i. § 12. speaks of *Shabrokhia* as quite a new city.

(N) The maps of *De l'Isle* and *Strahlenberg* place it about 15 miles distant.

C H A P II.

The history of the Seljûkians of Irân, or Persia at large; and of Kermân.

S E C T. I.

The authority on which the Seljûk history is grounded.

BESIDES the empires which the *Turks* established in *Tartary*, their native country, they ^{Seljûkian} founded four great monarchies in the south of *Asia*. The three first were possessed by ^{dynasties.} the princes of the same family, called *Seljûks* and *Turks*, of the same tribe or tribes. The fourth, by princes of the family of *Othmân*, or *Ozmân* (A), with their respective followers. Of these we propose to give the history in order; and are sufficiently furnished with materials for setting the *Othmân* affairs in a very good light. We could wish, for the reader's sake, that we were but half as well provided to treat of the *Seljûk* dynasties. The misfortune is, that, although many *Persian* and *Arab* authors have penned their history at large, but few copies in the original language have as yet appeared in this part of *Europe*; and none of them been translated into any ^{European} tongue.

'Tis true that two or three oriental historians have been rendered into *Latin*, who speak of *Oriental* ^{histo-} the *Seljûk* affairs; as *Abû'l-faraj* (B), *Ebn Amîd*, called *Al Makîn* (C), and the *Lebtarîkh* (D) ^{rians.} of *Amîr Yabia*; but although these furnish us with the origin of those monarchies, and a succession of their kings, with many facts, and their dates, not to be met with in our western writers; yet they are all too general to give such a light into the history of them, as might be sufficient to satisfy the curious. The two first authors likewise, being digested in the form of annals, the *Seljûk* history is given mixed with that of other states, and not in one continued series, as it is in the *Lebtarîkh*: but then this latter, besides its great conciseness, treats only of the first *Seljûk* monarchy, and *Al Makîn* of no more than the six first princes of that line.

THESE defects indeed are somewhat supplied by *D'Herbelot*; who has made an extract of the history of the respective kings of each dynasty from *Mirkbond*, often mentioned before, and other *Persian* historians. But *Teixeira*, who has given an abstract of *Mirkbond*, so far as relates to the history of *Persia*, says very little of the *Seljûks*, except *Togrûl Bek*, or of their affairs, and that very imperfectly, as well as in confusion. Perhaps he grew tired towards the end of his work, or was afraid of swelling it too much; for we presume his author *Mirkbond* has handled matters in a more exact and particular manner.

As for the *Greek* or *Byzantine* historians (both those who wrote by way of annals, or such as ^{The western} penned the lives of particular emperors), they give such imperfect, confused, and erroneous ^{writers}

(A) *Othmân* is the *Arab* pronunciation; *Ozmân*, the *Persian*, which is mostly followed by the *Turks*.

(B) The work of *Gregory Abû'l-faraj*, near the *Euphrates*, is intitled, *a compendious history of dynasties*, or successions. It is written by way of annals, and takes in the transactions of the most remarkable kingdoms, from the beginning of the world to the end of the thirteenth century. He is remarkable for giving a good account of the *Mogol* affairs under *Jenghîz Khân*, and his successors, to that time. He likewise has inserted many remarkable particulars relating to the *Seljûk* dynasties; especially that of *Rûm*, or *Nutolia*, which he had an opportunity of knowing, as having been a physician of *Malatia*, a city of that country near the *Euphrates*. His history, in *Arabic*, with a *Latin* translation, was published by *Dr. Edward Pocock*, that great master in oriental learning, as well as languages.

(C) *George*, the son of *Abu'lyaser al Amîd*, compiled a history out of several authors, particularly *Abû Jaffar Al Tabârî*, and *Kemaloddin Armuni*. The first a very copious author (1). It begins at the creation, and reaches down to the year of *Christ* 1127. The latter part, stiled *Tavîkh Al Moslemîn*, or the history of the *Moslems*, was published by *Erpenius* (but from a very faulty copy), both in folio

and octavo. in 1625. The former has joined with it a *Latin* translation; which is also published separately in quarto, under the title of *Historia Saracenica*. He was for his learning called *Al Sheykh al Kais al Makîn*; that is, the prime doctor, solidly learned. Hence his translator stiles him *Al Makîn*: but all others quote him by the name of *Ebn Amîd*, or the son of *Amîd*, who was secretary for 45 years to the council of war under the Soltâns of *Egypt*, of the family of *Jûb*, or *Jeb*; and on his father's death, succeeded him in that employment (2).

(D) The *Lebtarîkh*, or *Lob Al Tarwarîk*, is written in *Persian* by the *Amîr Yabia Ebn Abû'ollatîf* of *Kazvîn*, in the year 1541 (3). This is a very brief history of the *Mohammedan* monarchies, and those preceding *Mohammed*. It was translated into *Latin* by *M. Golmin*, a *Frenchman*; but part of the copy, at the beginning and end, is lost; the remainder was published by *M. De Thevenot*, in his collection of voyages and travels. It is observable, that the extracts given from the *Lebtarîkh* by *Mr. D'Herbelot*, who often makes use of it, sometimes differ widely, and even contradict the text of *Golmin*: but the fault must needs be in one of the copies, which were made use of by those two gentlemen, neither of whom can be supposed capable of expounding their author so ill.

(1) See the author's preamble. *Life of Mahomet*, p. 186.

(2) Vid. *hist. Saracen.* pag. ult. *Hyde de relig. vet. Persar.* *Prideaux's* *Hej.* 948.

accounts of all transactions which happened without the bounds of the *Roman* empire, that scarce a any thing true, or of moment, is to be expected from them. This may appear from the histories of the *Arabs*, the *Khâlifabs*, and other *Persian* monarchies, as well as that of the *Seljûks*, compiled out of them by *Curio*, *Lonicerus*, *Bizarus*, *Leunclavius*, and other authors. These our very defective; *Knowles* made use of, in his voluminous work; which, consequently, must be, like the originals, a confused imperfect mass, full of chasms and intricacies; nor to be depended on, either as to the facts, dates of actions, or even names of places and persons: in which they disagree so much, that it would be utterly impossible for any man to reconcile them (E), or make any good use of their materials, without the assistance of the oriental authors to direct his steps.

OUR readers will easily perceive this, by only slightly comparing the account, which we shall give them, of the *Seljûk* dynasties, with that furnished by any of the above-mentioned authors: b for although *Leunclavius* hath gone far beyond the rest, with regard to the history of the *Othmân Turks*, as being taken in part from the *Turkish* historians; yet what little he hath collected in relation to the *Seljûks*, is almost wholly drawn from *European* authors, having had no oriental writers to help him out.

HOWEVER, it is not to be thought, by what has been said, that the *Byzantine* and other western historians are of no use in writing the history of the *Turks*: on the contrary, as the latter *Greek* emperors had wars with the *Seljûks* as well as the *Othmâns*, so those wars, related sometimes in detail, sometimes very superficially, make a part of their history; and hence it is that we sometimes meet with transactions not to be found in the oriental authors. Which shews, that to write the history of a nation with any completeness, it is absolutely necessary to consult the histo- c ries of those nations with whom it hath had hostilities, or other concerns.

BESIDES, although in relating the affairs of the *Turks*, we ought in reason to give preference to *Turkish* authors, as every nation must needs be best acquainted with their own transactions, yet we are not to expect absolute perfection and exactness from them: for they sometimes differ in the account they give of the origin of their monarchies, as well as in the actions and reigns of their princes, with respect to their beginning and length: but this is no more than what happens to the historians of all other nations; for often the rise of states being attended with various changes, before they come to be settled, and their founders obscure or inconsiderable persons, it is therefore difficult sometimes to fix the origin of either. Besides, the memory of many transactions and events is lost or obscured in the confusion introduced in countries by wars d and revolutions; especially, if they be of any long continuance. However, as some historians are more exact, as well as particular, than others; and it being our misfortune, as yet, to have only extracts from the orientals, and those not from any historian who has written expressly on the subject, it is therefore presumed, that the reader, where-ever he meets with any such imperfections in the following history, will rather impute them to these last than to the first-mentioned causes.

THIS we judge to be doing no more than what is justice, even to the authors from whence the extracts before us are made, in order to prevent our readers taking up any hasty prejudices against the oriental writers in general, from the defects which they may discover in the few scanty materials out of which we are obliged to compose the history of the *Seljûks*, for want of more e copious memoirs. And indeed there is the more reason for this apology in their favour, because the extracts in question differ in certain particulars, and, among the rest, in those relating to the origin of the *Seljûks*, and the establishment of their monarchies.

(E) The reader may find a remarkable instance of this in the learned and judicious *Leunclavius*, who, examining into the original of the *Seljûks*, as delivered by several authors, all disagreeing among themselves; was so perplexed in his judgment, as to reject the true list

given by *Ayton*, or *Hayton*, the *Armenian* (1), of the first kings of that race, in favour of the false account given by *Cedrenus*, and other *Greek* writers (2), as we shall have occasion to shew hereafter.

(1) *De Tartaris*, cap. xv. p. 377. edit. Gryn. 1532. Wechel. 1591.

(2) *Vid. Leuncl. hist. Musul. Turk*, l. i. p. 71. edit.

S E C T. II.

The origin of the Seljûkians, and their entrance into Persia.

Seljûk his descent.

SELJUK, or *Saljûk*, the founder of the *Seljûk* dynasty of *Irân*, or *Persia* at large, according to the *Lebtarîkb*, derived his origin from *Afrasiab*, often before-mentioned^a, and was the thirty-fourth descendant from that prince, in a direct male line.

BUT *Mirkbond*, in his account of the genealogy of *Jenghîz Khân*, says, that *Seljûk* was of *Mogol* race, and descended from *Boskin Salji*, son of *Alankâwa*^b.

MR. *Guignes*, in his memoir concerning the origin of the *Huns* and *Turks*, extracted from

^a See before, p. 3.

^b See before. D'HERBELOT, p. 801.

- a the Chinese historians, seems to think, that the *Seljuks* were derived from a stock different from both the former. He relates, that the children of *Tá-mwen Ilkhán*, or *Tumena Khán*; who descended from *Buzenjir*, the son of *Alankáwa*; imitating the example of their father, formed an empire, which extended from the *Caspian* sea to *Korea*: that this empire, being too large to continue long intire, at length became divided into two; the eastern and the western; each of which had its own *Khán*: that the empire of the western *Turks*, which extended as far as the river *Sibún*, or *Sír*, was often formidable to the kings of *Persia*; particularly *Hormozd*, son of *Kostrú Anúshirwán*, with whom they had considerable wars: that, in process of time, other *Turks*, of the hord of *Wbey-ke*, destroyed the empire of the western *Turks*, and founded a new empire of their own: and 'tis from these *Wbey-ke*, in the opinion of Mr. *Guignes*, the four
- b *Seljuk* dynasties, which reigned in the southern *Asia*, were descended.

According to this hypothesis, the *Seljuk* tribe could not be descended from either *Afrasiab Khán*, or *Alankáwa*. But as this is only a conjecture of Mr. *Guignes*, and he has produced no arguments to support it, we shall leave it, and return to the account given by *Mirkbond*. This author informs us more particularly as to the family of *Seljuk*, that he was the son of *Dokák*, chief officer of *Bigú*, prince of the *Turkish* tribes which inhabited the plain of *Khozár* (A) or *Kipchák*, to the north of the *Caspian* sea. *Dokák* was so renowned, among those of his nation, for his extraordinary wisdom and valour, that they gave him the surname of *Tazialg*, which signifies a strong bow, and hard to manage. After his death, the king took care to educate *Seljuk*, who was very young; and, not doubting but the son of such a father would make a very brave man, surnamed him *Bassafsi*; that is, Chief, or Captain. As he advanced in years, the Soltán heaped favours on him: but, forgetting his duty to so good a prince, he one day presumed to enter the secret apartment of the palace, and would needs see his women and children.

Bigú, being informed of this insolence, was resolved to punish him severely for it. But and fortune. *Seljuk*, getting some knowledge of his design, thought it best to avoid his anger, by escaping in time. Accordingly, having gathered all his friends and people, who were attached to his family, he retired, with his effects; and (crossing the *Sibún*, or *Sír*) drew towards *Samar-kand* (B). *Belíl Khán*, governor of that city (C), not relishing such neighbours, resolved to oblige them to remove at a distance: but *Seljuk*, having augmented his forces, got the better of him in several engagements. In one especially he obtained a considerable advantage, by means of an ambuscade; which was so well conducted, that he acquired a great reputation throughout the country. This success laid the first foundation of his greatness, and emboldened him to present himself before *Bobára*; where he was very well received.

MIRKHOND mentions nothing of the death of *Seljuk*; which we learn from two other authors, *Ebn Amíd* and *Ebn Shohnab* (D); who differ somewhat in their account of him, both from that historian, and from one another. *Ebn Amíd* relates, that *Dokák*, *Seljuk's* father, being a wise as well as stout man, was always consulted by the king of the *Turks*, and carried with him in his wars: that he was the first of his family who embraced *Mohammedism*: that his son *Seljuk* being of age, when he died, the king made him general of all his forces: but that afterwards, apprehending danger from his crafty disposition, he resolved to kill him; which coming to the knowledge of *Seljuk*, he fled to *Harún Sabab Oddawla*, king of *Ghabia*, and desired aid of him, to go and conquer the country of the infidel *Turks*: that *Harún* furnished him with a numerous army, to execute his design; but that, in a battle with those infidels, *Seljuk* was slain, when he was 107 years old.

According to *Ebn Shohnab*, *Seljuk's* father was named *Dokák*, or *Dokmák*, which, in *Turkish*, signifies a hammer; but at present is pronounced *Tokmák*. *Seljuk* was chief of one of the principal families of *Turkestan*; and, as he was always followed by a great number of relations, and others, who were in his interest, the king grew jealous of the great authority which he had acquired, and obliged him to depart his dominions.

f *SELJUK* upon this retired into the countries of the *Mohammedans*, where he embraced their religion. His first settlement was at a place called *Joud*, which depended on the city of *Bokbára*, in *Mawarâlnahr*. From whence he continually made incursions upon the infidel parts

c D'HERBELOT Bibl. orient. p. 800, art. Selgiuki.

d ENN AMID Hist. Saracen. p. 331

(A) On this occasion D'Herbelot observes, that these *Kipchák Turks* are *Khorarians*, whom the Greek and Latin historians, who speak of the wars of the emperor *Heraclius* and *Khosroes*, call *Ararians*.

(B) This was in the *Hejrah* 375, and of *Christ* 985, according to the *Lebtarikh*; which says, the motive of their expedition was to seek pasture.

(C) 'Tis not said for whom; but at this time *Mawarâlnahr* seems to have been under the *Khán* of *Turkestan*.

(D) The surname of *Múbibo'ddín Abûl valid Mohammed*. He was a great doctor, of the sect of *Hanifah*, and high chancellor of the *Arabian Irák*. He died in the year of the *Hejrah* 883, of *Christ* 1478. He is the author of several works; among the rest, of a very exact history from the creation to the year 806; that is, of *Christ* 1403. D'Herbelot, p. 792. Art. *Schohnab*.

His sons.

of the *Turks*; whom he harrassed during the whole course of his life: in the length whereof a *Ebn Shohnab* agrees with *Ebn Amid*; but mentions nothing about his death.

THE *Persian* historians unanimously agree, that *Seljûk* (E) had four sons; but differ a little as to their names; which, according to the *Lebtarikh*, were *Mikaël*, *Israël*, *Mussa*, and *Yunos*: but *Mirkbond* calls the last *Bigû*, and not *Yunos*. *Ebn Shohnab* gives him only three sons; whom he names *Alp Aslan*, *Mikaël*, and *Mussa* (F). While *Ebn Amid* seems to allow him only one; that is, *Mikaël*; from whom the founders of the *Seljûk* monarchy are unanimously acknowledged to have been descended^a. The sons of *Seljûk* became very powerful in friends, and rich in lands, as well as flocks^f, especially *Mikaël*; than whom, great numbers of *Turks* acknowledged no other superior: and, when Soltân *Mahmûd Ebn Sabektekî* passed the *Jibûn*, with forces, to the assistance of *Warar Khân* (G), king of *Mawarâ'lnabr*, *Mikaël* b went to salute that prince; who, admiring his courage, and the great submission which his family paid him, intreated him to remain about his person, and, at his return, to accept of the government of *Khorasân*, in order to defend it against the invasion of enemies. On *Mikaël*'s declining the Soltân's offer, *Mahmûd*, enraged, sent him in chains to prison, and, returning to *Khorasân*, still kept him in durance. However, the soldiers and family of *Mikaël* followed the Soltân, and settled in the plain of *Khorasân*. This is *Al Tabâri*'s account of the manner in which the *Seljûkians* first entered *Persia*^g. But other authors represent the occasion very differently.

Heirs of Seljûk.

MIRKHOND relates, that *Mikaël* deceased very young; and *Ebn Shohnab* says expressly, that he died in *Mawarâ'lnabr*, in the war which he waged with the infidels; and that, for this reason, he is dignified in the genealogy of the *Seljûkians* with the title of *Sbedîd*, or *Shadîd*; c that is, martyr. According to the *Lebtarikh*, and *Mirkbond*, *Mikaël* left two sons, *Mohammed* and *Dawd*, who were afterwards called *Togrol Beg* and *Jaffar Beg* (H): but *Ebn Shohnab* adds to these a third, whom he places before the other two, as if the eldest, called *Tebegû*: but possibly this is *Bigû*, whom he has omitted among the sons of *Seljûk*, and reckoned to *Mikaël*. However that be, we are told by *Mirkbond*, that *Seljûk* took great care to educate his two grandsons; and by his will, left them sole heirs to all his effects and growing state. The young princes, having arrived at the age fit to bear arms, were masters of so much address and conduct, as well as valour, that in a short space they greatly enlarged their small territories, by the defeat of several princes of *Mawarâ'lnabr*; who became their vassals. The d news of these victories coming to the ears of *Mahmûd* (first Soltân of the *Gaznah* family, who reigned in *Khorasân*), he sent to desire them to send some trusty person to him, in order to treat about an affair of importance.

Israël's adventure,

ISRAEL, the uncle of the young princes, offered to repair to the Soltân; who received him with great civility and honour: but one day, being desirous to know what number of troops he was able to furnish him with, in case of need; *Israël* replied, that if the Soltân would shoot one of the two arrows, which he held in his hand, into their camp, 40,000 horse would immediately set out, for his service: that if he shot the other into the *Ordû* of *Bil-khân* (I), he might command 50,000; and the Soltân asking, how many could be had, if there was very pressing occasion, *Israël* told him, that if he would send his bow into *Tur- e kestân*, 200,000 *Turks* would issue forth to his assistance. This discourse so alarmed *Mahmûd*, that, to prevent danger, he seized *Israël*, and secured him in a castle; where he died. This castle is named *Kalenjar* (K), by the author of the *Nighiariştân*; who says, he was confined there seven years. The same writer speaks of the *Seljûkians* with great contempt; and says, they were descended from the antient *Turkmâns*. As a proof of this, he alleges the reproaches which *Massûd*, third Soltân of the *Gazni* race, and *Mohammed*, Soltân of the *Karazmians*, offered them, on account of the baseness of their original^h. However, the *Seljûks* looked upon that imputation as a great dishonour to them, and treated it with the utmost contempt.

and death.

^a D'HERBELOT, ubi supr. p. 801. ap. D'Herb. p. 800. Art. Selgiuki.

^f Lebtarikh.

^g EBN AMID, p. 332.

^h MIRKHOND

(E) It is *Seljûk*, who is to be understood by *Hyathon*'s *Sadock* (1), and not *Tangrolipix*, or *Togrol Bek*, as *Leunclavius* writes (2); for *Haytho* makes *Sadok* the father of *Dogrissa* (which stands for *Dogri Shab*, or *Dogril Shab*); who is evidently *Togrol Beg*.

(F) *Cærenus* makes *Mikeil* the father of *Tangrolipix* (as he writes *Togrol Bek*); *Habramius Alim*, *Aspam-Salarius* (so he calls *Alp Aslan*); and a third son, whom he does not name. He adds, that this last left a son, called *Asan* (or *Hassan*), surnamed the deaf: that *Habramius* had a son, called *Mukbalet*; and that *Mikeil*'s brother had two sons, *Kutlu Musas* (*Kutul Mish*), and *Abimelek*; of whom more hereafter.

(G) Other historians, as hath been before set forth, speak of *Mahmûd* as undertaking this expedition on his own account against *Kara Khân* of *Turkestân*, or of *Karakitay*. If so, *Warar Khân* must be a mistake for *Kara Khân*; and bringing aid to him, a mistranslation for bringing forces against him: which is not unlikely to be the case, considering how faulty a copy *Erpenius* made use of.

(H) *Abû'l-saraj* calls him *Jagri Beg*. These rather were their first names.

(I) The author of the *Nighiariştân* calls this place *Beljân*.

(K) A castle in *Chorasân*.

(1) *Haith. de Tartaris*, cap. xv. p. 377. edit. Gryn, 1532. (2) *Hist. Musul. Turk.* l. i. p. 71 edit. Wechel. 1591.

a HISTORIANS differ about the time when the *Seljuks* first passed the *Jihûn*, to enter into *Persia*. Some say, it was in the reign of *Mahmûd*, the first Soltân of the *Gazni* race, and by his permission; others, in that of his son *Massûd*. Of the first sentiment are *Abûl-faraj*, the *Lebtarîkh*, and *Al Makîn*.

THE *Lebtarîkh* relates, that, on their having demanded leave to cross the river, *Arslân Jazeb*, governor of the city *Tûs* (L), in *Khorasân*, was of opinion, that their request should not be granted, lest these four families of the children of *Seljuk*, which were already pretty numerous, should draw others to them; but that *Mahmûd*, who confided too much in his own power, rejected the governor's counsel; and, not only granted their demand, but also permitted them to settle in the neighbourhood of *Nessa* and *Bawera* (M). This colony increased so much in a short time, by the continual passage of *Turks*, who joined them (as the governor *Jazeb* had foreseen), that the inhabitants of *Khorasân* began to be in fear of them, and resolved to get rid of those new guests, whom they looked on as dangerous neighbours (N).

EBN AMID agrees, in the main, with the *Lebtarîkh*. He tells us, that *Mahmûd* before he died, repented much of having suffered the *Seljuks* to remain in his dominions; fearing they might seize them after his death¹.

ABU'L-FARAJ goes further still on this head. He writes, that in the year 420, while *Togrol Beg*, with his brothers *Dawd* and *Biga*, were still in *Mawarâ'nahr*, the *Gâz Turks* (O), under *Arslân* (P), son of *Seljuk*, ravaged *Khorasân*: that, however, *Yamûd Oddawla Mahmûd* drove them out of that province: but that the enemy, carrying with them about 2000 tents, went to *Isfâbân*. *Togrol Beg*, with his brothers *Dawd* and *Biga*, the sons of *Mikaël* (Q), were then in *Mawarâ'nahr*. Some of the *Gâz*, after being expelled *Khorasân*, shaped their way into the province of *Adherbijân*, where they took the city of *Marâga*, burnt the temple, and made a great slaughter of the people; among whom were many *Kurds* (R). After this some went to *Ray*, others to *Hamadûn* and *Mausel*, which they also took².

SOME historians have written, that Soltân *Mahmûd* gave the *Seljuks* liberty to cross the *Jihûn*, in order to seize the vast riches which they had amassed, by the plunder of the best cities in *Mawarâ'nahr*.

BUT, in opposition to all this, *Mirkbond* affirms, that the *Seljuk Turks*, who had already made a great noise in *Persia*, passed the *Jihûn*, or *Amû*, not in the reign of *Mahmûd*, but of his son *Massûd*, in the year 424, under the conduct of *Togrol Beg* and *Jaffar Beg*; who, settling themselves about the cities before-mentioned, soon after began to make incursions into the neighbouring provinces³.

¹ EBN AMID, p. 332.

² ABU'L-FAR. hist. dynast. p. 222.

³ D'HERB. p. 562, & 501, art. Seljuks and Massoud.

(L) It is also called *Masbehad*, or, *The place of the Martyr's*, from the tomb of *Imâm Riza*, who was murdered there; and is a great place of pilgrimage.

(M) The first is called also *Abiwerd*, and the latter *Abiwerd* or *Little Damascus*, about 120 miles from the river *Jihûn*, or *Amû*, and from each other. They are often mentioned in *Abû'lghazi Khan's* history of the *Turks*, by the names of *Iburû* and *Nasay*; and, when he wrote, belonged to the kingdom of *Karazm*.

(N) This account is taken from *D'Herbelot's* extract, p. 800; but *Golmin's* copy represents them quite otherwise. There we are told, that *Togrol Bek* and *Jaffar Bek* had something so royal in their aspect, that the

people of *Khorasân* were extremely fond of them, and had recourse to them, to decide their differences: that this was the cause of *Mahmûd's* hatred to them: that the *Seljuks* having beaten an army sent against them, *Mahmûd* prepared to be revenged; but the troubles in *India* calling him thither, he left the conduct of the war to *Asbi*, governor of *Khorasân*; who was also defeated.

(O) The *Gaz Turks* are properly *Turkmen*s. They gave the name to *Gazaria*.

(P) This must be the *Alp Arslân* of *Ebn Shohrab*.

(Q) Son of *Seljuk*, son of *Yakak*.

(R) Of the *Hadh Banîyah* tribe. Another copy has *Al Harayyah*.

SECT. III.

Their transactions in Persia, and founding of their first monarchy there.

c ABOUT the time that the *Seljuk Turks* entered *Persia*, the provinces of *Khorasân*, *Sablestân*, *Gaznab*, *Persian Irâk*, *Tabrestân*, *Jorjân*, and part of *India*, were under *Massûd*, third Soltân of the *Gazni* race. The rest of *Persia* (A) was in the hands of *Abû'lghanjar*, by others called *Kalijar*, one of the princes of the family of *Buyab*, or *Bowwab*; who had reigned in *Pârs* (or *Proper Persia*), and *Kerman*, both the *Persian* and *Arabian Irâks*, *Mazanderân*, and *Jorjan*, *Dijarbekr* (or part of *Mesopotamia*), and in *Baghdâd*: to the jurisdiction of which city, the dominions of the *Khalifah*, once so very extensive, were now almost wholly confined.

(A) As *Pârs*, or *Proper Persia*, *Kermân*, *Khuzestân*, and *Adherbijân*, with *Arabian Irâk*, of which *Baghdâd* was the capital.

at this juncture.

As to the provinces of *Mawarâ'lnahr* and *Khorasân*, it is somewhat dubious what power they belonged to. From some circumstances in the history of the *Gazni* Soltâns, they should be in the possession of *Massîd*, third Soltân of that race^a: by other circumstances, *Mawarâ'lnahr*, or at least a good portion of it, seems to have been in subjection partly to the Khân of *Turkestan*, and partly to several princes of its own^b. *Ebn Amîd*, as hath been related, makes it subject to its own monarch. Possibly all those different princes might have had a share in it; and the confusion which the country must have been in, from so many contending powers, doubtless favoured greatly the quiet entrance of the *Seljûks* into that province: but it is not probable they had conquered the whole before they entered *Persia*, as *Mîrkbond*, in his genealogy of *Jenghiz Khân*, asserts; not only because he elsewhere brings proof to the contrary, as hath been shewn, but because such a supposition is quite inconsistent with the submission which the same author tells us they offered to *Massîd*, on their arrival in *Khorasân*.

Rise from commotions;
Hejrah 421.
A. D. 1030.

ACCORDING to this historian, as soon as they had sat down about *Nessâ* and *Barwerd*, they sent an express to that Soltân (who ascended the throne in 421,) to demand a place of settlement; offering to swear obedience and fidelity to him. But *Massîd* received the ambassador very ill; and, among other disobliging things, said, that *he never heard of the Seljûk family, although he was himself a Turk by descent, and therefore ought to be well acquainted with all the illustrious houses of that nation*. When the *Seljûkians* were informed with what contempt the Soltân had treated both their ambassador and family, they prepared for war^c; and, according to *Mîrkbond*, as related by *Teixeira*, whilst *Massîd* was subduing the provinces of *Jorjân* and *Tabrestân*, in the year 426, made some commotions in *Khorasân*; but sat still upon his return (B).

Defeat Soltân
Massîd:

ALTHOUGH their affairs was not settled, yet the Soltân would go into *India*, against the advice of his generals. In his absence they made incursions throughout the country, from *Khorasân* to *Pârs* (or *Proper Persia*), with so much success, that they obliged *Zilla Oddawlat Ebn Kakuya* and *Abusûlah* to quit their governments of *Rey* and *Ispahân*, which the *Seljûks* seized, with other parts of *Persia*. This was about 428; by which time *Massîd* returned from his *Indian* expedition to *Gaznah*; and, two years after, set out again for *Jorjân*. In his way, being informed, that *Nûr Takkîn*, governor of *Balkh*, oppressed them, he moved towards him, though in a hard frost; but, when advanced about half way, turned back against *Dawd Seljûk*, who was marching with considerable forces to assist *Nûr Takkîn*; and, though this latter fell on his rear, and took most of his baggage, yet he held on his way till he met *Dawd*; by whom being overthrown, he fled to *Gaznah*; where he put to death many of the *Turks* who served under him (C); because they had misbehaved in the battle^d.

Hejrah 428.
A. D. 1036.

Take Tûsh and
Nishâbûr:

TEIXEIRA seems to have omitted the most remarkable circumstance, relating to the establishment of the *Seljûk* monarchy. *Ebn Amîd* is more particular. This author writes, that *Massîd*, surnamed *Abusayd* (soon after *Mahmûd*'s death), sent an army against the *Seljûk* *Turks*; who were defeated, and some of them taken prisoners. Not long after this, *Mikâ'îl Ebn Seljûk* dying (D), his soldiers put themselves under the command of his son *Mohammed Abutâlib*, surnamed *Togrûl Beg*; who, attacking *Massîd*'s army, routed it, and pursued them to *Tûs*: which he besieged, and took. This is the first city which fell into the hands of the *Seljûkians*; who assembled there, and fortified it. After this they subdued *Nishâbûr*.

Conquer Kho-
rasân.
Hejrah 430.
A. D. 1038.

MEANWHILE *Massîd* fled into *India*, where he staid a long time: so that *Khorasân* being deserted by him, the *Seljûks* made use of the opportunity, and conquered it. *Massîd*, upon advice of this, returned from *India*; but the *Seljûkians*, advancing to meet him, put him to flight (E): upon which the Khalifah *Kaym Beamrillab* recommended to them the defence of the country of the *Moslems* (F). *Massîd*, incensed hereat, marched against them; but they made him turn his back a second time. And thus their empire was established in the year of the *Hejrah* 430. of *Christ* 1039^e.

Empire found-
ed.

EBN AMID omits to mention either when *Nishâbûr* was taken, or that *Togrûl Bek* ascended the throne there; both which happened by the general consent of historians^f, in the year 429, from whence they date the beginning of his reign, and the *Seljûk* monarchy.

A. D. 1037.

ACCORDING to *Mîrkbond* (G), as delivered by *D'Herbelot*, as soon as *Togrûl Beg* was acknowledged for king in the city of *Nishâbûr*, in the year 429, he sent his brother *Jaffar Bek* to subdue

^a TEIXEIRA. hist. Per. p. 292. ^b See before, p. 139, & seq. ^c D'HERB. p. 801, art. Selgiûk. ^d TEIXEIRA. p. 292, & seq. ^e D'HERB. p. 562, art. Massoud. ^f EBN AMID, p. 332, & seq. ^g ABU'LF. hist. dynast. p. 225. Lebtarikh, p. 242. and in D'HERB. p. 800.

(B) In the *English* of *Teixeira*, they are always written *Salinguis*, or *Salinquis*, instead of *Saljûkis*, or rather *Saljûkians*; and *Jakar Bek*, instead of *Jaffar Bek*.

(C) Great part of his forces, and almost all his chief officers, were *Turks*.

(D) From what has been said before about *Mikâ'îl*'s death, it should seem that he is named here (and per-

haps in the former place) by *Ebn Amîd*, or the authors he copied from, instead of *Israel*.

(E) According to *Alûl-faraj*, *Massîd*, marching from *Gazna* to *Balkh*, drove the the *Seljûks* out of *Khorasân*, the year after they had taken *Nishâbûr* (1).

(F) That is, believers, or *Mohammedans*.

(G) *D'Herbelot* indeed quotes *Kendâmîr*; but as he confounds

(1) *Alûl-faraj*. p. 226.

a due the city and county of *Herât*, or *Heri*, in the same province of *Khorasân*: which conquest being soon performed, he placed one of his uncles there, to govern it. In the mean time he marched himself to *Merû* (H), and, having taken it, he made it his royal seat. After this he put *Khorasân* under new regulations; and, by that means, suppressed the disorders which had reigned there for a long time. *Their royal seat.*

THE same year, which was 429, Soltân *Maffûd Gazni* assembled all his forces to drive the *Seljuks* out of his dominions: but the two brothers having also collected their troops, after an exceeding bloody battle, gained so complete a victory, that *Maffûd* found he had no farther business in *Khorasân*.

b HAVING related what the oriental historians deliver concerning the foundation of the *Seljuk* monarchy, let us see what the *Greeks* have said upon the same subject. Two of them, *Cedrenus* and *Nicephorus Bryennus* are more particular than the rest, and speak nearly alike. In the year 1030, while *Mukhumet* (I) (son of *Imbrail* (K), prince of *Persia*, *Media*, the *Khorasmians*, and *Oritans*), was engaged on one side with the *Indians*, and on the other with *Babylonians*, he sent an embassy to the prince of *Turky* (L), for 3000 auxiliaries. The *Turks*, charmed with the presents made on that occasion, readily dispatched the men, under the conduct of *Tagrolipix Mukalet* (M), son of *Mikaël*. And the rather, as he flattered himself, that, at their return, when the enemies of the *Saracens* were defeated, they might easily seize the two castles which guarded the bridge over the *Araxis* (N), and open a passage for his *Turks* into *Persia*, which he proposed to conquer. *E verrecus account of their original.*

c WITH these succours *Mukhumet* marched against *Pissaffrius* (O), prince of the *Babylonish Arabs*, and easily routed him; the *Arabs* not being able to withstand the force of the *Turkish* bows. The expedition being finished, the *Turks* desired leave to return home; and that the guard of the said bridge might be committed to them: but *Mukhumet* insisted on their following him into *India*; and, on their refusal, threatened to compel them (P). The *Turks*, through fear, withdrew into the desert of *Karwonites* (Q); from whence they made incursions on the *Saracens* and *Persians*. Hereupon *Mukhumet* sent against them an army of 20,000 men, under ten of his best commanders; who pitched their camp at the entrance of the desert. *Tagrolipix*, being informed of this, made two great marches, and, coming upon them in the night, defeated them: on which occasion he got abundance of arms, horses, and riches: then, issuing out of the desert, and encamping in the open country, his army, by the accession of disaffected people, slaves, robbers, and the like, increased at length to 50,000 men. *by the Greek writers.*

d MUKHUMET, imputing the late disgrace to the misconduct of his generals, ordered them to be deprived of their sight; and threatened to expose, in womens cloaths, the soldiers who fled (R). After this, raising an army of *Saracens*, *Persians*, *Kaviri*, and *Arabs*, 50,000 strong, and having with him 100 elephants, bearing towers, he marched to *Ispahan* (S); where *Tagrolipix* hastened to meet him. The conflict, for a time, was bloody and doubtful; but, while *Mukhumet* rode about to animate his troops, he fell from his horse, and broke his neck (T). Whereupon his army submitting to *Tagrolipix*, proclaimed him king of *Persia*. The new monarch immediately sent to open the passage over the *Araxis*; and, giving free permission to all *Turks* to enter *Persia*, vast numbers laid hold of the opportunity; and thus became lords of the country, giving the title of Soltân, which signifies *emperor*, or *king of kings* (U), to *Tagrolipix*; who divided the provinces, and, bestowing all offices in the magistracy and government among his *Turks*, reduced the natives to a very miserable condition.

e THE reader, from the foregoing specimen, may see what little accuracy he is to expect from the *Byzantine* historians, with regard to the affairs of other nations; and what little they have

confounds the two authors together, as hath been observed before (1), we make no scruple to put *Mirkbond* in his place: and the rather, since *Kondairâr*, being only an abridgment of *Mirkbond*, cannot be supposed to differ from him.

(H) There are two cities of this name in *Khorasân*; one 130 miles north-east of *Herât*, the other 140 north of it towards the river *Jibûn* or *Amû*. This last, called *Merû* or *Marû Shabjân*, is the place mentioned in the text.

(I) This must be *Mahmûd*, the first Soltân of the *Gazni* race.

(K) *Sambrael*, some copies.

(L) Meaning *Turkistan*.

(M) *Nicephorus Bryen* makes *Mukalet* a distinct person from *Tagrolipix*, or *Tegrol Bek*.

(N) This is not the *Araxes*, now *Arrûs*, in *Armenia*, as the historians hitherto have imagined; but the *Jibûn* or *Amû*.

(O) *Nicephorus Bryen* calls him *Pisares*. This is *Basafiri*, prince of *Irâk Arabi*, or *Bakli*, (misnamed by *Knowles* and others *Khalif* of *Babilon*), whom not *Mahmûd Gazni*, but *Tegrol Bek*, had to do with, and that not till the 17th year of his reign.

(P) There was some dispute of this kind between them and *Maffûd*, son and successor of *Mahmûd*.

(Q) Or *Karabonitis*, as *Nicephorus Bryen*.

(R) Something of this nature is related of *Maffûd*, who put to death several of his *Turkish* officers and soldiers, for not doing their duty against the *Seljuks*.

(S) *Ispâhân*, or *Spâhân*, capital of *Persia*.

(T) *Mahmûd* neither fought a battle with *Tegrol Bek*, nor died a violent death.

(U) It is equivalent only to the title of king; and was first assumed by *Mahmûd Gazni*. See that article in *D'Hérbelot*.

(1) See before, p. 107. Note (G).

further written concerning the transactions of this Soltân, and one or two of his successors, a
excepting such as the *Romans* themselves had a share in, is no less confused and erroneous.
Let us now resume the history of the *Seljûks* from the eastern writers.

S E C T. IV.

The reign of Togrol Bek.

*Dynasty of
Irân.*

THE descendants of *Seljûk* are, in *Arabic*, called *Seljûkiyûn*, or *Selajekah*, and, in *Persian*, *Seljukiyân*; which is made *English* by the addition only of an *s*, at the end of it. The b
singular of both is *Seljûki*; which, with the particle *Al* or *the*, before it, signifies any person
of the family or race of *Seljûk* (A).

THE oriental authors divide the *Seljûkians* into three dynasties or races of princes, reigning
in the south of *Asia*, and which were contemporary, not successive; namely, those of *Irân*, or
Persia at large; those of *Kermân*, a province of *Persia*; and those of *Rûm*, or *Asia minor*;
of which we propose to treat in order. And, first, of the *Seljûkians* of *Irân*.

Its duration.

THE author of the *Nighiariştân* gives to the dynasty of *Irân* fourteen princes; fixes its com-
mencement at the year of the *Hejrah* 429, of *Christ* 1037; and terminates its duration, which
he makes 161 years, in the year 593, of *Christ* 1196. This is conformable to *Mirkbond* (B),
and the *Lebtarikh*; only the latter puts the end of this dynasty in 590: but *Katib*, or *Katib* c
Sadeb, surnamed *Haji Khûlfah*, in his work, intitled, *Takwîm al Tavarîk*, says, that this suc-
cession consisted of fifteen Soltâns; who began to reign in 432, and ended in 590; giving
them an existence of no more than 158 years^a. *Ebn Amîd* again places the commencement of
the *Seljûk* monarchy in 430 of the *Hejrah*; and, in a matter of some uncertainty, 'tis hard to
say which computation is most exact: however, as we are obliged to make use of one, we
choose to be regulated by that of *Mirkbond*, and the *Nighiariştân*.

1. Soltân, To-
grol Bek,

TOGROL BEK, or *Beg*, first Soltân of this dynasty, is the person whom *Cedrenus*, and the
other *Byzantine* writers, call *Tagrolipix*, or *Tangrolipix*, by a corruption of the name, no less
extraordinary than common with the *Greeks*, who have, in all ages, so disfigured most of the words
which they borrowed from other languages, that 'tis scarce possible to tell what to make of d
them. His *Mohammedan* name was *Abu Taleb Mohammed*; and his surname, or title, given
him by the Khalifah, *Rokn Oddîn* (C); *the pillar of the faith and religion*^b.

defeats Mas-
sûd,
Hejrah 431.
A. D. 1039.

ALTHOUGH the *Seljûks* had gotten possession of almost all *Khorasân*, yet *Massûd*, a brave
prince, resolved to do his utmost to recover it. Accordingly, in the year 431, having raised
a considerable army, he marched against *Togrol Bek*, and put him to flight; killing a good
number of his men, and taking others prisoners, with their arms. Next year *Togrol Bek*
returned to *Nishâbûr*; from whence *Massûd* fled to *Gazna*: and, after this, the *Seljûkians*
became masters of all *Khorasân*; on which occasion an incredible multitude of people were slain.
Thus writes *Ebn Amîd*^c.

conquers Per-
sian Irâk.

BUT the *Lebtarikh* relates, that he returned thither after fighting a battle with the *Seljûks*, e
in the plain of *Zandekon*, near *Marû*, wherein he was defeated. 'Tis added, that these suc-
cesses were followed by the patent of investiture (D) sent to the two brothers, *Togrol Bek* and
Jaffar Bek, by the Khalifah *Kayim*^d; and by the reduction of the provinces of *Jorjûn* and
Tabrestân, in the year 433^e, which *Togrol Bek* undertook, and then made himself master of all
the *Persian Irâk*^f: for, in 434, *Ibrahim Neâl Al Seljûki* (E), took *Hamadân*. He was fol-
lowed by *Togrol Bek*, who subdued *Rey* (F). Then, dividing the provinces between them,
Jaffar Beg had for his share *Khorasân*, and *Togrol Beg* the *Persian Irâk*, with the other pro-
vinces which he subdued; fixing his seat at (G) *Hamadân*^g.

Hejrah 433.
A. D. 1041.

MASSUD, after his retreat to *Gazna*, seems to have raised fresh forces; the command of
which he gave to his son *Maëdûd*, whom he sent towards *Balkh*, to defend that frontier^h. f
Then carrying his blind brother *Mohammed* with him, he marched again into the *Indies*; where

^a D'HERB. p. 800, art. Selgiûk.
tarikh, p. 42.
art. Selgiûk.

^c ABU'LF. p. 226.

^b D'HERB. p. 562, art. Maudûd.

^b D'HERB. p. 1027, art. Togrol Beg.

^f D'HERB. p. 1027.

^c P. 333.

^d Leb-

^e Lebtarikh. D'HERB. p. 1027,

(A) We sometimes, after our authors, use the word
Al Seljûki, but render it the *Seljûkian*, never the *Seljûk*;
but in the plural say, the *Seljûks*, and *Seljûkians*, indif-
ferently, as our language admits of either. The word
may be also written either *Sejûk* or *Saljûk*.

(B) *D'Herbelot* has *Kandemir*; but we have already
observed, p. 107. note G. that he confounds the father
and son together. We always make the change found
in the text.

(C) This last word may be written *Addîn*, compound-
ed of *al*, *the*, and *din*, *faith*, or *religion*: the *l* being
liquidated into the *d*.

(D) Or patent of Soltân, as in *D'Herbelot*.

(E) That is, the *Seljûkian*.

(F) As it was subdued by him in the time of *Massûd*,
298, he must have lost it again before he could take it
the second time.

(G) Faultily, in *Celmin's* copy, *Gamadân*.

a he continued till the winter following, and made great progress: but being obliged to advance *Maedûd* *nur-* towards the city of *Balkh*, to defend himself against the *Seljukians*, who every day increased *dered.* in power, as he was about to pass the river *Sind*, which is the *Indus*, *Yusef Ebn Pushtekin*, one of his generals, deposed, and afterwards murdered him in the same year 433 (H); when he had reigned thirteen years with great magnificence, and the love of all the learned men of his age, of whom he was very fond.

MAEDUD his son, who was then at *Balkh*, succeeded him in the kingdoms of *Mawarâ'ul-Karazm* *sub-* *nabr*, *Khorasân*, and *India*, so far as had been conquered: but the *Seljuk Turks*, who dwelt in *and.* those provinces, refusing to acknowledge him, he sent an army against them in 435, which *Hejrah* 435. being met by *Olb Arslân*, son of *Jaffar Bek*, with a considerable force, was overthrown. On A. D. 1043. the other side, great numbers of *Turks* breaking out of *Turkestan* into the territories of *Gau-* *mafer* and *Kandabâr*, to plunder, were routed by *Maedûd's* garrisons¹. By this time the power of the *Seljukians* was so well established in that large province, that, after the Soltân's death, they found it no difficult matter to join to their other conquests the province of *Balkh*, with all the country of *Karazm*^k.

THE same year a detachment of 1650 *Gâz* (I) horse, under four commanders, *Kukias*, *Abu Turkman* *in-* *Ali Ebn Dabkan*, *Haji Israel*, and *Abû Mansûr*, made an irruption into the country of *Amîd* (K), *vafon.* and *Miyafarkîn* (L), then possessed by prince *Abunafsr Ebn Marwân*. From thence they went to *Nasibîn*, where they cut down the trees: and having stayed for some time, proceeded to *Musol*, whose lord, *Karwûs Ebn Moktadîr*, bought his peace of them with money. But after destroying the other cities of *Diyarbekr* and *Aljazîrah* (M), they returned to *Musol*, and took it, killing, enslaving, and plundering the inhabitants. When they had been here for some time, the *Arabs* assembled on all sides; and besieging them, at length drove them out of the city. They afterwards defeated them in several battles, and killed many: the rest fled to *Mayasferkîn*; and making what plunder they could, retired into *Adherbijân*¹.

THE same year 435, *Jakîl Adawlat*, king of *Baghdâd*, dying without children, after seven- *Affairs of Per-* teen years reign, his nephew *Abu Kalanjar* (N), son of *Soltân Addawlat*, succeeded him in the *fia.* post of *Emîr al omerab*, that is, generalissimo of the troops of the *Khalîfat*: and finding *Togrol Bek* grow powerful in *Persia*, made an alliance with him in 439, by marrying his son to the A. D. 1047. Soltân's niece, the daughter of *Dawd al Seljûki*: but the following year died, having reigned four years; and was succeeded by the second of his four sons, *Khosraw Ferûz*, who happened to be at *Shirâz*, and there assumed the name of *Malek Rabîm*. *Maedûd Gazni* resolving to recover *Hejrah* 441. *Khorasân*, if possible, out of the hands of the *Seljuks*, began his march against them with a A. D. 1049. powerful army; but dying of the cholick by the way, his great preparations came to nothing^m.

IN the year 442, *Togrol Bek*, marching to *Ispahân*, took it by force; and, four years after *Ispahan taken.* (446), entering *Adherbijân* with his troops, reduced it under his obedienceⁿ. *Hejrah* 442. A. D. 1150.

MALEK *Rabîm*, king of *Baghdâd*, succeeded his father *Abu'l Ganjar* (or *Kalanjar*) in 440, 1048, as hath been said. But being attacked by *Abu Mansûr Fulâd Sotûn*, his eldest brother, and deserted by his *Turkish* troops, he retired to *Abwâz* (in *Khuzestân*), and thence to *Waset* (on *e* the *Dijlat* or *Tigris*); where the war was continued, with various success, till 447: when being *Hejrah* 447. informed that *Togrol Bek*, at the instigation of *Abu Mansûr*, had possessed himself of *Shirâz*, A. D. 1055. and most of *Pârs*, he raised all the forces he could, and recovered it: then returned to *Waset*.

ABU MANSUR having, by the defeat and death of his brother *Abufayd*, secured himself *Other places* in the throne of *Pars* (O), died in a castle, where he was imprisoned by *Wazîr Fazel Haf-* *submit.* *san*, or *Huya*, who assumed the title of king. *Malek Maverd*, a *Seljuk* commander, who was then in the province of *Kerman*, being informed of this, marched against *Fazel Huya*, and he fled to another, called *Olb Arslân* (P), whose lands he farmed; and growing very rich by that means, revolted from him: but soon after was taken, with a son of his called *Nezâm al Molk*, and imprisoned in the fortress of *Strabar*, where they died. This was in the year 448.

¹ TEIXEIRA, p. 294, & seq. p. 240, art. Caim Beamrillah.

^k D'HERBEL. ubi supr.

¹ EBN AMID, p. 335.

^m D'HERBEL.

ⁿ ABU'LF. p. 226.

(H) *Textira* has 431, or 139 of *Christ*, but faultily.

(I) By *Gâz Turks* are properly to be understood *Turk-* *mâns*. These, with the *Turks*, swarmed in *Persia*, hav- ing been employed as soldiers, not only by the *Gazni* Soltâns, who were themselves originally *Turks*, but by all the princes of the *Euyah* family, who reigned in *Tabresân*, *Persian Irâk*, *Pârs*, or proper *Persia*, and at *Baghdâd*, before they were subdued by the *Seljukians*, under whom the *Turks* and *Turkmâns* united, and served as their natural princes.

(K) The same with *Diyarbekr*.

(L) A city, two days journey to the north of *Diyar-* *bekr* city: it is the ancient *Martyropolis*.

(M) That is, *Misopotamia*, or rather the south part of the province of *Diyarbekr*.

(N) In *Teixeira*, *Abu'lganjar*; in *Abu'lfaraj*, *Kalijar*.

(O) Or proper *Persia*, called *Fârs* by the *Arabs*, of which *Shirâz* is the capital.

(P) This doubtless was *Olb* or *Alp Arslân*, *Togrol Bek's* nephew and successor.

ABU *ali* Kay *Khostraw*, who had succeeded his father *Abu'l Ganjar*, voluntarily submitted ^a to *Olb Arslân*, who gave him *Nûbanjân* and *Aktak* (Q) to live on, treating him with much honour (R).

ABOUT this time *Dawd* the *Seljuik*, called also *Jaffar Bek*, brother of *Togrol Bek*, who commanded in *Khorasân*, made war upon *Ferokzâd Ebn Massîd*, eighth Soltân of the *Gazni* race (S); but the Soltân defeated him; and then marching into *Khorasân*, overthrew the king of *Turkestan's* (T) general, who came to meet him. At last *Olb Arslân*, advancing against him, routed his forces. *Ferokzâd*, having reigned six years, died, and left the crown of *Khorasân* and *Mawarâ'nahr* (U) to his brother *Ibrâhîm Ebn Massîd*, who concluded a peace with the *Turks*, and then marched into *India*, to make farther conquests ^a.

Basafiri rebels THE distractions which had long subsisted at *Baghdâd*, occasioned by the *Turkish* militia, still ^b continued to afflict that city; when great feuds arose between *Râis al Ruffa*, Wazîr or Vizier to the Khalîfah *Kayim Beamrillab*, and a *Turk* called *Ruslân Abu'l Harith Mutaffer*, surnamed *Basafiri* (W). This *Basafiri* was originally a slave to *Bobao'ddawlat*, king of *Irâk* and *Baghdâd*; but, by degrees, rose to be one of the principal commanders of *Malek Rabîm*, then king of *Baghdâd*. Being obliged, on account of this quarrel, to quit *Baghdâd*, he put himself under the protection of *Al Mostanser*, Khalîfah of *Egypt*; who supplying him with troops, he became very powerful in *Irâk Arabi*, and at length got possession of the country, which he ravaged as far as the imperial city; so that he grew a terror both to the *Arabs* and *Persians*. He was already prayed for in the pulpits of that province: and as the Khalîfah had been deprived of all authority by the *Buyab* or *Dilem* princes, in whose hands he was, so, by this rebellion of *Basafiri*, nothing remained to *Malek*, who succeeded *Abu Kalanjar*, but the naked title of king of *Baghdâd* ^c.

against the
Khalîfah.

Togrol Bek
invited.
Hej. 447.
A. D. 1055.

AUTHORS place these events in the year 447; but they seem to have had a beginning some years earlier (X). However that be, it is certain that the Khalîfah, being informed that *Basafiri* designed the same year to seize on the imperial castle, wrote to *Togrol Bek*, who was then in the district of *Rey*, intreating him to come to his assistance.

BASASIRI was at *Waset* (Y), whence some his soldiers deserting, came to *Baghdâd*; and, having plundered, burnt his palace.

TOGROL BEK arrived at that capital in the month of *Ramadbân*, bringing with him eighteen elephants; at what time *Basafiri*, who was at *Rababa*, on the *Euphrates*, wrote to *Mostan-* ^d
sir Billab, lord of *Egypt* (Z), had prayers put up in his name, and furnished him with money.

Hej. 448.
A. D. 1056.

As soon as *Togrol Bek* arrived at *Baghdâd*, he seized *Malek Rabîm*, for whom prayers were no longer said (A). Thus ended the dominion of the *Buyans*, which had continued 127 years; and that of the *Seljuiks* began in the same city, where *Togrol Bek* took up his lodging, in the imperial castle. Next year the Khalîfah married *Kadija*, the sister of *Togrol Bek*, who gave her a portion of 100,000 crowns in gold: and *Togrol Bek*, having stayed between three and four months at *Baghdâd*, marched from thence towards *Musol*, carrying with him battering rams, and other engines of war (B). He went also and besieged *Takrit*, at what time the cities

^a TEIX. p. 298, & seq.
ABU'LF. p. 226.

^c TEIX. p. 299. D'HERB. p. 240, art. Caïm Bemr. EBN AMID. p. 336.

(Q) Two cities in the province of *Pârs*, to the north-west of *Shirâz*.

(R) This prince lived forty years after his brother, dying in 487; and in him ended the family of *Buyab* in *Pârs*. TEIX. p. 301.

(S) He succeeded his brother *Abdal Rashîd*, or *Abdal Rabîm*, who was murdered in 445, or 1053, by *Togrol* or *Tokzel Bek*, one of his favourites.

(T) In *Teixeira* he is called general of *Salinquah*, king of *Turkestan*, by whom must be understood *Togrol Bek*, and *Olb Arslân* said to be his son; which inaccuracies may be owing to too much haste in that author making his extracts from *Mirkhond*.

(U) Tho' he seems to have had very little share of either province, excepting the country of *Gaznah*, and the parts eastward of it.

(W) So named from the city *Basa*, or *Pasa*, in *Pârs*, or proper *Persia*, the antient *Pasagarda*; and not from *Basafir*, as *Abû'l-faraj* writes, p. 226. of which name we meet no city. In the *Lebtarîkh* of *Golmin* he is called prince of the *Dilamites*; probably a mistake for an Amîr or commander of the *Dilamite* troops; meaning those of the *Buyab* kings of *Baghdâd*, called *Dilamites*; as being originally from *Dilum*, *Deylum*, *Daylum*, or *Dey-*

lemon, a city in the province of *Gheylan*, or *Kbilan*, in *Persia* (1). Besides, there was a *Buyab* race of kings in *Tabrestân* and *Forjân*, called *Dialemah*, *Deylemiyah*, or *Deylamites*. *Olearius* says that *Dilum* is a city of the province of *Rasht* in *Gûilân*: 'tis not in his map of *Gûilân*, inserted p. 388. but we find the mountain *Deylum* on the east side of the river *Isperûth*, or *Kesiluzan*.

(X) *Abû'l-faraj* remarks, p. 226. that *Basafiri* took *Anbar*, or *Ambar*, a city of *Irâk*, on the *Euphrates*, in the year of the *Hejrah* 441, or of *Christ* 1049: whence we presume that the origin of these troubles may be dated at least so high.

(Y) A city on the *Tigris*. See before, p. 157.

(Z) He was the Khalîfah of *Egypt*, whose power extended over that country, *Syria*, and the coast of *Barbary*.

(A) *Togrol Bek*, or *Beg*, was prayed for in the pulpits instead of him. *Abû'l-faraj*, p. 226.

(B) Our author does not tell us what his design was; but probably it was to besiege that city, which we find was taken the same year by *Basafiri*: but that, on *Togrol Bek's* approach, he abandoned it. *Mirkhond*, ap. *D'Herbelot*, p. 240, art. *Caïm Beamrillab*.

(1) *Teixeira hist.* p. 232, 245. *Olearius trav. Mosc. Pers.* p. 198.

a of *Kufa*, *Waset*, and *Aynothamri*, falling off from their allegiance, caused prayers to be made in the name of *Mostansir Billah*, Khalîfah of *Egypt*.

IN 449 the Khalîfah *Kayîm Beamrillah* honoured *Togrol Bek* with the imperial vest, and crowned him king of *Baghdâd*. He likewise adorned him with the collar and bracelets, appointed him ruler over his court, and money to be coined in his name ^p.

THUS the Soltânat of *Baghdâd*, or post of *Amîr al omerah* of the Khalîfahs, passed from the house of the *Buyans* to that of the *Seljuks*^q: and thus his power was thoroughly established: nor was there any person left, in both the *Irâks* and *Khorasân*, who gave him the least opposition.

b THE year following *Togrol Bek* marched to *Musol*, and from thence to *Nasibîn*, with a design to subdue those places. There went with him his brother *Ibrahim*, whom *Basasiri*, by his emissaries, stirred up to revolt; giving him hopes of obtaining the kingdom, and promising assistance. *Ibrahim*, upon this, having exacted an oath of fidelity from the soldiers, departs with a great army from *Rey*, and rebelled^r.

KONDAMIR, or *Mirkbond*, as reported by *D'Herbelot*, represents this affair two very different ways. In one place he says that *Ibrahim*, surnamed *Nial*, *Togrol Bek*'s brother, seized the city of *Hamadân*; and while the Soltân was on his march to drive him thence, *Basasiri*, taking the opportunity, made himself master of *Baghdâd*^s.

IN another place the same author relates, that *Ibrahim*, the Soltân's maternal uncle, revolted, and unexpectedly advanced against him from the *Arabian Irâk*, where he was governor, with an army, as far as *Hamadân* (C), in *Persian Irâk*, where *Togrol Beg* then resided^t.

THE *Persian* historian also dates this transaction, if it be the same with the former, three years later in this place than in the other (D). Whether this difference be owing to the disagreement among the authors from whom *Kondamir* copied, or to the negligence of *D'Herbelot*, in extracting from him; or whether they be two distinct events, differing with respect to persons, time, and action; we must leave the reader to judge, on reading a subsequent note, relating to *Ibrahim*'s death.

BASASIRI entered *Baghdâd* on the 8th of *Dhu'lhajjah*, with the name of the *Egyptian* Khalîfah (E) inscribed on his standards; and on the 13th prayers were put up in the cathedral church in his name. Then ordering a bridge to be laid across the *Tigris*, he passed over to the eastern side of the city, called *Rusâfab* (F), where the same ceremony was performed. After this, seizing *Ebn Mostem*, the Khalîfah's Wazîr or Vizier, he ordered him to be dressed in a woollen gown, with a high red bonnet, and a leathern collar about his neck; and, in this manner, to be led through the streets of *Baghdâd*, tied upon a camel, with a man lashing him all the way behind: then being sewed up in a fresh bull's hide, with the horns placed over his head, he was hung up on hooks, and beaten till he died.

As for the Khalîfah, he went to the camp, where a tent was set up for him on the east side of the city. Mean time the mob pillaged the imperial palace of things to an immense value. On *Friday*, the 4th of *Dhu'lhajjah*, there was neither sermon nor prayers in the temple of the Khalîfah; while, in all other churches, the harangue was made in the name of *Mostansir Billah*, lord of *Egypt*. Thus the sovereignty of the Khalîfah was suppressed for that day.

AFTER this, *Kayîm Beamrillah* was conveyed to *Haditha* (G); and being put in fetters, was left in custody with the governor of the town.

THE year following, *Basasiri* sending for the great chancellor *Abu Abdalla Ebn Damîyân*, Hejrah 451: with the preachers and princes of the family of *Hassem*, required from them security, and an oath of fidelity to *Mostanser Billah*, lord of *Egypt*.

THE same year, 451, *Togrol Bek* marched against his brother *Ibrahim*, defeated, and having taken him prisoner, had him strangled with a bow-string (H). He likewise put to death a great number of *Turkmâns*, who had joined with him.

HAVING

^p EBN AMID. p. 336, & seq. ^q D'HERB. p. 1027, art. Thogrul. ^r EBN AMID, p. 337, & seq.
^s KONDEMIR ap. D'Herb. p. 240. art. Caîm. ^t Ibid. p. 1027, art. Thogrulbek.

(C) The *Amatha* of the *Jews*, and *Ekbatana* of the *Greeks*; erroneously thought to be *Tauris* by most authors.

(D) That is, in the year of the *Hejrah* 454, and of *Christ* 1062.

(E) Viz. Prince *Mabadi Abutamîm*, *Mostansir Billah*, *Amîr Almumînîn*.

(F) Because the streets were paved with stones. *Gol.* not. in *Alfragan.* p. 122.

(G) There are two *Hadithas*, one on the *Euphrates*;

the other here mentioned stands on the east side of the *Dijlat* or *Tigris*, near the great *Zâb*, fourteen parangs, or *Persian* leagues, or four *English* miles each, below *Musol*; from whence it has the name of *Haditha al Musol*. It was, for a time, the seat of the Khalîfahs. *Abûlfeza*, in his description of *Irâk al Arab*.

(H) *Kondamir* differs from himself, as in the beginning, so in the event of this affair. In one place he says, *Togrol* made up matters with his brother *Ibrahim Nial*, and then returned to *Baghdâd*, from whence *Basasiri*

HAVING thus re-established his power, he marched to *Baghdâd* against *Basasiri*, and sent the Khalifah his compliments, with 5,000 crowns in gold, and 5,000 suits of cloaths for his wife. As he drew near the city, on the 11th of *Dbu'lkâdab*, *Mabras*, lord of *Haditha*, came to meet him, bringing *Kayim Beamrilla* (I) with him.

and *Baghdâd*
pillaged.

As soon as he arrived at *Baghdâd*, his soldiers fell to pillage it (K), especially that part called *Karkba*; and having collected a great quantity of tents, chariots, and other moveables, sent them all to the Khalifah, with his Wazir *Abdalmâlek Al Kanderi*, and *Afiad Abubekr*. Then a tent being set up, the Khalifah entered it; and, after two days rest, on the 25th of the same month, went into *Baghdâd*, from whence he had been absent a whole year, accompanied by *Togrol Bek*, who held the bridle of his mule till he had passed through the stone gate ^u.

The Khalifah
rejoiced.

MIRKHOND relates, that he conducted the Khalifah to the imperial palace on foot, sometimes holding the stirrup, sometimes the bridle, of his mule; and that, to gratify this respect of *Togrol Bek*, he gave him the title of *Rokn oddin*, in these words; *Erkeb ya Rokn oddin: mount on horseback, you who are the most firm pillar, or support, of the religion*. After this, the Soltân told the Khalifah, that if *Malek al Rabim* had no hand in the late tumult, he might safely come to him. *Malek*, trusting to *Togrol Bek's* promise, waited on him; but, being seized and imprisoned, in him ended the dynasty of the *Buyabs*, which had continued 127 years ^w.

Basasiri slain.

SOME time before this, *Basasiri* was gone to *Wafet*; and having gathered a large quantity of corn, sent it on board some barks: but when he heard what had happened at *Baghdâd*, he advanced to *Nomanîya* (L). The Soltân sent against him part of his army, under the command of *Hemarmakin*, and other generals; following himself with the rest of his forces, in the end of *Dbu'lkâdab* (M). *Basasiri* being killed in the battle, his head was brought to *Togrol Bek*, who ordered it to be carried on a pike through the streets of *Baghdâd*. Then proceeding to *Wafet*, he sets matters to rights there, and returned to *Baghdâd* in the year 452; where the Khalifah made him rich presents, and received him with great honour. After this, he went to *Jabâl* (N), leaving his Wazir, *Abdalmâlek al Kanderi* as his lieutenant; and having settled that country in peace, returned to *Baghdâd* the same year ^x.

Hej. 452.
A. D. 1060.

His effects
seized.

THE above-mentioned battle was fought between *Wafet* and *Kufab*, according to the *Lebtarikh*^y: but *Mirkhond* relates that *Basasiri* having been pursued by *Togrol Bek* as far as the last of those two cities, and being accompanied with no great force, some of his soldiers found an opportunity to kill him, and carried his head to the Soltân ^z. They likewise seized all the effects which he, and *Nuro'ddâwlat Dobays* (O), who accompanied *Basasiri* in his retreat, were carrying off: but *Dobays* made his escape; and submitting to *Togrol Bek* next year, was honourably received by him ^a.

The Greek
account.

HAVING related matters thus far from the historians of the east, it is time to look westward, and see what is to be met with farther, concerning the *Seljûkian Turks*, in *Greek* authors; whose want of that exactness found in the orientals, in marking the dates of actions, makes it difficult to range them in chronological order, or deliver them from the confusion in which they seem placed. We are told by *Cedrenus*, and *Nicephorus Bryennius*, that after *Tagrolipix* found himself secure in the throne of *Persia*, he began to make war on the neighbouring princes; and marching against *Pissafrius* before-mentioned, after defeating him in several battles, slew him, and brought the country of the *Babylonians* (P) in subjection.

^u EBN AMID, p. 338, & seq.
^y P. 42.

^w D'HERB. p. 240, & seq. art. Caïm Bemr.
^z D'HERB. p. 240, art. Caïm Bemr.

^x EBN AMID, p. 340.
^a ABU'LFARAJ. p. 226.

Basasiri was fled (1). In the other place he tells us, that he was assisted so seasonably by his nephew *Alp Arslân*, with the forces of *Khorasân*, that his uncle *Ibrahim* was easily vanquished; and being taken, was put to death (2). The historian adds, that after this signal victory (as he calls it), *Togrol Bek* sent *Alp Arslân* back to *Khorasân*, and made himself a second journey to *Baghdâd*; at what time he delivered the Khalifah from the persecution of *Basasiri*, and replaced him on the throne a second time (3). This shews that the history, in both places before-mentioned, relates to the same person and transaction, tho' differently told, and differently dated.

(I) According to *Mirkhond*, as soon as *Togrol Bek* entered *Baghdâd*, he went to the prison, and set the Khalifah at liberty. But this seems to be a mistake; for he was then at *Haditha*, in custody.

(K) *Mirkhond* says, this was done by the Soltân's order, because the people rose against the *Turks*; who grew very insolent, soon after they had entered the city. *Mirkhond*, ubi supr. p. 240.

(L) A city between *Wafet* and *Baghdâd*. *D'Herbelot*, p. 674.

(M) The last month but one of the *Mohammedan* year.

(N) So the *Arabic*: the *Persian* word is *Kûhestân*: that is, the mountain country, the same with *Persian Irâk*, at least a part.

(O) He was an *Arab* prince, of the tribe of *Affâd*, and lord of *Hellab*, a city on the *Euphrates*; supposed, with good reason, to be built in or near the place where *Babylon* stood. In 425, A. D. 1033, *Basasiri* marched from *Baghdâd* to assist his brother *Abu Karwam Thabet*, who was at war with him. *Dobays* lived eighty years, and enjoyed his principality fifty-seven. He died in 474, and was famous for his virtue, and acts of goodness (4).

(P) That is, *Arabian Irâk*.

(1) *D'Herbelot*. p. 241, art. Caïm Beamrillah.
(4) *Abu'lfaraj*, p. 225, 237, & 252.

(2) *Idem*, p. 1027, art. *Thegrulbeg*.

(3) *Idem* *ibid*.

a HE then sent his nephew *Kutlu Moses* (Q) against *Karmeses* (R), king of the *Arabians*: *Kutlu Moses* but being overthrown, he took shelter in *Media* (S), and stopped at *Baus*, or *Baasprakan*. From ^{defeated.} thence he sent to *Stephen*, the *Roman* governor, to desire a passage (T); and being denied, routed his troops, and took him prisoner. Then marching to *Brisium*, on the borders of *Perfisa*, sold him there for a slave. When he returned to *Tagrolipix*, after excusing his ill success against the *Arabs*, he advised him to invade *Media*, which he said was inhabited by women (U): but that prince, highly offended at his defeat, would not hearken to him; but raising new-forces, went against the *Arabs* in person, and was likewise put to the worst.

At his return he marched against *Kutlu Moses*, who, fearing the Soltân's displeasure, had fled ^{flies from} with his followers; and taking refuge in *Pasar*, a city of the *Khorasimians* (W), revolted from *Tagrolipix*; b him; while he, with part of his army, besieged *Pasar*, which, being strong, held out long. He sent another part, consisting of 20,000 men, under the command of *Affan* (X), surnamed *the deaf*, his brother's son, to subdue *Media*; where he committed dreadful ravages; but being, in the end, drawn into an ambush by the *Roman* generals, he was cut off, with his whole army.

Tagrolipix, no way discouraged at this misfortune, sent a new army into *Media*, near ^{who burns} 100,000 strong; commanded by *Abraham Alim* (Y), his half-brother; who laid waste the *Artze*. c country without opposition, the *Romans* shutting themselves up in their strong holds; and then laid siege to *Artze* (Z), a place, on account of its great trade, esteemed the most wealthy in those parts; but not being able to master it, they reduced it to ashes. Of the inhabitants, 150,000 and upwards are said to have perished, either by the sword, or in the flames.

Abraham, after this, hearing that the *Romans*, under the command of *Liparites*, gover- ^{Roman gene-} nor of *Iberia*, had taken the field, he marched against them. The two armies engaging with ^{ral taken.} great fury, the victory continued long doubtful, but at length inclined to the *Romans*; although their general was taken prisoner, which hindered them to pursue the flying enemy.

Hereupon the emperor dispatched ambassadors, with rich presents, and a large sum, to redeem *Liparites*, and conclude an alliance with *Tagrolipix*, who generously returned them; with the money, to *Liparites*, and set him at liberty without ransom; only requiring him, at his departure, no more to bear arms against the *Turks*.

Not long after, the Soltân sent a *Sbarîf* (A), a person of great authority, with the character ^{The empire} of ambassador to *Constantinople*; who, having arrogantly exhorted the emperor to submit to ^{invaded.} his master, and acknowledge himself his tributary, was, by *Monomachus*, dismissed with scorn, and driven out of the city.

Tagrolipix, offended at the reception of his ambassador, while the emperor was engaged in a war with the *Patzinacæ* (B), a *Scythian* nation, entered *Iberia*; and having laid the country waste, as far as *Koyma*, returned from thence into *Media*, and laid siege to *Mantzikbiert* (C), a place defended by a numerous garison, and fortified with a triple wall, and deep ditches. However, as it was situated in a plain open country, he hoped to be master of it in a short time: but, after he had continued before it thirty days was obliged to retire, pretending some urgent affairs had called him home.

e Not long after, discord arising between the Soltân and *Abraham Alim*, or *Halim*, whom he ^{Abraham} sought to destroy, *Abraham* fled to his nephew *Kutlu Moses*, and joined in the rebellion. The ^{Alim slain.} Soltân, meeting them not far from *Pasar* (E), defeated them in battle; and *Abraham* being taken, was put to death. *Kutlu Moses*, with his cousin *Malek*, son of *Abraham*, followed by 6000 men, fled to the borders of the *Roman* empire; from whence he sent for protection to the emperor *Monomachus*, a little before his death, which happened in 1054 (F). But while

(Q) Called also *Kuthi Moses* by the *Greeks*; a corruption of *Kutlu Mîsh*, or *Kotolmîsh*.

(R) One would be apt to take this for *Karmath*, prince of the sectaries from him called *Karameth*, or *Karametha*; or else for some prince of that sect, which began at *Kutha*, in *Irâk Arabi*, if we had not known that it was suppressed in the tenth century. See *D'Herb.* art. *Carmath*.

(S) It should rather be *Armenia*, to which *Baasprakan* or *Vaspûrakan* belongs. The province lies betwixt the lake of *Wân* and the river *Arrâs*. Other circumstances shew, it ought to be *Armenia*, or *Perfarmeria*, which might have been joined to *Media*, or *Adherbijân*, which the *Turks* conquered in 1050, as before related.

(T) These *Turks* are said to have been first known to the *Greeks* in the time of the emperor *Constantine Monomachus*, who began his reign in 1042; but the year when this affair happened does not distinctly appear.

(U) Alluding to the weakness and effeminacy of the *Romans*.

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(W) These are the inhabitants of *Karazm*, to the north of *Perfisa*, and too far out of the way.

(X) Perhaps *Hassan*.

(Y) This must be *Ibrahim Nial*.

(Z) *Artze* or *Arze*, near *Theodosiopolis* in *Armenia*, the present *Arzen al Rûm*, or *Arzerum*.

(A) A *Seriph*, in *Cedrenus*: *Sbarîf* signifies *noble*, and denotes being of *Mohammed's* kindred.

(B) The invasion of the *Patzinacæ* was in (or about) the year 1050.

(C) *Mantzikbierta*, according to *Curopalata*, is in *Baasprakan*, or more properly *Vaspûrakan*. The same author, in another place, calls it *Matzikier*. *Cedrenus* names it *Maurokiergha*.

(D) This was in the year 1058, which falls in the reign of *Constantine Ducas*.

(E) This must be *Hamadan*, or near it; and the action in 1059, as related before out of the oriental historians.

(F) Others say in 1057; some in 1049; so uncertain is

while he waited for an answer, he marched into *Persarmenia*, as far as the city *Karse* (G), which he took, though not the castle. But hearing that *Tagrolipix* was advancing towards him, he fled to the *Arabs*, who were the Soltân's enemies.

Iberia ravaged.

THE Soltân turning into *Iberia*, laid it waste, sparing neither sex nor age. But upon the approach of *Michael Acolutbus*, who was sent against him at the head of a considerable army, he retired to *Tauris* (H), leaving 30,000 men behind him under *Samûkb*, to infest the frontiers of the empire; which they did with great success, the borders being left unguarded, through the avarice of *Monomachus*, who about this time died. The *Turks* prepared to invade the empire on his death, but were prevented by the care of *Theodora* his successor. But being encouraged by the remissness of *Constantine Ducas*, who ascended the throne in 1059 (I), they extended their conquests on all sides ^b.

Jaffar Bek dies.

Hej. 453.
A. D. 1061.

Togrol's marriage.

Thus far the *Byzantine* historians. Let us now return to the oriental authors. According to them, in 453, *Jaffar Beg*, *Togrol's* brother, died in *Khorasân*, and left for his successor his son *Alp Arslân* (K), who was afterwards heir also to his uncle, who died without children ^c.

THE same year *Togrol Bek* demanded the daughter of *Kaym Beamrillab* in marriage: but the Khalîfah giving him a denial, it occasioned many messages and threatenings, on the part of the Soltân; who next year, 1062, forbade the Khalîfah's officers to meddle with the public money (L). Hereupon they advised him to let the Soltân have the princess; which he at length consented to, though sore against his will (M). On this compliance, *Togrol Bek*, being greatly rejoiced, revoked the order he had given for seizing the Khalîfah's treasures, and sent him very rich presents.

and death.

Hej. 455.
A. D. 1063.

IN 455 the Khalîfah's daughter was conducted to the Soltân, who received her with great demonstrations of joy, and bestowed his gifts on all those who accompanied her: but six months after, in the same year, *Togrol Bek* died at *Ray*, or *Rey*, the capital of *Irâk* (N) ^d.

Occasion of it.

THE author of the *Nigbiaristân* is somewhat more particular than *Ebn Amid*, with regard to the marriage of the Khalîfah's daughter, whom he calls *Seîdab* (O). He tells us, that when *Amîd al Molk Konderi*, *Togrol's* Wazîr or Vizier, had, by his address, obtained the princess for his master, he conducted her to *Tauris*, where the Soltân then was: that it was in this city where the marriage was concluded, and the contract signed: but that the nuptials and consummation of the marriage were to be performed at *Rey*, then the capital of *Persian Irâk*, and royal seat of *Togrol*: that this prince repaired thither, to prepare things with proper magnificence: but that the season being excessive hot, he left the city, to take the air of *Rudbâr*, a most delicious place, where he had a very beautiful palace; and that here, in a few days, he was carried off, by a bloody flux ^e: so that, as *Khondamîr* observes, when his wife arrived at *Rey*, she found him dead; and so returned as she came ^f.

AUTHORS generally agree, that this great prince died at *Rey*, in the year of the *Hejrah* 455 (P), and at the age of seventy: but the *Lebtarîkh* makes his reign twenty-six years ^g, which is one more than *Ebn Amid* gives to it ^h.

His character.

TOGROL BEK was a good-natured, wise, and politic prince; exceedingly feared and courted by the provincial lords, who often wrote to him ⁱ. According to the *Lebtarîkh*, he was the best of princes: he said the prayers, with his whole family, five times a day; and fasted every week on the fifth and second days. Whenever he was disposed to erect a palace, he first built a temple ^k. As he had no children, he was succeeded by his nephew *Alp Arslân*.

^b CEDRENIUS NYCEPH. BRYENN. CUROPALAT. LEUNCLAV. hist. Musulm. p. 75.
p. 1027. Lebtar. p. 42.

^c D'HERB. p. 1027.

^k Lebtar. p. 42.

^d EBN AMID, p. 340, & seq.

^e Lebtarikh. p. 42.

^h EBN AMID. p. 341.

^c D'HERBEL.

^e D'HERB. p. 1028, art. Thogrul Bek.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 342.

is the latter *Greek* chronology. But if *Kutlu Muses* sent to this emperor after the death of *Ibrahim*, either *Monomachus* must have been alive in 1059, or the oriental authors date that event too early. 'Tis probable the *Greeks* have confounded things of different times together, in this instance, as they seem to have done in many others.

(G) Perhaps the same now called *Kars*, between the cities *Arzerûm* and *Erriwân*.

(H) This circumstance shews that he was then master of *Adherbijân*, or *Media*, which having been subdued in the year of the *Hejrah* 446, or of *Christ* 1054, as before related, doubtless the invasion of the *Roman Media*, or rather *Persarmenia*, and the siege of *Mantzikyert*, was about that time.

(I) Others say 1057.

(K) Written also *Olû Arslân*. According to the *Lebtarikh*, p. 42. he succeeded by the appointment of his uncle *Togrol Bek*.

(L) His Wazîr counselled him, by degrees, to retrench the Khalîfah's revenues; which obliged him to consent, according to the *Nigbiaristân*, ap. *D'Herb.* p. 1028.

(M) According to *Kondamîr*, in *D'Herbelot*, *Kaym* was so highly obliged to *Togrol Bek*, for re-establishing him the second time, that he judged he could not do less than give him his daughter in return, though an honour too great for a *Turk* to expect (1).

(N) Called also *Al Jabâl* by the *Arabs*; and by the *Persians*, *Kûbeshân*; both signifying the mountain country.

(O) *Seîdab* is the feminine of *Seîd*, or *Seyd*, and the common term for the wife or daughter of a *Seîd*, or lord.

(P) The *Lebtarikh* of *Golmin* has 453, and that of *D'Herbelot* 454; the 18th of *Ramadhân*, which is the first month of the *Mohammedan* year.

(1) *D'Herb.* p. 1027, art. *Thogrulbek*.

S E C T. V.

The reign of Alp Arslân.

^a **T**HIS prince was the son of *Dawd*, or *Jaffar Beg* (A), son of *Michael*, son of *Seljuk*; *Second Soltân*, and, by succeeding his uncle *Togrol Bek*, thus united in his person the two kingdoms of *Khorasân* (B) and *Irâk*, with their dependencies: so that, in the year of the *Hejrab* 455, ^{Alp Arslân. Hej. 455. A. D. 1062.} when he began his reign, he was sole monarch of all the countries lying between the rivers *Jibân* (C) or *Amî*, and the *Dijlat* or *Tigris*; that is, of all *Irân*, or *Persia* in its greatest extent; in the conquest of which he had a considerable share.

Togrol Bek left him in full power at *Baghdâd*, where the *Khalifah Kayim* lived in dependence on the *Seljukians*, till the second year of *Malek Shâh*, when he died ^a.

^b THE name which this Soltân took, after he had embraced *Mohammedism*, was *Mohammed*, ^{His names,} or *Abu Shejab Mohammed*; for he was before called *Israel*; and that of *Alp Arslân* (D), which signifies in *Turkish*, *the courageous lion*, is a surname. The *Khalifah Kayim Beamrillah*, on account of his own power and merit, as well as that of his predecessor, gave him the title of *Azzaddîn*, or *Addadoddîn* (E), which signifies, *the protector of the religion*.

At the beginning of his reign he put to death *Kandari*, surnamed *Amîd al Molk* (G), who ^{and Wazîrs.} was the greatest man of his time, and administered the affairs of the kingdom, in the reign of this prince and his successor, with the greatest integrity and approbation ^b.

ACCORDING to the *Vassaiya* (H), at the beginning of his reign, *Alp Arslân* made war upon *Kotolmîsh* ^{Kotolmîsh re-} *Kotolmîsh*, son of *Israel*, his cousin-german, who rebelled against him in the province of *Dame-* ^{bels.} *gân* (I). But this revolt was soon quashed, by an unexpected accident: for *Kotolmîsh* advancing at the head of his troops, which were very fine ones, to give the Soltân battle, his horse of ^{Killed by a} a sudden fell under him, and, throwing his rider, broke his neck; upon which his army sub- ^{fall.} mitted, and were pardoned ^c.

^d THIS was the end of *Kotolmîsh*, or *Kotolmîsh*, according to the oriental writers; but the *Greek* historians represent the issue of his rebellion quite otherwise: they tell us, that this prince, whom they call *Kutlu Moses*, or *Muses*, having rebelled in the time of *Tangrolipix*, was defeated by him, and fled into *Arabia* ^d, where he remained till *Axan* (or *Alp Arslân*), came to the crown: that then, returning from thence, at the head of considerable forces, and advancing to *Re* (K), he laid claim to the sovereignty: but that while the two armies were on the point of engaging, the *Khalif* of *Babylon* of a sudden appeared, and, interposing his authority, which he still retained in spirituals, brought them to this agreement, that the Soltân should hold *Persia*, and that *Kutlu Moses*, and his children, who were five in number, should possess all the countries which they should take from the *Roman* empire; and that he should assist them with ^{Greek ac-} troops for that purpose: that after this, the father and his five sons entered the *Roman* empire ^{count false.} with their forces; and that *Kutlu Moses* actually commanded a body of *Turks*, which came to the assistance of *Botoniates*, when he usurped the empire ^e: whereas, according to the oriental historians, who could hardly be mistaken in a transaction that concerned one of their own princes, and happened among themselves, *Kotolmîsh* must have been dead eight or ten years before.

^a KOND. ap. D'Herb. p. 241. p. 102.

^b KOND. ubi supr. p. 102, art. Alp. Arslân. Lebar. p. 42.

^c D'HERB.

^d See before, p. 162.

^e See CEDRENIUS, and univ. hist. vol. vi. p. 606.

(A) *Abû Isfârâj* calls him *Dawd* (or *David*) *Jagribeg*. *D'Herbelot* speaks of authors who make *Dawd* and *Jaffar* two different sons of *Michael*. *D'Herb.* p. 101, art. *Alp Arslân*.

(B) According to *Kondamîr*, he governed there as *Togrol's* lieutenant-general, for ten years before he ascended the throne. *D'Herb.* p. 104, art. *Alp Arslân*.

(C) The ancient *Oxus* of the *Greeks*.

(D) *Alp*, which is also pronounced *Ulp* and *Olup*, *Alb* and *Ölb*, signifies, in the language of the *Turkmâns*, a brave and valiant commander. Hence it is often found in the names of eminent *Turks* or *Turkmans*, as *Alp Tekin*, *Kay Alp*. The *Greeks* call this prince *Aspa'alem*, and *Aspasmallarius*; but generally *Axan*; possibly corrupting the *Turkish* word *Ak Hân*, or *Ak Klân*, which signifies the white king; a name given possibly for a reason mentioned in a future note. *Dr. Hyde* observes, that *Alp Arslân* answers to the *Persian Arîstâr*. *Relig. vet. Pers.* p. 197.

(E) *Ebn Amîd* has *Adad eddîar:lat*.

(F) At *Nîsa*, *Nesa*, or *Nasay*, in *Khorasân*, according to the *Lebtarikb*.

(G) The *Persians* say *Nazâm al Molk*; pronouncing the *Arabic dh* (which has the force of the *English th*, in the word *this*, *them* &c.) like *z*; also *Nezâm*.

(H) Written by *Nezâm al Molk*, the famous *Wazîr* (or *Vizier*) of *Alp Arslân*, mentioned before in the text; in which he gives princes precepts and examples for governing well. *D'Herbelot.* p. 655.

(I) Or *Damarwân*: it is the capital of the province of *Kûmes* (the *Komîsene* of *Ptolemy*), which from thence may take the name of *Damegân*. It lies between *Tabre-ssân* and the north-east part of *Persian Irâk*, called *Kûbestân*.

(K) By *Re* is here probably to be understood the city *Rey* or *Ray*, then capital of *Persian Irak*; and not *Ere*, or *Eres*, in the province of *Shîrwân*, as *Leunclavius* supposes.

THIS shews with what caution the *Greek* writers ought to be read, who were ignorant both of the name and person of the prince, who had pushed his conquests within a few days march of *Constantinople* itself; and had, even by their own account, been for some time personally present in their emperor's army. But to return to the eastern historians.

Rebellion of
Arslân,

THE war with *Koto'mîsh* was no sooner finished, than *Kara Arslân* raised new disturbances in *Pârs* and *Kermân*. The Soltân, to suppress this rebel, employed *Fadhlovieh*, one of his most valiant commanders, who defeated him, and was rewarded for his service with the government of *Pârs*.

and of Fadhl-
lovieh.

BUT this ambitious governor, as soon as he saw the Soltân on his march to *Khorasân*, resolved to make himself absolute master of his province. In order to effect this, he fortified a castle, situated in a very advantageous place, where he shut himself up, accompanied with very good troops, and a vast deal of money, which he had amassed by a thousand extortions in his government. *Nezâm al Molk* received orders from his prince to attack this castle, and bring him the traitor alive or dead. All who had a knowledge of the place advised against a siege, because they deemed it impregnable; but the Wazîr, resolving to gratify his master, invested the castle with his forces, and went himself round it to take a view.

Fortress re-
duced by

DURING this tour, he did not observe so much as one man of the besieged upon the ramparts; which indicating the greatest confidence of their security, he was so chagrined, that, but for shame, he would instantly have raised the siege. However, he resolved to do his utmost; and had already gotten together provisions and stores for a whole year's blockade: when one morning, at break of day, he was surprized to hear them beat the chamade, and that the governor desired to capitulate.

an odd event.

THE joy which this news gave him, made him grant them honourable conditions; the chief of which were, that the governor should remain in the place, doing homage to the Soltân, and paying him a certain tribute annually, besides the usual presents. When matters were settled, the Wazîr, who was in pain to know what could have obliged *Fadhlovieh* to make such a sudden surrender, was informed by one of the besieged, that it was owing to the springs and cisterns, which were very numerous in the place, drying up all at once. This the *Mohammedan* author attributes as a miracle, wrought by Providence, in regard to the justice of the Soltân's cause, and his Wazîr's piety.

Desart of
Nûbandijân.

AN attempt having been made to dispossess the Soltân of the province of *Kermân*, he marched thither with his army; and, being obliged to pass through the great desart of *Nûbandijân*, which separates that province from *Khorasân*, and is destitute of all things necessary to support an army, his troops, who had entered it with great reluctance, perceiving their provisions to fail daily, began to murmur; and were on the point of revolting, when they came to an old ruined castle, which seemed to be the retreat of owls and wild beasts: but, in viewing it, they found corn enough to supply the whole army. Yet this plenty of victuals being of no use without drink, God, to complete the miracle (as our author will have it), sent so heavy a rain, that every body had water enough to serve his occasions.

Karazm re-
bels.

Hej. 457.
A D. 1064.

IN 457 the Soltân marched against *Khazan*, who had revolted in the country of *Khovarazm* (or *Karazm*); and having routed his army, consisting of 30,000 men, very few of whom escaped the slaughter, he gave the government of that province to *Malek Shâh*, his eldest son. In his return from this expedition through *Khorasân*, he paid a visit to the sepulchre of *Ali Rîza* (L), the eighth Imâm, who was buried at *Tbûs* (thence called *Mashhad*), where there is continually a great resort of people, who go thither out of devotion.

Assembly of
the states.

AFTER he had performed this pilgrimage, he took the road of *Radekân*, where he encamped with his army in a most agreeable place. From hence he dispatched couriers through all the provinces of his empire, to summon the governors and great lords to a general assembly of the estates. Being all met together, he declared his son *Malek Shâh* for his successor, and only heir to his dominions. This done, he ordered his son to sit on a throne of gold, prepared for that purpose, and made all the officers of the empire take an oath of fidelity to him (M).

IMMEDIATELY after this, he acquainted all the chiefs and generals of his armies, that he designed to attempt the conquest of *Turkestan*, the country whence he drew his original; and where, as he pretended, his ancestors formerly reigned (N). But this expedition was not undertaken till several years after.

^f VASSAIA, ap. D'HERB. p. 103, art. Alp Arslân. ^z KOND. ap. D'HERB. art. Alp Arslân.

(L) So the *Persians*; the *Arabs* pronounce *Ridba*, founding the *dh* like the *English th*, in *this*, *than*, &c. as has been observed a few notes before.

(M) *Ebn Amîd* relates this to be done just before his death.

(N) Meaning, we presume, *Afrasiab*, and his successors, from whom the *Seljûks* derived their pedigree, as hath been before related, p. 150.

a LET us now turn ourselves westward, and see what the *Turks* were doing on that side.

UPON the death of *Constantine Ducas*, which happened in the year 1065, the *Turks* under-^{The Turks} standing that the *Roman* empire was governed by a woman, broke with great violence into *Meso-*^{inwards} *potamia*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*, destroying all with fire and sword. The empress was no way in a condition to oppose them, the greater part of the army having been disbanded in her husband's life-time; and the troops which were still on foot being undisciplined, and altogether unfit for service. *Eudocia*, therefore, to secure at once the empire from foreign, and herself ^{the Roman} from domestic enemies, married *Romanus Diogenes*, who was thereupon proclaimed emperor. ^{empire.}

b As he was a man of great activity, and experience in war, he no sooner saw himself vested with the sovereign power, than taking upon him the command of the army, he passed over into *Asia*, where, on his arrival, he was informed that the *Turks*, having surprized and plundered the city of *Neocæsarea*, were retiring with a rich booty. The emperor followed them at the head of a chosen body of light-armed troops, came up with them the third day, killed a great number of them, and recovered the spoil. He then pursued his march to *Haleb* (O), which he retook, together with *Hierapolis*, where he built a strong castle ^a.

THE oriental historians place this *Syrian* expedition in the year of the *Hejrah* 462, which *Romanus* de-^{answers to that of} *Christ* 1069. They relate, that he besieged the last city, which they call ^{feats them.} *Manbej* (P), for sixteen days, but do not say that he took it; only that afterwards the *Moslems*, or believers (so the *Mohammedans* call themselves) advancing with an army, he defeated them: but provisions failing in his camp, by which means great numbers of his soldiers perished, he

c returned to *Constantinople*.

IN his way back he defeated a numerous body of *Turks*, who attempted to cut off his retreat; after which the *Turks* abandoned several cities on his approach.

IN 463 *Alp Arslân* marched to *Akblât* (Q), with 40,000 horse, to meet the *Romans*, who ^{are themselves} had a vast army; but they were defeated, and their general, who was a nobleman, being taken, ^{defeated.} the Soltân ordered his nose to be cut off ^{Hej. 462.}.

A. D. 1070.

THIS, by the circumstances of the history, must have been *Philaretus*, who had been left to guard the banks of the *Euphrates* (R). The *Byzantine* historians farther relate, that the *Turks*; after this victory, advanced into *Cilicia*, and surprized *Ikoniun*, the principal city of that province: but that hearing of the emperor's approach, they, after plundering it, retired in haste:

d However, the *Armenians* falling upon them in the plains of *Tarsus*, put them to flight, and stripped them of every thing.

IN the spring following, the emperor marched anew into *Asia*, at the head of a considerable ^{The emperor} army, which he had raised and disciplined during the winter. But, contrary to the advice of *Diogenes*

Nicephorus Bryennius, who, commanding the left wing of his army, with others, would have him wait for the *Turks* in *Cappadocia*, he marched to *Mazekerta* (S); and, dividing his army into two parts, sent one of them to *Kleat* (T), a small town belonging to the *Turks*: between whom and the *Romans* several skirmishes happened, in one of which, *Basilacius*, one of the emperor's chief officers, was killed; a just reward for his wrong advice and false intelligence. At length *Romanus*, resolving to come to a general engagement, marched forward

e with his army, in three bodies, of which he commanded the centre ^k. But as an account has been already given of this battle from the *Greek* historians ^l, we shall here confine ourselves to what the oriental authors have related on that occasion.

EBN AMID informs us in general, that the Soltân having met the *Roman* emperor on the 26th of the month *Dhûlkâdâ*, 463, in a place called *Zabra*; gave him battle on a *Friday*, and ^{attacks the} *Turks*. ^{Turks.} defeated his forces; of which an incredible number were killed, and the emperor himself taken ^m. But the best account we have as yet from the oriental authors, of this remarkable battle, is that given by *Abû'lfaraj*. In the year above-mentioned (says this author), *Romanus* (U) *Diogenes*, the *Roman* emperor, marched with an army of 100,000 men to *Malâzkerd* (X), in the territory of *Kbalât*. The Soltân, who was then at *Kbûnâj*, in the province

^h CEDRENIUS. Univ. hist. vol. vi. p. 604. in Const. c. v. § 5.

ⁱ EBN AMID, p. 343, & seq.

^k NICEPH. BRYEN.

^l Univ. hist. vol. vi. p. 604, & seq.

^m EBN AMID, p. 343.

(O) *Aleppo*, the antient *Berhæa*, according to *Cedrenus* and others.

(P) The ancient *Bambyce*, called afterwards *Hierapolis*. In the present copies of *Pliny* it is said to be named *Magog* by the *Syrians*, instead of *Mabog*; which is a corruption of *Manbej*, or *Manbe*, and that of *Bambi*, or rather *Pambe*, the *Persian* word for cotton. See *Hyde*, in not. ad *Peritfol. itin. mund.* p. 43. *Schultens. index. geogr. ad vit. Saledini, art. Manbeyum.*

(Q) Called also *Kellât*, and *Kallât*; a city on the north side of the lake of *Wân*, three days journey to the north of *Bedlis* or *Bitlis*. It was formerly a very famous place, the seat of many princes, and capital of

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Armenia. *Cedrenius* and *Nicephorus Bryennius* write *Kleat*. It was then in the hands of the *Turks*.

(R) The *Lebtarikk* observes, that *Alp Arslân* was the first *Turkish* Soltân who passed this river: but it does not appear when he did it, by either the eastern or western authors.

(S) The same with *Malâzjerd*.

(T) *Kellât*, or *Aklât*.

(U) This author writes *Romanus*; *Kondamîr*, and the other orientals, *Ormanus*.

(X) This seems to be *Mazikerta*, near *Kleat*, mentioned by *Nic. Bryen.* in the hist of *Romanus*, cap. 5.

of *Adberbijân*, hearing of this, made haste to meet him, though able to draw together no more than 15,000 horse (Y). When the armies were in fight, he sent to the emperor to desire peace; but his answer was, that he would make none with him, unless he surrendered up the city *Ray* (Z), or *Rey*. The Soltân, provoked at this, on *Friday* afternoon put up prayers to God, with tears in his eyes, before his army, who wept themselves to see their monarch weep.

The Soltân's
bravery.

BEFORE he engaged, he gave those leave to return who had a mind. Then casting away his bow and arrows, he took his sword, and an iron sceptre, grasping his horse's tail in his hand, as all his soldiers did after him. He dressed himself in white (A); and strewing on perfumes, *If I am slain* (B), said he, *this will serve me for a winding sheet*.

The emperor
taken.

AFTER a bloody battle, the *Greeks* were put to flight, and a multitude of them killed: their emperor was taken prisoner, by a slave named *Shâdi* (C); and being discovered by the ambassador, *Shâdi*, lighting off his horse, paid him reverence, and then brought him to *Alp Arslân*. The Soltân, patting him three times with his hand, said, *Did not I send to you with proposals of peace, and you would not hearken to me?* The emperor replied, *Do not reproach me, and do what you think fit*: then asked the Soltân, *What would you have done to me, if I had fallen into your hands?* *I should have inflicted some infamous kind of punishment on you*, answered the emperor. *And what*, said the Soltân, *do you think I shall do to you?* *Either put me to death*, replied *Romanus*, *carry me through your dominions for a spectacle to every body, or else (what is beyond my hopes) spare me, on payment of a ransom, and appoint me your deputy*. Yet this last is the way, said the Soltân, *that I intend to deal by you*. Accordingly he set him at liberty, on condition of paying a million of crowns in gold (D), and dismissing all the *Mohammedan* prisoners in his empire.

The Soltân's
generosity.

WHEN matters were thus concluded, the Soltân made the emperor sit in the throne with him: then had a tent set up for him, sending him 10,000 pieces of gold, for his subsistence. He likewise set free many *Roman* lords, presenting them, as well as the emperor, with vests, by way of honour. At parting, he sent an army to escort him to a place of safety, and accompanied him on his way the space of a league.

Emperor's
hard fate.

WHEN *Romanus* arrived at the castle of *Dawkiya* (E), and was told that *Michael* had ascended the throne, he put on a religious habit, and dispatched a courier to let the new emperor know what kind of peace he had made with the Soltân. Then collecting 200,000 crowns in gold, he sent them to the Soltân (F), solemnly protesting that it was not in his power to do more. *Ebn Amîd* adds, that, in his way back to *Constantinople*, the king of *Armenia* ordered him to be seized, and, having put out his eyes (G), sent advice thereof to the Soltânⁿ. But this is contrary to the account of the *Greeks*, which has been already given in another place^o.

Conquest of
Georgia.

AFTER this great victory, *Alp Arslân*, according to the *Lebtarîkh*, marched into *Gurjestân*, or *Georgia*; which having conquered, he deprived the great lords of their liberty, and obliged them to wear iron rings in their ears, as a mark of their slavery (H): to avoid which ignominy, many of them turned *Mohammedans*. However, the country was not so thoroughly subdued, but that there remained a great number of strong holds in the mountains, which

ⁿ ABU'LF. p. 227, & seq.

^o Univ. hist. vol. vi. p. 605, & seq.

(Y) According to *Kondamîr*, he had no more than 12,000, and the *Greeks* 300,000. But we prefer the account of *Ebn Amîd*, which gives room to believe, that he had near 40,000: because, from the relation given of the battle by *Nicephorus Briennius*, who commanded the left wing of the *Roman* army, the *Turks* seem to have been as numerous as the *Romans*, who, before the battle, were divided into two parts; and one of them sent to besiege *Klat* or *Kalât*. See *Niceph. Bryen. hist. of Const. Ducas, & Romanus Diogenes*, cap. 5 & 6.

(Z) In *Persian Irâk*, and then the capital of his dominions.

(A) Perhaps from hence called *Ak Hân*, or the white prince, according to the *Greek* historians, who write *Axan*.

(B) Yet *Bryennius* speaks as if the Soltân did not expose himself to danger in the battle; but, leaving the whole conduct of it to *Tarang*, an eunuch, one of his generals, gave his orders at a distance.

(C) According to *Mirkhond* and *Kondamîr*, the emperor was taken by *Javaber*, one of the Soltân's generals, who was sent to pursue the *Romans*. On this occasion historians relate, that the Soltân, reviewing his troops before the battle, had a mind to dismiss one of his soldiers, because he seemed to be very ill made: but an officer prevented it, by telling his majesty he was

very brave; and that possibly that very man, whom he despised so much, might take the *Greek* emperor prisoner. As the officer foretold, so it happened; and the horseman, instead of being cashiered, was advanced to the highest posts in the army.

(D) *Ebn Amîd* says, 1,500,000, besides an annual tribute of 360,000, which the *Lebtarîkh* swells to ten millions. *Kondamîr* relates, that the emperor was obliged, by the treaty, to give his daughter in marriage to the Soltân's son; and that the condition was punctually performed.

(E) *Niceph. Briennius* calls it *Dokia*. It was in *Armenia minor*, probably towards the borders of *Cilicia*.

(F) Also a precious stone, worth 90,000 gold crowns, according to *Ebn Amîd*. This is possibly no other than the rich pearl called the *Orphan*, which was found in the emperor's tent after he was taken.

(G) The way of putting out the eyes, or blinding, with the *Greeks* and *Asiatics*, was not by pulling or cutting out the eyes, as some have imagined, but by drawing or holding a red-hot iron before them. This method is still in use in *Asia*.

(H) According to the *Lebtarîkh*, instead of the iron ring which was the mark of slavery before, he ordered them to wear a horse-shoe in their ears.

required

- a required much time to reduce; and as the Soltân was called away by other affairs, he left his son *Malek Shâh* to continue the war.

THE most famous siege undertaken by this prince, who, to finish the conquest which his father *Famâs siege* began, had the fortresses of mount *Caucasus* to subdue, was that of a place called, in the *Persian*, *Mirîm Nishim*, that is, *the place, or dwelling, of Mary*; on account of a monastery and church dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, situated in the middle of a lake. *Malek Shâh* chose for the attack the best of his troops, whom he put into boats, with ladders and grappling irons for *Dreadful* scaling the walls: but just when they were going to make the assault, there arose so furious a *storm and earthquake* storm on the lake, and the sky was darkened to such a degree, that nothing could be done.

- b This storm was followed by so violent an earthquake, that both the besiegers and the besieged, the *Turks* and the *Christians*, expected to be swallowed up together. However, the latter suffered most by it; for part of their walls falling into the lake, when the elements were settled again, the *Turks*, without any difficulty, forced the place, and ruined the monastery, which was resorted to most of any in *Georgia*, on account of devotion ^p.

- THE affairs which called the Soltân away from *Georgia*, as is before remarked, were his pre- *The Soltân's* parations for the conquest of *Turkestan*: he set out, at length, with that view, in the year 465 *forces* (I), at the head of 200,000 men, towards *Mawarâ'nabr*. When he came to the *Jihân*, or *Amî*, *Hej. 465.* he laid a bridge over that river, for the passage of his army; which being so numerous, *A. D. 1072.* took up twenty days. Here staying to take in certain castles, he first attacked that of *Berzem*, *attacks* or *Barzam* (K), in which *Yusef Kotbual*, an intrepid *Karazmian*, commanded (L). This gover- *Berzem castle.* nor defended the place vigorously for several days; but being at last taken by force, the Soltân ordered him to be brought into his presence, and gave him very injurious language for daring to hold out so long against such an army as his. *Yusef*, who rather expected that the Soltân would have praised his valour, being provoked at such outrageous treatment, answered with a great deal of warmth, and at last lost all respect. Whereupon *Alp Arslân* ordered his hands and feet to be bound to four posts, that he might be put to a cruel death.

- YUSEF, upon hearing his sentence pronounced, took out a knife, which he had in one of his *Is slain,* boots; and threatening the Soltân, said, *O wicked man, is this the treatment which a person of my merit deserves?* and advancing at the same time to strike at the king, the guards would have *d* fallen upon him: but that prince, who had not his equal either for strength, or shooting with the bow, hindered them from stopping him; and let fly an arrow (M) at *Yusef*, which missed him. *Yusef*, hereupon, full of fury, ran at the Soltân with all his force, and mortally wounded him *by the gover-* (N); after which he defended himself a long time against that prince's guards, wounding several *nor.* of them, till one of the pages (O) of the Soltân's chamber felled him with a club^a. Another author relates, that, as *Yusef* sprang forward, the Soltân rose, in order to descend from the throne; but that, his foot slipping, he fell on his face: that then *Yusef*, leaping upon him, kept him down with his knee, and stabbed him in the flank: that the Soltân rising, went into another tent; and one of the pages knocked the murderer on the head^r.

- ALP ARSLAN lived for some hours after this misfortune: when, finding himself near his end, *His reflections* *thereupon.* he said to those about him, *I now call to mind two pieces of advice which formerly were given to me by a wise old man, my master: the first was, Never to despise any person: the second, Never to have too great an opinion of one's self: nevertheless I have offended against these two important rules these two last days of my life: for yesterday, beholding from an eminence the great number of my troops, I imagined that there was not any power on earth able to resist me; nor any man who dared to attack me* (P): and to-day, forbidding my guards to stop that man who was making at me with the knife in his hand, I believed I had both strength and skill enough to defend myself. But I now perceive that no force nor address can withstand destiny^s.

- THIS prince reigned nine years (Q) six months and twelve days, and lived forty-four years *His age:* and three months; for he was born in 421, and died in 465 (R). He was buried at *Marâ* *f* (S), one of the four cities of *Khorasân*, with this epitaph: *All you who have beheld the grandeur*

^p VESSAIA, ap. D'Herb. p. 103. art. Alp. Arslân.
ap. D'Herb. p. 103, art. Alp. Arslân.
ubi supra.

^q EBN AMID, p. 344. ABU'LFAR. p. 228. KOND.
^r ABU'LFAR. hist. dynast. p. 228. ^s KOND. ap. D'Herb.

(I) *Ebn Amîd* says he set out from *Baghdâd* in the month of *Safar*, of the year 464. Hist. Saracen p. 344.

(K) In the *Lebtarikh*, *Barza*.

(L) *Ebn Amîd* says, he had rebelled against the Soltân.

(M) Both *Ebn Amîd* and the *Lebtarikh* say he shot three arrows at him.

(N) In the side, according to *Ebn Amîd*.

(O) The *Lebtarikh* says he would have escaped, if *Gamcab* the page had not knocked him on the head with a stone. *Abû'l faraj* says it was done with a hammer.

(P) *Ebn Amîd*, who reports this passage with some small variation, makes him also say; that he never undertook any-thing, excepting this time, without imploring the divine assistance.

(Q) The *Lebtarikh*, by some mistake, has two years.

(R) *Ebn Amîd* says, it was about the tenth of *Rabiya* prior; but the *Lebtarikh* tells us it was about the end of that month.

(S) Some write *Marwa*: 'tis *Marâ Shahjân*, mentioned in a former note.

of Alp Arslân raised to the very heavens, come to Marû, and you will see him buried under the dust.

and character. He was very brave and liberal; just, patient, witty, and sincere; constant in prayer, and giving alms: he greatly feared God, and was a strenuous advocate for *Mohammedism*^a. His shape and mien so very engaging (T), that he gained the respect and affection of all who approached him. He had very long whiskers, and wore commonly a very high turbân, made in form of a crown. His power was so very great in *Asia*, that there have been seen at the foot of his throne, no fewer than 12,000 princes, or sons of princes, paying their court to him^u.

^a EBN AMID. p. 345.

^u KOND. ubi sup. p. 104.

(T) The *Lebtarikh*, p. 42. says, that his aspect and huge size struck people with fear.

S E C T. VI.

The reign of Malek Shâh.

3d Soltân,
Malek Shâh.

MALEK Shâh succeeded his father *Alp Arslân*, according to his appointment before related, although he was not his eldest son. He was induced to declare him his successor by the counsel of his Wazîr *Nezâm al Molk*. The name and surnames of this Soltân at length are *Moez-addîn Abu'lfetah Malek Shâh*. Instead of *Moez-addîn*, some put *Jalâl-oddîn*, or *Jalâl-oddawlat*^a; others, *Jalâlo'ddîn*^b.

Names and
titles.

ALP ARSLAN was no sooner dead, than he was acknowledged lawful heir and successor of his father, at the head of the armies which he had commanded (A). The Khalîfah also sent him his confirmation of the title and power of Soltân; adding thereto even the quality of *Amîr al Momenîn*, that is, *commander of the faithful*, which, till then, the Khalîfahs had reserved to themselves, without conferring it on any *Mohammedan* prince whatever.

He was likewise proclaimed throughout his dominions by the name of *Jalâl-oddawlat waoddîn*, that is, *the glory of the state and religion*. It was on the account of this title *Jalâl*, that the reformation of the *Persian* calendar, which was made in his reign, was called *Tarikh Falâli*, that is, *the Jalâlean kalendar*^c, of which an account will be given hereafter.

His uncles re-
be!.

As soon as *Marubil*, son of *Dawd*, or *Jaffar Bek*, heard of *Alp Arslan's* death, he set out from *Ray*, in order to obtain the crown: but *Malek Shâh* meeting him on the fourth day of *Shabân* (B), near *Hamadân*, his forces were defeated, and himself taken prisoner^d. *Kaderd*, a son of *Jaffar Bek* also, another of his uncles, raised still a more dangerous rebellion against him. He was governor of the province of *Kermân* (C), and advanced with a considerable force even as far as *Kurj*, or *Gurj*. The Soltân sent the troops of *Khorasân*, which had always been victorious in his father's reign, to oppose him. The two armies, after harrassing each other for three days and nights, came to a general engagement; which proved one of the most bloody that ever happened in *Persia*. At length the victory fell to *Malek Shâh*; and *Kaderd*, being taken prisoner, was sent under a strong guard to a castle in *Khorasân*. On this signal success, which established the new Soltân's authority, the troops grew so insolent, that their principal commanders insisted on having their pay doubled, threatening otherwise to set *Kaderd* on the throne.

Kaderd
taken prisoner.

He is poisoned. MALEK SHAH, perceiving that the name of a competitor was sufficient to give occasion to his troops to revolt, had *Kaderd* poisoned the same night, in prison. Next morning, when the officers of the army came to know the Soltân's answer, the Wazîr, who probably had a hand in what was done, told them; that he had not been able as yet to present their petition to the Soltân, because he found him overwhelmed with grief the night before, on the unexpected death of his uncle, who, driven to despair, had taken poison, which he carried in one of his rings. This answer stopped the mouths of the officers and the whole army all at once: for they talked no more of the augmentation of pay, when they found the person was dead who only could have favoured their mutiny^e.

^a So EBN AMID, hist. Saracen. p. 345.
Nighiarist. ap. D'Herb. p. 542, art. Malek Schah.
ubi sup.

^b As the author of the *Lebtarikh*.
^d EBN AMID, p. 345.

^c KOND. MIRK.
^e KOND. &c.

(A) As soon as he ascended the throne, he went to *Marzva*, or *Marû*, and there buried his father. *Ebn Amid*, hist. Saracen. p. 345.

(B) The eighth month. So that this action seems to have happened the same year.

(C) He was properly Soltân of *Kermân*; being the founder of the *Seijûk* dynasty reigning in that country: by some called *Kaderd*.

a IN 468, *Aksîs*, the *Karazmian* (D), one of *Malek Shâh*'s generals, marched to *Damaskus*; *Aksîs subdued* and, besieging it, constrained the inhabitants, by famine, to capitulate. He likewise reduced most ^{Syria.} part of *Syria* (E), and caused the oration to be made, in the name of *Al Mostâdi*, Khalîfah of ^{Hej. 468.} *Bagdad* (F): although that dignity had been enjoyed by the Khalîfahs of *Egypt*¹. Next year he marched into *Egypt*; which so frightened *Al Mejianfir Billa*, the Khalîfah, that he resolved to fly. A. D. 1075. But the citizens of *Al Kabera* (or *Kayro*) and *Sawâda* advancing against him, defeated his troops, though much superior in number. In his way back to *Damaskus*, he put great numbers to the sword at *Ramla* (G) and *Jerusalem*.

MALEK SHAH suspecting that *Aksîs* had been slain in his *Egyptian* expedition, wrote to his ^{Tatash sent} brother *Taj oddawlat Tatash* (H), in 470, to go and conquer *Syria*. When *Taj* arrived at ^{thither.} *Diyârbêr*, he found *Aksîs*, lord of *Damaskus*, was alive: who, hearing that the other was advance- ^{A. D. 1077.} ing against him, offered to pay an annual tribute. *Malek Shâh*, accepting thereof, wrote to his brother to retire to *Manjeb* (I). He did so, and went from thence to *Halep*, then possessed by *Sabak Al Amin Ebn Mahmûd Ebn Nasr Ebn Mardas*: but, not being able to take the place, returned by *Harrân* (K) to *Diyârbêr*; which put *Moslem Ebn Korais*, lord of *Nasibîn* and *Senjâr*, upon his guard².

IN 471, *Malek Shâh* undertook the conquest of the country beyond the river *Jibîn* or *Amû*; ^{Mawarâ'î} whose Khân, called *Soleymân*, he took prisoner, after defeating his army; and sent him guarded ^{nahr con-} to *Ispahân*, then the capital of his dominions. In this war, *Nezam al Molk* (L) gave the water- ^{quered.} men, who had ferried the Soltân's forces over the *Jibîn*, for their trouble, an assignment, instead ^{Hej. 471.} of money, on the revenues of the city of *Antiokk*. The men having made their complaint to ^{A. D. 1073.} *Malek Shâh*, he asked the Wazîr, why he had appointed a fund at such a distance for paying off those poor people? "It is not," replied that minister, to delay the payment, but to make posterity admire at the largeness and extent of the dominions which you possess, when they shall hear of money received at *Antiokk* for payment of sailors belonging to the *Caspian* sea, and of watermen who plied on the *Jibîn*." This fancy pleased *Malek Shâh* exceedingly; especially, when he saw that the Wazîr paid off the notes immediately.

THAT same year the Soltân married *Turkân* or *Tarkân Khatûn*, daughter of *Tamgaj Khân* ^{Malek Shâh's} (M), son of *Bagra Khân*; who, in 479, brought him a son, called *Sanjâr* (N), from a little city ^{marriages.} of that name in *Khorasân*, where he was born³.

ON the return of *Ibrahim Ebn Massûd* (ninth Soltân of the *Gaznah* race) from *India*, where ^d he had made considerable conquests, *Malek Shâh* made great preparations to invade him (O): but was prevailed on by his ambassadors to desist, and make an alliance, by marrying his daughter to *Massûd*, *Ibrahim*'s son; who succeeded him in (P) in 481⁴.

IN 472, the army of *Mesr*, or *Egypt*, coming to besiege *Damaskus*, *Afsîs* sent for help to *Taj* ^{*Afsîs slain.*} *oddawlat*; on whose approach the *Egyptians* retired. Hereupon *Afsîs*, coming to visit him, was ^{Hej. 472.} seized, and slain, by his order. Then, taking the city, he became master of all his riches and ^{A. D. 1079.} effects. After this, the inhabitants, who had fled into *Persia*, to avoid the tyranny of *Afsîs*, returned, to enjoy the protection of the *Seljukians* (Q).

¹ ABU'LF. p. 237. ² E. N. AMID, p. 349. ³ KOND. &c. ap. D'Herb. p. 542. ⁴ TEIXEIRA, hist. Pers. p. 302. D'HERB. p. 480, art. Ibrahim Ben Massoud.

(D) *Ebn Amid* calls him *Isâr*, surnamed *Afsîs*.

(E) According to *Kondamîr*, *Malek Shâh* sent his cousin *Soleymân*; son of *Kotolmîsh*, the year before, with an army to subdue all *Syria*; which he did, in a short time, as far as *Antioch*, then a considerable city (1). But this is rendered improbable, not only by this expedition of *Aksîs*, or *Aksîs*, but also by the history afterwards, which puts that country in other hands. Besides, we are told by the same author, that *Malek Shâh* gave *Asia minor* to *Soleymân*; and find, from other quarters, that the latter did not enter *Syria* till the year 477 of the *Hejrah*.

(F) He succeeded *Al Kayîm Bemrillah*, who died the year before; after a reign of forty-four years and a half.

(G) The antient *Ruma* in *Kanaan*.

(H) In the copies of *Erpenius* and *Vatier* it is *Nîsus*, instead of *Tatash*; occasioned, doubtless, by the wrong pointing of the letters; a thing very common with the *Arab* scribes. The three letters, of which the name consists, are pointed three different ways in *Abû'lfaraj* (2). But, as the *Greek* writers call this prince *Tutus*, we make no doubt but *Tatash*, *Tetesh*, or *Totosh* for it may be read those three ways), is the true word.

(I) Named *Hierapolis* and *Bambyce* by the *Greeks*.

(K) The antient *Haran* and *Karræ* in *Mesopotamia*.

(L) *Nazâm*, or *Nozâm*, as the *Persians*, but *Nedbâm* *Nadbâm*, or *N:dâm*, as the *Arabs* pronounce it. It signifies, ornament of the state.

(M) *Ebn Amid*, p. 356. calls him *Terakk*, king of the *Turks*, a descendant of *Afrasiab*.

(N) It ought to be *Mahmûd*; whom she wanted to be her husband's successor. For *Sanjâr* was by another venter, as will appear hereafter.

(O) As neither of our authors mention the date of this transaction, we choose to refer it to this time, when we find *Malek Shâh* marching northward.

(P) *D'Herbelot*, p. 480. puts his death in 492, or 1098: but as he makes him reign forty-two years, those joined to 445, when *Abdal Rashîd* was slain, amount to but 487 of the *Hejrah*, or of *Christ* 1094.

(Q) *Mostâfa Haji Khalifah* makes a fourth dynasty of *Seljukians*, which began this year in *Hâlep*, and other places of *Syria*, founded by *Tatash* above mentioned. It lasted about forty years, ending in the year 511, on the death of Soltân *Mohammed*. *D'Herbel.* p. 801, art. *Seljukian*.

(1) *D'Herb.* p. 542, art. *Malek Shâh*.

(2) *P.* 366 & 376.

*Affairs of
Halep.*

THE same year, *Sharf oddawlat Ebn Moslem Ebn Korais*, lord of *Musol*, having obtained a leave of *Malek Shâb* to subdue *Halep*, on condition of paying him 300,000 gold crowns annually, marched against that city; and, after besieging it for some time, it was, with the castle, delivered up to him; paying to *Sabak al Amîn*, 20,000 crowns every year.

*and Shayzâr.
Hej. 473.
A. D. 1080.*

NEXT year, *Sedîd oddawlat Abû'l-hassan Ali Ebn Mankâd* took the castle of *Shayzâr* (R) from the *Romans*, with a great army; and it continued in the possession of his family till it was taken by *Mahmûd al Adel Nur oddin Ebn Zika* (S), after an earthquake which had destroyed the place. *Sedîd oddawlat*, who was an excellent prince, and eminent poet, dying in 475, his son, *Abû'l-merhaf al Nafr*, surnamed *Malek oddawlat*, succeeded him, at *Shayzâr*.

*Rebellion of
Takash.
Hej. 477.
A. D. 1084.*

IN 477, *Malek Shâb* sent his general *Kastakar* (T) to *Baghdâd*, as his lieutenant there; at which time his *Wazîr's* son was in that city. The same year, his brother *Takash* (U) rebelled against him; and, having taken *Marwa*, gave his army leave to plunder it for three days, while he and his associates lay with the women, and drank wine in the great temple, in the month of *Ramadhân* (W). *Malek Shâb* marching against him, he retired into the castle of *Berjes*; which being taken, he was imprisoned elsewhere.

*Soleymân
Shâh slain.*

*Hej. 478.
A. D. 1085.*

THE same year, *Sharf oddawlat Ebn Korays*, lord of *Halep* and *Musol*, marched to attack *Antiokk*, then in possession of *Soleymân Ebn Kotolmîsh* (X); who put his forces to flight, and he died of his wounds. *Soltân Taj oddawlat*, hearing of his death, marched towards *Halep* the next year, accompanied by *Ortok*, the *Turkmân*, who had subdued *Holwân* (Y) and *Habelâ*. Both these agreeing to invade *Soleymân*, prince of *Antiokk*, they fought several battles with him, under the walls of *Halep*; in the last of which *Soleymân* was slain, and his forces routed. By this means *Halep* (Z) fell into the hands of *Taj oddawlat*, who became master of all *Syria*^k.

THE *Greek* historians say, that the Great *Soltân*, being informed of the success of *Tutus* (A) (as they call *Taj oddawlat*), and fearing he should grow too powerful, to strengthen himself, sent to propose an alliance of marriage between a son of his and a daughter of the emperor *Alexis*^l: the success of which shall be related, in the history of the *Seljûks* of *Rûm*, or *Asia minor*.

*Rise of the
assassins.
Hej. 483.
A. D. 1090.*

IN 483, the *Bathaniyah* (B), that is, *Batbanians*, or *Batanists*, began to subdue castles in *Persian Irâk* and *Dilem*. The first they took was in this last province, and called *Rudbir*. It belonged to *Kamak*, a subject to *Malek Shâb*; and was delivered to *Hassan Ebn Masbak*, for 1200 crowns, by the governor, who turned *Batanist*. This *Hassan* was a native of *Marwa*, and had been secretary to *Abdolrezak*, at *Haram*. Afterwards going to *Egypt*, he met with a *Batanist*, who brought him over to their persuasion; and, by consent of the people, made him grand master, and head of the sect. He had many followers; and, growing considerable, *Malek Shâb* sent him a threatening message, requiring his obedience.

Their intrepidity.

THE ambassador being brought before him, he sent for a company of his people, and commanded one of them, a young man, to kill himself; which he did, without hesitation. He ordered another to throw himself headlong from the top of the castle; which he performed that instant, and broke his neck. After this, he told the envoy, that he had no other answer to send the *Soltân*, than that he had 70,000 men at his command, who obeyed him in the manner which he had seen. The *Soltân* was surprized when these things were reported to him; and, having other affairs on his hands, let the *Batanists* alone. They afterwards took several other castles; and, among the rest, that of *Al Mût* (C); which was their strongest hold, and royal seat^m.

THESE bravoos quickly grew famous for their daring murders: one of which was perpetrated soon after, on the person of *Nezâm al Molk*, *Wazîr* to *Malek Shâb*, one of the greatest personages among the *Mohammedans*, who had been deposed a little while before.

*Disgrace of
the Wazîr,*

THE occasion of the *Wazîr's* disgrace is somewhat differently related by authors; though all agree, that it was owing to some imprudent or unguarded expressions of his, in answer to the

^k EBN AMID, p. 350, & seq.

^l ANN. COMN. Alex. l. vi. c. 8.

^m EBN AMID, p. 353.

(R) This place, which is situated on the river *Assi*, or *Orontes*, is the same called by the writers of the holy war *Cæsaria*.

(S) Rather *Zenghi*.

(T) In *Vatier's* copy *Akshakar*, or *Extakar*, as he writes it.

(U) It is *Nîsus* in the copies of *Erpenius* and *Vatier*, doubtless, by a mistake in writing or pointing the letters. For he could not have two brothers of the same name: *Taj oddawlat* being called *Nîsus* also.

(W) Which is their *Lent*.

(X) Both the MSS. of *Erpenius* and *Vatier* have *Ptolemy*.

(Y) *Holwân* is a city in the northern border of *Ara-bian Irâk*, near that of *Persian Irâk*.

(Z) It should seem rather *Antiokk*, or both cities.

(A) Rather *Tatash*, according to *Abû'l-faraj*.

(B) These are the followers of *Hassan Sabah*, who founded the dynasty called *The Ismaelians of Persia*, in the year and place mentioned in the text. The *Batbanians* were absolutely devoted to the service of their prince; by whose order they either slew themselves, or any person whom they had a mind to destroy. They are known in our histories chiefly by the name of assassins. For a farther account of them, and their several dynasties, see *D'Herbelot*, art. *Bathania*, *Ismaelians*, and *Hassan Sabah*.

(C) Or *Al Marwt*; which signifies death.

- a Soltân's message to him, concerning the insolent behaviour of one or more of his sons : of whom we are told he had twelve. *Kondamîr* writes, that it was brought about by the Soltâna ; who, incensed against him, for opposing her design of getting her youngest son (D) declared *Malek Shâb*'s successor, accused him of absolutely disposing of all places in the government, and dividing them among his sons.

THE Soltân, offended that he should act in such a manner without consulting him, sent to *Nezam al* tell him, that, *if he did not alter his conduct, he would oblige him to resign the cap and ink stand*; Mo.k. which were the marks of his dignity and power. *Nezam*, nettled at this menace, answered,

- b *that the cap which he wore, and the post he possessed, were so united to the crown and throne by the eternal decree of providence, that those four things could not subsist without each other.* This answer, tho' bold, will admit of a good meaning : but it was altered by the messenger, who was in the Soltân's interest, in such a manner, that *Malek Shâb*, exasperated to the last degree, deprived the Wazîr of his employment that instant, and gave it to *Taj al Molk Kami*, chief of the Soltân's counsellors ; with a commission to examine into the mismanagements of his predecessorⁿ.

ACCORDING to *Abmed Ebn Mohammed*, author of the *Nigbiaristân*, the cause of the Wazîr's *The cause of it.* disgrace was his son *Mowîad al Molk*, who had been made secretary of state, turning out *Adîb*, the first clerk in the office, an excellent writer, though put in by the Soltân's order ; and answering, when *Malek Shâb* sent to have him restored, that *he had sworn never to employ that man ; and believed the Soltân would not have him be guilty of perjury.* The Soltân replied, in anger,

c *if Mowîad has sworn not to employ Adîb, I have made no such oath : much less have I sworn to continue Mowîad in his employment :* and at the same time ordered *Adîb* to be made secretary in his room. *Mowîad*, after that, having commenced a violent prosecution against one of *Malek Shâb*'s chief officers, that prince sent the Wazîr word, *that he could no longer bear the insolence of his sons ; and that, unless a stop was put to it, he should be obliged to take the government of the state out of his hands.* It was on this occasion that *Nezam al Molk* made the answer before related, which brought on his sudden remove^o.

ABU'L-FARAJ writes, that the Wazîr's disgrace was the consequence of a very insolent answer (E) which he sent the Soltân ; who repented the ill treatment given by his grandson (son of the governor of *Marwa*) to one of his principal slaves^p.

- d WHATEVER the cause was, *Nezam al Molk*, after his remove, followed the court, which just *He is assassinated.* at that time set out for *Baghdâd* ; and, being gotten as far as *Nahawînd*, a boy of the *Batânîst* sect, approaching him under pretence of begging, or otherwise, stabbed him with a knife, by the procurement of *Taj Ebn Molk Kami* (F), who succeeded him in the Wazîrship ; of which wound he died soon after, in the year 485 ; aged 93 years (G). His corps was carried back A. D. 1092. to *Ispâhân*, where it was buried with pomp.

- MIRKHOND writes, that *Nezam al Molk* (H), when but twelve years old, knew all the *Korân* ; *His character.* and, when very young, acquired so great a knowledge of the civil law, according to the principles of *Shafey* (I), that he gained the admiration of every body. As he was very learned, he no sooner got into authority than he took men of letters under his patronage ; founding houses and colleges for them in the cities of *Baghdâd*, *Basrah*, *Herat*, and *Ispâhân*. But the most grand monument left by him is the famous college of *Baghdâd*, called, after him, *Medrassat annezamiyat* ; which hath produced some of the most learned men of their time.

As an instance to what a high pitch of dignity, authority, and esteem, *Nezam al Molk* was *Honours paid* risen, the same author relates, that when *Malek Shâb* went to *Baghdâd*, to be crowned by the *him,* Khalîfah *Al Râdbi*, to render the ceremony more solemn, he summoned all the doctors of the law, and other learned men, within the *Mohammedan* dominions, to be present at it. Being assembled, he ordered them to go on foot from his palace in the western part of the city, to pay their compliments in a body to the Khalîfah, whose imperial palace was in the eastern part. *Al Râdbi* *by the Khalîfah.*

- f being informed, that this learned troop was coming to salute him, with *Nezam al Molk* at their head, sent his officers to meet them ; and ordered, that the Wazîr alone should advance on horse-back. When they appeared before the Khalîfah, he commanded a seat to be placed for the Wazîr, and made him sit down, while all the other doctors stood, on his right and left : but what still more surprized them was, that he honoured *Nezam* with a vest (K), and con-

ⁿ KOND. ap. D'Herb. p. 543. art. Malek Schâh. ^o D'HERB. p. 654, art. Nazham Al Molk. ^p ABU'L FAR. p. 237. ^q MIRK. ap. D'Herb. p. 543, & seq. art. Malek Shâh,

(D) *Kondamîr* calls him *Sanjâr* ; but it must be a mistake for *Mahmûd*, whom the Soltâna set up, on the death of her husband.

(E) To the purpose of that already recited, but more bold.

(F) According to the *Lebtarîkh*, it was done by the command of *Hajjân Sâbah*, who was prince of the assassins, as hath been observed in a former note.

(G) *Abû'l-faraj* says, p. 77, after he had served the Soltâns thirty years,

(H) *Nezam al Molk*, as the *Persians*, and *Nazâm al Molk*, as the *Arabs* pronounce it, signifies *the ornament of the state.*

(I) One of the doctors, or heads, of the principal sect among the *Mohammedans.*

(K) Called *Kafzân*

ferred on him the title of *learned, just, and director of the dominions of Râdhi, Kbalifah of the Moslems*: for, till then, those spiritual monarchs never gave any title or dignity, which belonged to themselves, to any of their ministers.

His liberality. THE liberality which this great man exercised, vastly enhanced his other rare qualities: for, in the first progress which *Malek Shâh* made through his dominions, he distributed among the poor, out of his own coffers, no less than 200,000 crowns^a.

His origin. As to the original of *Nodham* or *Nezâm al Molk*, whose name was *Hassan*, 'tis said, he was the son of a peasant, near *Tûsb* (or *Masbbad*), who learned the *Arabik*, and was secretary to *Bajer*, lord of *Bâlk*: but that prince using him ill, he fled to *Tagri Beg* (L) *Dawd al Mawa*; who made him preceptor to his son *Olâ Arslân*. His way was, when any great men, either in church or state, came to visit him, to rise, and then sit down again; but a certain poor man of learning coming one day, he rose to meet him, and placed him in his seat. Being afterwards asked, why he made that difference? he answered, *that the great folks, of both kinds, when they come, praise him for excellencies which did not belong to him; and this feeds his vanity and pride: whereas the other person puts him in mind of his faults, and whatever he did amiss; which made him humble, and reflect on man, failings he was subject to.* His hard fate was lamented by many of the poets of that time.

Malek Shâh's death. AFTER the assassination of *Nezâm al Molk*, *Malek Shâh* proceeded to *Baghdâd*; where being arrived, he went a hunting on the third of *Shawâl*; and, eating some of the flesh of the game, returned sick. A vein being opened, but little blood came out; which increased his illness to a burning fever; so that he died about the middle of the same month^r, no more than eighteen days after *Nezâm al Molk*, oppressed with vexations^c. He lived thirty-seven years and five months; of which he reigned twenty, and some months over^t.

Greek account false. THE *Greek* historians relate, that this Soltân, whom yet they do not name, was assassinated. They tell us, that *Tutus* (or *Taj oddawlat Tatafsh*), his brother, having slain *Amîr Soleyman* (as above related), and his son-in-law, resolved to slay the Soltân also, before he should strengthen himself by an alliance with the *Roman* emperor: that, for this purpose, he hired twelve *Kassians*, being certain assassins, so called by the *Persians*; who, going to the palace, found that prince in liquor, and, pretending they had something to say to him from his brother, as soon as the guards were withdrawn, stabbed him with their poniards: that they were all put to cruel deaths; which, on such occasions, this kind of people glory in^d. 'Tis easy to see, that the murder of the Wazîr is here applied to the Soltân. Possibly there was such a rumour at first; and that prince's death happening so near the time of his minister's, might favour the mistake.

Blunder of Mestûfi. HOWEVER that be, *Hamdallah Mestûfi* has committed a greater blunder than this. He tells a formal story here, that the Soltân, in his second progress round his dominions, falling into an ambuscade of *Greeks*, was carried to the emperor, who had advanced to the borders with a powerful army: that, not being known to those who took him, *Nezâm al Molk*, on notice thereof, immediately feigned an embassy to the emperor; who, at his departure, made him a present of the prisoners, as he expected: that, afterwards, the two armies coming to a battle, the emperor was taken prisoner, but presently restored to his liberty, without ransom: lastly, that, dying soon after, *Malek Shâh* subdued part of his dominions, and gave the government thereof to his cousin *Soleyman*, son of *Kotolmîsh*^e. 'Tis plain, that the emperor here intended was *Romanus Diogenes*: for we read of no other *Greek* emperor who was taken by the *Seljûk* Soltâns; and, consequently, the author has confounded *Malek Shâh* with his predecessor *Alp Arslân*.

Malek Shâh's character. SOLTÂN *Malek Shâh*, as to his person, was very handsome, both in shape and features, besides being exceeding genteel in his behaviour^f. To give his due character; he was an excellent prince, wise, liberal, courageous; had fine parts; was remarkable for his sincerity and piety. He reduced the taxes, and put a stop to other vexations; repaired bridges, high roads, and canals; erected the temple of *Baghdâd*, called *the Masjid of the Soltân*; also the *Hanîfean* college (M), near the chapel of the prelate *Abû Hanîfab*, in the quarter of the city called *Resâfa*, and endowed it nobly. He likewise built markets and towns. He made great conquests; reducing under his power all the country from the borders of *Turkestân* to the *Holy Land*, and *Yamman* (N). He made the roads secure, and every thing plenty in all places. He was a terror to bad men, and a support to the innocent, the widow, and the poor; who had always justice done them in his courts^y.

^a MIRK. ap. D'Herb. p. 543, & seq. art. Malek Shâh. p. 544, ubi sup.
MESTUFI. TARIKH GHUZIDEH. ap. D'Herb. p. 543.
AMID, p. 354.

^r EBN AMID, p. 354.

^c ABU'L-FAR. p. 238, & seq.

^d ANN. COMNEN. in Alex. l. vi. c. 11.

^e D'HERB. p. 544.

^f D'HERB.

^y EBN

(L) Or, as others, *Jaffer Beg*.

(M) *Kondamîr* says, he ordered colleges, hospitals, and houses of pleasure, to be built in several parts of his dominions. D'Herb. p. 544.

(N) *Yamman* is the country we call *Arabia felix*. *Kondamîr* says, his dominions extended from *Antickh* to *Urkend* (or *Uzkend*), a city of *Turkestân*. D'Herblot, p. 542.

THE Soltân took great delight in travelling; and 'tis reported, that he made the tour of his dominions, though so very extensive, as has been related, no fewer than ten times^a. *Ham-do'llab Mestûfi*, before cited, relates, that *Malek Shâh* made the pilgrimage to *Mekka* in 481 (O), with an incredible expence: for, besides abolishing the usual tribute which the pilgrims paid, he laid out very great sums in building towns in the desert; where he ordered a great number of wells and cisterns to be made, and water to be conveyed to them from all sides. He likewise commanded plenty of provisions to be carried, for subsistence of the pilgrims; and distributed immense sums among the poor, with an unparalleled liberality^a.

BUT *Malek Shâh*'s greatest passion was for hunting. He kept 47,000 horses for his ordinary guard, and the chace (P); in which he spent a good deal of time. 'Tis said, that for every beast which he killed himself, he gave a piece of gold to the poor: and it happened sometimes that he slew a great many. In short, *Malek Shâh* is acknowledged to have been the greatest prince among the *Seljukians*; whether we consider his conquests, the extent of his dominions, or his magnificence, liberality, and other virtues.

HIS ambition seems to have been very moderate: for he disposed of great part of his dominions, in his life-time, among his relations and domestics. He gave to his cousin *Soleymân*, son of *Kotolmîsh*, the country of *Rûm*, or what he had taken from the Greek emperor, extending from the *Euphrates* a great way into *Asia minor*; of which part *Azzerûm* was then the capital. He established, or restored, Soltân *Shâh*, son of his uncle *Kaderd*, before-mentioned, in *Kermân*, or the *Persian Caramania*; of which he was the second *Seljuk* Soltân. He gave part of *Syria* to his brother *Tebis* (Q); *Karazm* to *Tûshtekkin*; the country of *Halep*, or *Aleppo*, to *Aksankor*; that of *Musol* to *Chaghirmîsh* (R); and *Mardin* to *Katmâr*.

SOME of the above-mentioned states became reunited in time to the dominions of the family of *Malek Shâh*, and others remained in the families of those to whom he gave them^b.

WE must not conclude this reign, without giving some account of the *Tawarik al Jalâli*, or the *Jalâlean* kalendar, already mentioned; which is a correction of the *Persian* kalendar, first made by order of *Malek Shâh*, and afterwards by Soltân *Jalâl'oddin Mankberni*, son of *Mohammed Karazm Shâh*.

THE *Malekean* epocha begins, according to some, on Sunday the fifth day of *Sheban*, or the eighth month, in the year of the *Hejrah* 464 (answering to that of *Christ* 1071) (S); according to others, on Friday the tenth of *Ramadhân* (or the ninth month) in 471 (or of *Christ* 1078) (T). So that there is a difference of 1097 days. The cause of this difference was unknown to our author *Ulugh Beg*. According to the second, and most received, opinion, the year, which is solar, begins on that day in which, at noon, the sun enters *Aries*, and the months are reckoned from the passage of the sun through the several signs: however, they consist of no more than thirty days each; but five are added to the last month, and a day intercalated every four years. But when the intercalation comes to be made six or seven times, the leap-year is put off to the fifth year. The *Jalâlean* year consists of 365 days, 5 hours, 49'. 15". 0". 48""; and is truly tropical, most exactly corresponding with the motion of the sun: for the sixth, and sometimes the seventh, leap-year being transferred to the fifth year, the equinoxes and solstices become constantly fixed to the same days of the month. This form of the year was contrived that the *Newrûz*, or new-year's-day, might always fall on the same day^c.

^a KOND. ap. D'Herb. p. 542.

^a D'Herb. p. 542.

^b D'HERB. p. 544.

^c ULUGH BEIGH.

(O) According to the *Lebtarîkh*, he performed the pilgrimage in *Hejrah* 479.

(P) According to the *Lebtarîkh*, he kept a standing army of 48,000 horse always on foot; who had lands allotted them for their maintenance, that they might not be burthenome to the people.

(Q) This is, doubtless, a mistake in the copy for

Tatash, by misplacing the diacritical points. *Tatash*, or *Tutus*, as the Greeks write, is the same with *Taj od-dawlat*.

(R) Or *Jagarmîsh*.

(S) Beginning Wednesday, 28 of September.

(T) Beginning Saturday, Ju'y 13.

S E C T. VII.

The reign of Barkiarok.

MALEK Shâh left four sons, *Barkiarok*, *Mohammed*, *Sanjâr*, and *Mahmûd*; which last he appointed for his successor, though but five years (A) and ten months old. This was done by the management of his wife *Turkûn Khatûn*, and the Wazîr *Tajo'l Molk*; who, concealing the Soltân's death, carried his corps out of *Baghdâd*; and, by distributing money,

(A) *Abû'l-faraj* says but four years old.

got the army to take the oath to her son. The Khalîfah also ordered his name to be published in the pulpits; and sending him the ensigns of investiture, he was clothed with the Soltân's *Kaftân*, or vest, the crown put on his head, and the sword girt to his side. On this occasion it is observed, that never prince so young behaved with better grace; and that, after the Khalîfah's Wazîr, who performed the ceremony, had made him his master's compliments, he returned thanks for the favours received in a very handsome manner. As soon as the ceremony was over, the Soltâna went to *Nabrawân*, and encamped ^a.

WHILE *Mahmûd* was crowned at *Baghdâd*, *Abu'l Modbaffer Kiffem*, called *Barkiarok*, was acknowledged for legal successor at *Ispâhân*, where he then was: with whom many joined, as being the eldest son of *Malek Shâb*, and because he was thought more capable of governing the state than a child and a woman. ^b

HEREUPON *Turkân Khatûn*, who was a woman of great spirit as well as understanding, marched thither from *Nabrawân*, with such diligence, that she surprized him in that city, which she took: but some domestics of the late *Nezâm al Molk* found means for him to escape out of his mother-in-law's hands, and retire to *Shirâz*; where resided *Takâsh Tekkîn*, who had been made *Atabek*, that is, lieutenant-general of *Pârs*, or *Proper Persia*, by *Malek Shâb* ^b.

THAT grateful prince not only gave him protection, but conducted him to *Ray*, one of the capitals of *Irâk*; where he had him acknowledged the rightful successor. At the same time the Soltâna caused her son *Mahmûd* to be crowned at *Ispâhân*, the other capital, and sent troops to pursue *Barkiarok*: but many of them going over to his side, he defeated the rest. Among the prisoners taken on this occasion was *Tajo'l Molk Kiami*; who being brought to the Soltân, the friends of his predecessor slew him. He was a *Persian*, endowed with many virtues, and excellencies of every kind: but all his good qualities were defaced by the murder of *Nad-hâm* ^c.

AFTER this, *Barkiarok* marched to *Ispâhân*, and besieged his brother, with an army of 20,000 men. *Turkân Khatûn*, finding the people ready to revolt from her, came to an accommodation: by which *Mahmûd* and she were left in possession of *Ispâhân*, and its dependencies, on condition he divided with *Barkiarok* the treasure of his father, which was in that city.

THE Soltân, having received for his share 500,000 dinars in gold, raised the siege, and turned his arms towards *Hamadân*, where one of his uncles, named *Ismael*, commanded; who, allured by the Soltâna, with hopes of marriage, had made war upon his nephew. The two armies, which were pretty equal, met, in 486, near that city; where, after an obstinate battle, *Ismael* was defeated; and, being taken by the enemy, slain by them. The same year *Takas Shân*, son of *Arslân Shâb*, another of *Barkiarok*'s uncles, declared war against him; and, having a much greater force, obliged him to retire towards *Ispâhân*, where he was very kindly received by his brother Soltân *Mahmûd*, whose mother was then dead. ^d

BUT those of *Mahmûd*'s party, judging the opportunity of advancing his affairs ought not to be slipped, seized his brother; and, 'tis said, orders were actually given to deprive him of sight, when *Mahmûd*, being taken with the small pox, died in a few days. Hereupon *Barkiarok* was set at liberty, and saluted emperor, by the very people who just before would have ruined him. Being by this unexpected accident seated a second time on the throne, he chose for his Wazîr, or prime minister, *Mowîad al Molk* (son of *Nezâm al Molk*), mentioned in the former reign: but, in a little time, through some distrust, the Soltân turned him out, and put his brother *Takr al Molk* in his place ^d.

IN 487 *Turkân Khatûn* died (B), and *Barkiarok*, marching to *Baghdâd*, had his name mentioned in the pulpits, and the title of *Rokno'ddîn* given to him by the Khalîfah ^e: he also assumed that of *Amîr al Momenîn*, which no prince before *Malek Shâb* had been honoured with. Having settled his affairs, he applied himself entirely to war. His first expedition was against *Takâsh*, his cousin-german, who some time before had driven him to the extremes above-mentioned; and, after several battles fought between them, *Takâsh* was at length slain (C). After this he marched into *Khorasân*, where *Arslân Shâb*, father of *Takâsh*, who commanded there, had considerable troops: but he was delivered from his enemy by another of his sons (D), who committed that parricide, in order to seize his father's government; yet was disappointed: for ^f

^a ABU'LF. p. 239. EBN AMID, p. 355. & seq.
^e KOND. ubi sup. p. 188. ABU'LF. p. 239. & seq.
AMID, p. 357. ABU'LF. p. 240.

^b KOND. ap. D'Herb. p. 185, art. Barkiarok.
^d KOND. ubi sup. p. 186, 188. ^e EBN

(B) *El'n 'Amîd* makes her die before *Mahmûd*: saying, that, on her death, the army deserted from him to *Barkiarok*; and that, on his approach, he quitted *Baghdâd*.

(C) *Abû'l-faraj*, p. 240, says, he was smothered under water, and one of his sons slain at the same time. He also makes him the uncle of *Barkiarok*. If so, he must be the same *Takâsh*, who, according to *Ebn Amid*,

rebelled against his brother *Malek Shâb* ten years before, as hath been related. If not, *Abû'faraj* must have ascribed to the son both the name and death which belonged to the father.

(D) According to *Abû'l-faraj*, Soltân *Arslân Argûn* (as he calls him) was slain by one of his domestics, in 450, to free mankind from his injustice.

a *Barkiarok*, being thus become master of it, gave it to his brother *Sanjar*, and returned to *Irâk* ^f.

BARKIAROK had still another uncle to vanquish before he could be at rest; and that was *Tatash* ^{aspiring} *Taj oddawlat Tatash*, sovereign or king of *Damascus*, and most part of *Syria*. This aspiring prince, as soon as he heard of his brother *Malek Shâh*'s death, ordered the *Kotbah* to be made in his name; and sent to *Moktadi*, to desire that the same might be done at *Baghdâd*; but the *Khalîfah* refusing, he marched to *Rababa* (or *Rabba*), on the *Euphrates*, and took it. Hereupon *Kasmar oddawlat* (or *Ak Sankar*) (E) (whom *Malek Shâh* had made governor of *Halep*, after he had taken it from his brother *Taj oddawlat*), submitted to this latter ^g. But, in 486, A. D. 1093, going over to *Barkiarok*'s side, *Taj oddawlat* fought several battles with him; who at length

b was slain.

By this means *Tatash* becoming lord of *Halep*, he prepared to march into *Irâk*. Accord- ^{vanquished,} ^{and slain.} ^{Hejrah 488.} ^{A. D. 1095.} ingly, in 488, *Barkiarok* met him near *Ray*; where a bloody battle was fought, in which his rebellious uncle was slain. *Taj oddawlat*, before the engagement, had sent *Yusef*, son of *Ortok*, the *Turkmân*, before-mentioned, to get him proclaimed Soltân at *Baghdâd*; but *Yusef*, hearing of his master's death, fled back to *Halep* ^h. The *Greek* historians mention the death of *Tatash*, or *Tutus*, as they call him. They say, that *Pusan*, who had been sent by the Soltân against *Apel Kasem* (or *Abu'l Kassim*) at *Nice*, as soon as he heard of his master's death, marched towards *Khorasân*, against *Tutus*, and was slain in battle: That, after this, *Tutus* expected to be acknowledged Soltân; but, being met by *Barkiarok*, the late Soltân's son, was

c routed, and slain ⁱ. According to this account, *Putân* should be *Kasmar oddawlat Ak Sanker*, or *Ik Sanker*.

BARKIAROK, whose reign was a series of rebellions, was no sooner freed from one, but ^{Another re-} ^{bellion.} another arose. *Mowîad*, from the time of his being turned out of the Wazîrship, did his utmost to revenge his disgrace, by fomenting new troubles. He began by spiriting-up *Anzâr*, who was formerly slave to *Malek Shâh*, and had a great influence in the province of *Irâk*. He enabled him to set a considerable army on foot; and *Anzâr* might have given the Soltân much trouble, if he had not been taken off by an assassin, in the city of *Sawa*; where he was already advanced to give his sovereign battle. *Mowîad*, after this, applied himself to *Mohammed*, ^{Mohammed} ^{rebels.} brother of *Barkiarok* (who had given him but a small share of his father's dominions, in the province of *Adherbijân*), and never ceased urging him till he had taken up arms against his

d brother ^k. *Mohammed* (surnamed *Gayatho'ddîn*) and *Sanjer* were *Malek Shâh*'s children, by the same venter. *Mohammed*, after his father's death, followed the interest of his brother *Mahmûd*; and, after the battle, which the latter lost, obtained, from *Barkiarok*, *Hamkha* (F), and its dependencies, for his support: to which place he retired ^l.

THIS prince set forward in 492 to dispute the sovereignty with his brother; and, although *Barkiarok* he had only a small army at first, yet it soon became formidable, by the great credit and ^{flies.} influence which *Mowîad* had in that province. At this time the lords of the court, being ^{Hejrah 492.} ^{A. D. 1098.} incensed against *Mojared al Molk Kiami*, superintendant of the finances, by whose frugal management they found their salaries curtailed, attacked his house, and obliged him to fly for refuge

e to the Soltân. The Soltân refusing to deliver him up to them, they took the palace by assault; cut *Kiami* in pieces, and would have treated *Barkiarok* in the same manner, if he had not escaped by a back-door; abandoning *Irâk* to his brother.

MOHAMMED, thus possessed of a great dominion without striking a stroke (G), made *Mowîad* ^{Assisted by Ay-} ^{al Molk} his Wazîr ^m; and sent an ambassador to *Baghdâd*, to get his name mentioned in the ^{Yaz,} *Kotbah*, or oration, made in the pulpits on *Fridays*: but, in 493, *Barkiarok*, repairing thi- ^{Hejrah 493.} ^{A. D. 1099.} ther, had it suppressed. Then, assembling a great army, marched to meet *Mohammed*: who, at *Mahdan*, defeated him; *Barkiarok* escaping with only fifty horse ⁿ. Hereupon, quitting *Ray*, he fled to *Khûzestân*; where *Ayyâz*, formerly slave to *Malek Shâh*, ruled with almost an absolute sway ^o: by whose assistance the Soltân found himself soon at the head of a powerful

f army; with which, in 494, he defeated *Mohammed*'s forces in several engagements.

In 495 they had another battle: but, as *Barkiarok* had 50,000 troops, and *Mohammed* only ^{defeats his bro-} ^{thers.} 15,000, the latter was put to flight. Hereupon, taking his way to *Khorasân*, to seek aid of ^{Hej. 495.} ^{A. D. 1101.} king *Senjar*, he stopped at *Jorjân*. Here *Senjar* coming to him with his forces, they went to

^f KOND. ap. D'Herb. p. 185 & 544, art. Barkiarok & Malek Shâh.

^g EBN AMID, p. 356.

^h EBN AMID, p. 360. ABU'LF. p. 241.

ⁱ ANN. COMNEN. in Alex. l. 6. c. 11.

^k KOND.

ap. D'Herb. p. 186, art. Barkiarok.

^l EBN AMID, p. 364.

^m KOND. ubi supr. p. 186, & seq.

ⁿ EBN AMID, p. 364.

^o KOND. ubi supr.

(E) This must be the same with *Ik Sankar*, or *Ak Sankar*, hereafter mentioned, to whom *Malek Shâh* gave the city.

(F) We know no such place. According to *Kondamîr*, *Mohammed* resided commonly at *Ganjeh*, a city

of *Arrân*, part of *Adherbijân*, near the river *Kôr*, and the borders of *Georgia*.

(G) *Ebn Amid* says, *Barkiarok* sent forces against him; but that they went over to him, instead of fighting.

Damegân; where the army laid waste the country to such a degree, that the inhabitants, for want of dogs and dead animals, eat one another^p. After this, marching against *Barkiarok*, they were put to flight; and their mother being made captive, was exchanged for the prisoners taken before by *Senjar*.

Hej. 496.
A. D. 1102. NEXT year *Soltân Barkiarok* besieged *Mohammed* in *Ispâbân*; but was obliged soon to depart, for want of forage and provisions. *Mohammed* hereupon raised troops, and met his brother: but, being defeated, was obliged to fly into *Armenia*^q.

It is observable, that the *Kotbab* was interchangeably made at *Baghdâd*, in the names of those two *Soltâns*, as often as they had the advantage one of the other. Of so great importance was that ceremony thought to be by the *Mohammedan* princes, so long as the race of the *Khalîfahs* subsisted; though, at this time, they were no more than shadows of what they had been formerly.

The traitor
Mowîad

made prime
Wazîr.

OUR readers, doubtless, will be curious to know what became of *Mowîad*, the author of these troubles. We shall therefore inform them. In one of the battles above-mentioned, in which *Barkiarok* had the advantage, he happened to be taken prisoner: but, instead of being punished, as he deserved, he, by his address, so gained the principal lords of the court, that the good-natured *Soltân*, at their intercession, pardoned him, and afterwards made him his prime *Wazîr*. However, he did not long enjoy that post: for one day *Barkiarok*, retiring to rest, overheard one of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber, who thought him asleep, saying to another, *These Seljûkian princes are of a nature very different from that of most other princes: they neither know how to make themselves feared, nor to revenge the injuries done to them. For instance, added he, this Mowîad, who has been the cause of so many evils, is promoted by the Soltân to the employment of Wazîr, as a reward for all his treasons.*

Put to death.

BARKIAROK, touched to the quick with these reflections on his conduct, not long after, sent for the *Wazîr*, and ordered him to sit down. Then, without saying any thing farther, with one stroke of the scymitar, which he held in hand, he cut off his head, with so much dexterity, that it remained on his shoulders till the body fell. This done, he said to his courtiers, *See now if the princes of my house do not know how to make themselves feared, and take vengeance on their enemies.*

The empire di-
vided.
Hejrah 498.
A. D. 1104.

WHILE this tragedy was acting at court, the armies of the *Soltân* and his brother often skirmished, without coming to a general engagement. At length, in 498 (H), a treaty was concluded; whereby *Mohammed* remained master of the provinces of *Shâm*, or *Syria*; *Diyârbekr al Jazireh*, or *Mesopotamia*; *Musol*, *Adherbijân*, *Armenia*, and *Georgia*. The rest of the empire; viz. *Pârs*, *Irâk*, *Kermân*, *Khorasân*, *Mawarâ'lnabr*, and part of *Hindowstân*, were to be possessed by *Barkiarok*^r. It was also agreed, that *Barkiarok* should not go to meet *Mohammed* with drums, nor be named in the pulpits along with him in the countries which were ceded to him^s.

THE civil wars, which for so many years together had afflicted the *Seljûkian* dominions, being thus at length brought to an end, by a partition of the empire between the brothers, let us now turn our eyes towards *Syria*, and see what was doing there, and in the neighbouring countries, during that interval.

Affairs of Sy-
ria.

Subject to the

Hejrah 488.
A. D. 1094.

As soon as the news of the death of *Taj oddawlat*, king of *Syria* (who was slain in the battle against *Barkiarok*, as hath been before related), came to the ears of his son *Redwân*, at *Damaskus*, he repaired immediately to *Halep*, and took possession of it, with the title of *Tabro'l Molk* (†). His brother *Dekâk Shems al Molk* (I) following him from *Diyârbekr*, with part of his own and his father's army, there staid with him. Soon after, receiving letters from *Sûbtekkîn al Hadîm*, *Taj oddawlat*'s lieutenant of the castle of *Damaskus*, he slipped away, without *Redwân*'s knowledge; and, though hotly pursued, got thither, and took possession of the city. *Dekâk* made *Sûbtekkîn* his lieutenant, to govern his state; but soon after set in his place *Atabek* (K) *Tegtekkîn*, who had been governor before both of it and *Mîyaserkîn*, under *Taj oddawlat*, and preceptor to *Dekâk* himself. He was taken prisoner at the battle wherein that prince lost his life; and, escaping back, was received with great honour, and promoted by his quondam pupil, as hath been related; which *Sûbtekkîn* (L) resented so highly, that *Dekâk* put him to death.

^p ABU'LF. p. 243.
p. 243.

^q EBN AMID, p. 364, & seq.

^r KOND. ubi supr. p. 187.

^s ABU'LF.

(H) *Abûl-faraj* says, in 497. He likewise omits *Adherbijân*, *Armenia*, and *Georgia*, among the countries yielded to *Mohammed*.

(†) That is, *the glory of the kingdom*.

(I) *The sun of the kingdom*.

(K) In the copies made use of by *Erpenius* and *D'Herbelot*, *Atabek* signifies, in *Turkish*, *father of*

the prince. A title given to several lords, who had the government and direction of the *Seljûkian* princes. They grew so powerful at last, as to found four races, or dynasties, in *Irâk*, *Adherbijân*, *Pârs*, or *Proper Persia*, and *Larissân*.

(L) By some written *Sûbekkîn*.

a In 489, *Dekák* marching with his troops towards the sea-coast, his brother *Redwán*, who ^{sons of Tash.} longed to recover *Damaskus*, hastened with a great army, to surprize it in his absence. The citizens shutting the gates against him, he besieged the place; but *Dekák* returning he was ^{Hej. 489.} obliged to retire. Upon this he wrote to *Mosía Ali*, Khalífah of *Egypt*, promising to have his name published in the pulpits of *Halep*, provided he would assist him to take *Damaskus*; which *Mosía Ali* agreeing to, the *Kotbab* was accordingly made in his name: but failing to send him troops, he soon lost that honour again.[†]

SYRIA was thus scarce reduced under the power of the *Seijúkian Turks*, who took it from ^{The crusades} the *Arabs*; when she found herself invaded by an army of *Franks* (L) or *Europeans*, gathered from the farthest west. This was the famous crusade, or war of the cross, more commonly
b called the holy war; wherein almost all the *Christian* princes, influenced by a mad zeal for devotion, excited in them by the artifices of the pope (more with a view to carry on his own ambitious designs (M), than to serve the interests of religion, which was the pretence), entered into a league of confederacy to rescue the sepulchre of *Christ* at *Jerusalem* from the *Mohammedans*, and drive them out of the *Holy Land*.

In prosecution of this extravagant undertaking, which may justly be termed a religious ^{Franks take} frenzy, or piece of knight-errantry, a vast army of *Franks*, with king *Baldwin* at the head of ^{Antioch.} them, entered *Syria* in the year 491, and sitting down before *Antioch*, took that city. We ^{Hej. 491.} shall say nothing of this siege from the *Christian* writers, an account thereof having been already ^{A. D. 1097.} given elsewhere[‡]; but shall, for the most part, confine ourselves to what we find related in
c the oriental historians concerning this war.

As soon as *Kawám oddawalat Kodbuka* (N), who was in *Mesopotamia*, heard that *Antioch* ^{Blocked up} was taken by the *Christians*, he raised forces, and, coming into *Syria*, laid siege to it, with a ^{there.} design to recover it. There were then in the city five *Christian* princes; namely, *Bardawíl*, or *Baldwin*, *Sanjil*, *Gonofri*, *Kumes* the prince of *Roba* (O), and *Báymánd* prince of *Antioch* (P). These falling in want of provisions, sent to *Kodbuka*, offering to surrender the town, on condition that he would suffer them to depart: but he refused, saying, *they should escape no otherwise than by making their way with the sword*. While they were in this distress, a monk ^{Raise the siege:} of theirs told them, that the staff of *St. Peter*, strengthened with iron at the end (Q), was buried in the church of the priests; and that, if they found it, they should overcome their
d enemies in battle; if not, they should all perish. After three days fasting and praying, they dug and found the staff. Encouraged by this good omen of victory, they began to march out of the city, five or six at a time. *Kodbuka's* officers advised, that their soldiers might stand at the gates, and kill all who came forth: but he said it was better to let them all come out first, and then to put them to the sword. When they were all come out to the last man, they formed a great army, which put the *Moslems* to flight. The last who fled was *Sokmán Ebn Ortok*. Many thousands of them were killed: and the *Franks*, seizing their camp, got provisions, riches, horses, and arms^{*}.

THEIR affairs being thus restored, they went and took *Moarro'lnomán*, slaying its lords. ^{Take Jerusa-} Thence they proceeded to *Ramla*, or *Rama*, and took it. In 492, perceiving the weakness ^{lem.} of the *Egyptian Turks*, they went and besieged *Beyt al Makdes*, that is, *Jerusalem*; where *Sok-* ^{Hej. 492.} *mán* and *Ilgazi*, sons of *Ortok* the *Turkmán*, with their uncle *Sunej*, were shut up. But the *Franks* playing above fourscore engines against the place, it was surrendered upon terms; *Sok-* ^{A. D. 1098.} *mán* and his followers having leave to depart: but the *Egyptians* put in his room one *Efteka-ro'ddawlat*. Wherefore the *Franks* having erected two towers against the city, they took it on the north side (R), and put the people to the sword. They continued to kill the *Moslems* in the country round for several weeks together; and assembled all the *Jews* into their temple, burned them in it (S). They killed more than 70,000 *Moslems* (T), and took an immense

† EBN AMID, p. 360, & seq.

‡ Univ. hist. vol. vi. p. 615.

* ABU'LF. p. 242.

(L) Rather *Franji*; so the orientals call the *Italians*, and thence the *Europeans* in general.

(M) *Purchas* has set forth those designs, in his collection of travels, vol. ii. p. 1245.

(N) The western historians of the crusade call him *Corbanas*, and *Corbagath*.

(O) The Count of *Roba* was taken afterwards by *Jagarmish*, and released by *Al Járweli Sakarwa*. *Abulfed.* p. 248.

(P) These are *Baldwin*, the Count of *St. Giles*, *Godfrey of Bulloin*, the Count of *Edeffa*, and *Boemond*.

(Q) The western historians say it was the lance which pierced the side of *Christ*. But *Fulcher Carnotensis*, who was in the expedition, represents it as a cheat. He says, many, with the bishop of *Podium*, suspected

it; and that the man who found it, in passing through the fire to prove his integrity, was so burnt, that he died in twelve days after.

(R) *De la Croix* ascribes the loss of *Jerusalem*, and other places, to the disorders which happened on the death of *Malek Sháh*. *Hist. Genghiz Chán*, p. 130.

(S) The historians of the west say 10,000 *Saracens* were slain in it.

(T) *Abul-faraj* says, that number was slain in *Al Akfa*, or the *Farther Chapel* only. The account given by the crusade historians themselves who were present, is shocking to human nature. The *Christian* soldiers thirsted after *Mohammedan* blood, and seemed to delight in murder and cruelty.

treasure; among the rest, more than 140 silver lamps, weighing each 3600 drachms (U); a furnace, weighing forty pounds (X); and above twenty lamps of gold ^y.

Farther suc-
cesses.

Hejrah 494.
A. D. 1100.

IN 494 the *Franks* took *Hayfa* (Y) by assault, and *Arsûf* by composition; making themselves masters of most of the maritime places. Next year they besieged *Tripoli*, whose lord *Fakro'lmalek*, son of *Amar*, sending to *Shamso'ddawlat Dekâk*, prince of *Damaskus*, and *Husseyn Henabo'ddawlat*, lord of *Hems*, they sent him troops, but were routed by the *Franks*. These victories of an enemy in the heart of *Syria*, did not hinder its princes from pursuing their private views, or revenge. *Husseyn*, who had hitherto been of *Fakro'lmalik Redwan's* party, quitted it in 496, to go over to *Dekâk*; whereupon *Redwan* got three *Batanists* to assassinate him in the great *Masjed*, or temple.

Turkish
brails.

Hejrah 497.
A. D. 1103.

WHEN this news was brought to *Atabek Tegtekkîn*, surnamed *Fabiro'ddîn*, and *Dekâk*, they b marched to *Hems*, which, with the castle, was surrendered to them. This happened just at the time when the *Franks* arrived at *Rustân* (Z), with a design to attack *Hems*: but on advice that *Dekâk* was there, they returned. The year following, *Sams al Molk Dekâk* died. Some say that his mother, who was married to the *Atabek Tegtekkîn*, sent him a servant maid, who poisoned him, by pricking a grape with an invenomed needle, which he plucked and ate. However that be, after his death *Tegtekkîn* made himself master of the kingdom of *Damaskus*, and its dependencies.

Take Akka,
or Akra.
A. D. 1103.

IN 497 the *Franks* took *Akka* (A). *Baldwîn*, who had made himself master of *Jerusalem*, came there with his troops, accompanied by the *Genoese Franks*, in ninety ships; and having seized all the neighbouring country, both by sea and land, took the city by storm. *Zakro'd-dawlat al Habashi*, governor for the Khalifah of *Kaherah*, abandoning it, fled first to *Damaskus*, and thence to *Egypt* ^z.

Barkiarok
dies.

Hejrah 498.
A. D. 1104.

IT is time now to return to *Persia*, whither the course of our history calls us, to conclude the reign of *Barkiarok*. That prince, after the agreement made with his brother *Mohammed*, in 498, as before-mentioned, advanced towards *Baghdâd*, to visit his great benefactor *Ayyâz*, who had a sovereign authority in that city. But being afflicted both with a consumption and the piles together, he died by the way at *Ispâhân*, in the thirty-fifth year of his age (B), and thirteenth of his reign; appointing for his successor his son *Malek Shâh*, then but four years and eight months (C) old. He had him cloathed with a *Kaftân*, or vest, and appointed *Amyr Ayyâz* his *Atabek*, or governor, in the presence of his great officers, who all promised to obey d his commands ^a.

Appoints a suc-
cessor.

THE first thing which was done in favour of the infant prince, was to get the *Kotbah* made at *Baghdâd* in his name; to which was added the surname of *Jalal-o'ddawlat*, that is, *the ornament of the state*.

ABOUT the time that *Barkiarok* was on his way towards *Baghdâd*, Soltân *Mohammed* marched from *Adherbijân*, to take *Mûsol* from *Jagarmîsh*. The people of the country, on his approach, rose in their prince's defence, and killed the Soltân a great many men. But when the siege had lasted three months, *Jagarmîsh*, hearing of *Barkiarok's* death, sent to offer obedience to *Mohammed*, who received him with embraces ^b.

^y ABU'LF. p. 243, EBN AMID, p. 363.
ABU'LF. p. 244. EBN AMID, p. 365.

^z EBN AMID, p. 364. & seq.
^b ABU'LF. p. 244.

^a KOND. ubi supr. p. 187.

(U) That is thirty-seven marks and an half.

(X) Or sixty marks.

(Y) Called *Cayphas* by the crusade writers. It stands at the mouth of the bay of *Akka*, or *Ptolemais*, on the south side.

(Z) A town on the river *Asî*, or *Orontes*, between *Hems* and *Hama*.

(A) Called by the crusaders *Akra*; the ancient *Ptolemais*.

(B) He was but twenty-five years old, according to *Kondamîr* in *D'Herbelot*.

(C) *Ebn Amid* has fourteen years.

S E C T. VIII.

The reigns of Mohammed and Sanjar.

Fifth Soltân,
Mohammed.

AFTER this, the Soltân, who already possessed one part of the *Seljûkian* empire, prepared to wrest the other part from his nephew *Malek Shâh*, and unite it to his own. According to *Ebn Amid*, he, on the news of his brother's death, repaired without delay to *Baghdâd*; where *Ayyâdh*, or *Ayyâz*, had gathered 25,000 horse to oppose him: but that an accommodation taking place, *Mohammed* entered that city, and took possession of the Soltânat: the Khalifah *Mestâdher Billah* presenting him with the *Kaftân*, and delivering into his

his hands the command of the palace. Yet when his affairs were settled, he seized *Ayyâdh*, and put him to death^a.

THE author, or authors, made use of by *D'Herbelot*, gives a very different account of this affair; viz. that *Ayyâz* and *Sedekias*, the tutors of the young prince, having assembled powerful forces to oppose Soltân *Mohammed*, the two armies met in 501: but that, while they faced each other, expecting the signal for battle, there appeared in the sky a cloud, in form of a dragon, which cast down so much fire upon the troops of *Malek Shâh*, that the soldiers, terrified with so strange an event, threw down their arms, and begged quarter of *Mohammed*; who, by this means, became master of the persons both of his nephew and his two generals, whom he sent prisoners to the castle of *Lehed*. Opposes his nephew. Hej. 501. A. D. 1107

b AFTER this unexpected victory, without a blow, he marched to *Baghdâd*, where he obtained the title of *Gayâth*, or *Mogayâth-o'ddin* (A); and in his patents was dignified with that of *Amîr al Momenîn*, or commander of the faithful; by which, in effect, the temporal power of the Khalifah over the Moslems was conferred on him. Obtains the empire.

THE same year the Soltân marched against *Sayfo'ddin Sâdeka* (B), prince of *Hella*, who was slain, and his forces routed, after he had enjoyed his state twenty-two years, and lived fifty-six.

MOHAMMED having finished this small expedition, returned to *Baghdâd*. During his stay there, he was informed, that one *Abmed*, surnamed *Atthash*, a pretended prophet, had not only gained over a great number of followers by his impostures, but also seized the fortress of *Dizghodeh*, after corrupting the minds of the garrison with his impious tenets. This important place had been built by *Malek Shâh*, near *Ispâhân*, to awe the inhabitants, who were very subject to revolt. On this advice the Soltân hastened thither, and formed the blockade of the castle; which was so strong, both by situation and art, that there was no reducing it but by famine. A false prophet rebels.

THE place not having been furnished with provisions, *Atthash* soon found himself obliged to send a man to inform *Saad al Molk*, surnamed *Awji*, the Soltân's Wazîr, whom he had also infected with his opinions, that he could not hold out above two or three days longer. The Wazîr answered, that he only desired him to stand his ground eight or ten days more, for that, within such time, he would find means to rid him of *that dog*, meaning the Soltân. Corrupts the Wazîr.

THIS prince, who was of a very sanguine complexion, and usually fell into great disorders occasioned by excess of blood, was accustomed to lose some every month. *Awji* hereupon went to the surgeon, who, for the reward of a thousand chekins, and a purple vest, promised to make use of a poisoned lancet the first time he bled the Soltân.

THE plot happening to come to the knowledge of one of the grooms of the prince's chamber, he discovered it to his wife, and she to her gallant, who communicated it to the Soltân himself. As soon as he was apprized of it, he pretended he wanted to be let blood; and accordingly the surgeon was sent for; who, having bound up the Soltân's arm, took out the fatal instrument: but while he was going to perform the operation, *Mohammed* cast so terrible a look at him, that the wretched phlebotomist, being seized all over with a trembling, which made the lancet drop out of his hand, fell at his sovereign's feet; and confessing his wicked design, declared who was the author of it. The Wazîr was immediately seized, and punished as he deserved: the surgeon was only sentenced to be bled with the same instrument which he had prepared to bleed the Soltân. His treason detected.

THE rebels finding that their treason was discovered, and being no longer able to resist, surrendered at discretion. *Atthash* their chief was conducted to *Ispâhân*, tied neck and heels upon a camel: there, after the prophet had been exposed for some days as a laughing-stock to the people, he was put to a cruel death: after which his body was burned, with a great number of his disciples, who had joined in the revolt. It is reported, that this impostor, who was well versed in astrology and geomancy, finding himself hard pressed by the besiegers, wrote to the Soltân, that he had found by his horoscope, that, in a few days, he should be surrounded with a great number of stars in the midst of *Ispâhân*, even in the presence of the Soltân: and when he was led through the city, accompanied with great crowds of spectators, to the place of execution, being asked concerning the accomplishment of his prediction, he answered, that nothing could be a clearer verification than the condition he then was in; but that he found the great number of stars, which he hoped to see, were not to serve, as he had believed, to do him honour, but to cover him with shame and confusion. The rebel punished.

f SOLTÂN *Mohammed* having settled his dominions in peace, marched into *Hindowstân*, and made considerable conquests there. The author of the *Tarikh Ghuzideh* relates, that this prince, who was very zealous for religion, having found, in one of the temples which he had demolished, an image of stone, weighing 400 kintals, he ordered it to be removed, as an Conquests in India.

^a EBN AMID, p. 367.

(A) That is, the propagator of the religion: he is called also *Gayâth-o'ddin Abûshajab Mohammed*.

(B) Son of *Danis* (*Dobays*), son of *Ali*, son of *Zeïd al Afâdi*.

object of idolatry. The *Indians* offered its weight in precious stones, and other things, for a its ransom; but *Mohammed*, rejecting their proposal, said to his officers, *I would not have it reported hereafter that Azâ (C) was a maker of images, and Mohammed was a merchant of them.* At the same time he ordered that great heap of stone to be transported to *Ispâhân*; where, after having been shewn as a trophy of his victory, it was condemned to serve for the threshold of the great gate belonging to the stately college which he erected there, and which contained his sepulchre ^b.

Jâwali's suc-
cess.

AUTHORS having furnished us with no farther transactions of this Soltân's reign, in the east part of the empire, let us look westward, and see what is doing on that side.

Hej. 500.
A. D. 1106.

IN 500, the year after *Jagarmîsh*, prince of *Musol*, had submitted to *Mohammed*, as hath been before related, *Al Jâwali Sakawwa*, lord of *Roba*, or *Orfa*, marched against him with ^b 1000 men; and rushing into the middle of his troops, though double the number, put them to flight; none remaining behind but *Jagarmîsh* himself; who, not able to ride, for a paralytical disorder, was carried in a litter. The news of his being taken coming to the citizens, they gave the command to his son *Zenghi*. Afterwards *Al Jâwali*, besieging *Musol*, had *Jagarmîsh* shewed to the people daily on a mule, offering to set him at liberty, in case they would surrender the city to him. On their non-compliance, he imprisoned him in a place under-ground, where one morning they found him dead.

Soltân Arslân
drowned.

HEREUPON his subjects wrote to *Kilej Arslân*, son of *Soleymân*, son of *Kotolmîsh*, prince of *Konîya* (D) and *Aksîra*, offering to deliver the city to him; on whose approach *Al Jâwali* broke up the siege. *Kilej Arslân*, after honouring *Zenghi* and his attendants with *Kaftâns*, ordered ^c the name of Soltân *Mohammed* to be suppressed in the pulpits, and his own mentioned instead of it. This done, he marched against *Al Jâwali*, who was at *Roba* (E), but was defeated at the river *Khâbûr*; into which the Soltân entering, defended himself with his bow against the enemy; but his horse carrying him out of his depth, he was drowned. His body appearing some days after, he was buried at *Sbemsania*. *Al Jâwali*, on this success, went back and took *Musol*. But, in 502, *Maüdüd*, son of *Altûn Takûsh* (F), with the army of Soltân *Mohammed*, recovered it, and took possession ^e.

Hej. 502.
A. D. 1108.

Franks take
Tripoli,

THE same year the *Franks* took *Tripoli* by capitulation, after a siege of seven years continuance; the inhabitants having been destroyed by famine and the sword. It was a great city, full of *Mahommedans* and learned men ^d.

and Berytus.

NEXT year *Tangri al Franji* (*Tankred*) lord of *Antiokh*, took *Tarsûs* and *Adena*, in the borders of *Syria*, and *Hesno'l Akrad* (G) surrendered to him ^e. Others say, the forts of *Akad* and *Minattar* were reduced: but that *Mestafa* and *Akad* bought their peace, by agreeing to pay tribute; yet soon revolted. The *Franks* likewise subdued *Beyrût*, or *Berytus*, after a long siege; the ambassadors of the *Egyptian* Khalîfah making a vigorous defence. The same year died *Koraja*, prince of *Hems*, and was succeeded by his son *Sam sam Herobân* ^f.

Sidon taken.
Hej. 504.
A. D. 1110.

IN 504 the *Franks* took *Sayda*, or *Sidon*, and *Rardia*, with all the coast of *Syria*. At the beginning of the year 506, *Amîr Maüdüd*, lord of *Musol*, encamped near *Roba*, whose corn-fields were devoured by his army. From thence he removed to *Sarûj* (H), where they did the same: not once thinking of the *Franks*, till *Jûssîn* (I), lord of *Tel Bâsher* (K), came on him ^e suddenly, while the horses were dispersed over the pastures, of which he took many, and killed a good number of his men.

NEXT year, the *Moslems* uniting their forces, invaded the acquisitions of the *Franks*, who were defeated near *Tiberias*.

Franks de-
feated.

Hej. 507.
A. D. 1113.

AFTER the battle, *Maüdüd*, who was one of the allied princes (L), gave leave to his troops to return and refresh themselves till the spring following; and went himself to *Damaskus*, to spend the season with *Tegtekkîn*, lord of that city: but one day as he was going into a *Masjed*, a *Batani*, approaching him under pretence of begging alms, stabbed him four times with a knife; of which wounds he died the same day, and the assassin was put to death ^g.

THE same year died *Fabro'ddawlat Redwân*, son of *Tajo'ddawlat Tatash*, prince of *Halep*, ^f and was succeeded by his son *Tajo'ddawlat*, surnamed *Abras*: who being slain the year following, the city and castle of *Halep* fell into the hands of *Lîlû*, page to *Tajo'rrûs*, son of *Jalâla*, who afterwards resigned them to Soltân *Shâh*, son of *Redwân*.

^b D'HERB. p. 605, & seq. art. Mohammed ben Malek Shâh.
AMID, p. 367.

^c ABU'LF. p. 245.

^f EBN AMID, p. 367.

^e ABU'LF. p. 244, & seq.
^g ABU'LF. p. 246.

^d EBN

(C) So they call *Terah*, the father of *Abraham*. The *Persians* give him the surname of *Pûs-tirash*, that is, the cutter or carver of images.

(D) *Ikonium*, in *Asia minor*.

(E) Or *Orfa*, formerly *Edessa*.

(F) Alias *Takin*, or *Tatkin*.

(G) That is, the castle of the *Kürds*.

(H) A small town, a day's journey eastward of *Bir*, near *Harrân*, and *Roba*, or *Orfa*.

(I) *Joffeline*.

(K) A very strong castle, two days journey to the north of *Halep*, or *Aleppo*.

(L) *Ebn Amîd* says, he was sent against the *Franks* by Soltân *Mohammed*, in 504; and that he was killed by the *Batani*s, near *Damaskus*, in 505. But we choose to follow *Abûlfaraj* as to the dates.

^a IN 509 *Dhabero'ddin Atabek Tegtakîn*, prince of *Damaskus*, went to *Bagdad*, and offered his service to *Mostadir Billah*, and *Gayatho'ddin Mohammed*, who received him with great honour. Next year he returned; and *Lûlû*, prince of *Halep*, was killed near *Balis* (M), in going to the castle of *Jaffar*. Thereupon *Abu Meali Ebn Malki*, secretary of war, succeeded in the command of the fortress of *Halep*; which, the year following, fell into the hands of *Amîr Bulgari Ebn Arik*, who held it five years ^b.

Affairs of
S. ria.
Hej. 509.
A. D. 1115.

THE year 511 was fatal to *Soltân Gayatho'ddin Mohammed*, who died in the last month of it, after he had lived thirty-six years, and reigned thirteen (N). When he perceived death approaching, he sent for his son *Mahmûd Abu'l Kassim*, but fourteen years old, whom he had declared his successor, kissed him, and wept: then ordered him to go and sit in the throne: but the young prince declined it, saying, it was an unlucky day. The Soltân answered, *You say true; but it is so to your father, not to you, who gain an empire*. Then mounting the throne, he was there adorned with the crown and bracelets ^c.

Death of Mo-
ammed.
Hej. 511.
A. D. 1117.

SOLTÂN Mohammed was eminent for gravity, justice, and clemency; was strong, and could talk well ^d. He left in the treasury eleven millions of gold, besides as much in furniture, and other effects. Historians do not tell us what method he made use of to fill his coffers: but by the following story, related in the *Nighiaristân*, it may be judged, that they were not more equitable than those which other princes have employed for the same purpose.

His character.

^c *DHIA AL MOLK*, son of the famous *Nezâm al Molk*, assassinated in the reign of *Malek Shâb*, apprehending himself injured by some ill offices of *Alao'ddawlat*, prince of *Hamadân*, who assumed the title of *Saïd* or *Seïd* (O), which word, signifying *lord*, is appropriated to the race of *Mohammed*; to be revenged on him, told the Soltân, that if he would permit him to call *Alao'ddawlat* to an account, he would engage to bring 50,000 crowns of gold into the treasury. The Soltân granted his request. But as the *Saïd*, who had many friends at court, was quickly informed of what was doing against him, he made such haste, that he was at *Ispîhân* before the Wazîr knew any-thing of the matter: and finding means to throw himself at the Soltân's feet, represented *the injustice he would commit in giving up a prince of the house of his prophet into the hands of an infidel and heretic, as was the Wazîr*. He added, that, *if the desire of so much money was what had induced him to consent to his minister's injurious proposal,*

The Wazîr is
caught

^d *he would pay down 800,000 crowns, which were 300,000 more than the malicious Wazîr had offered, provided his majesty would deliver Dhia al Molk into his hands; with leave to oblige him to render as exact and rigorous an account as he should require of him.*

THIS proposal being accepted of (P), the *Saïd* returned, along with a person who was commissioned to receive the money. Being arrived at *Hamadân*, the officer, who expected that the prince would lodge him in his palace, and do him many other honours, was given to understand, that he must repair to the public *Karawansaray*, or inn, and live at his own expence, till the sum could be raised; and that then notice should be given him to come and take it away. The officer, offended at this treatment, began with complaints; but finding them of no avail, proceeded to menaces. But the *Saïd*, assuming an air of authority, told him,

Instance of
firminess,

^e *If you do not be easy, I will order you to be hanged up instantly, before the house where you lodge; after which I have only to add 100,000 crowns more to the sum which I have promised the Soltân; for with that money he might buy a thousand slaves, the worst of whom would be better than you.* The officer, who was in fact one of the Soltân's slaves, hearing the *Saïd* talk in that manner, thought it best to bear all patiently, and waited at the inn forty days; in which time *Alao'ddawlat* raised the sum in question, without either borrowing money on interest, or selling any of his effects.

and noble
spirit.

ON the cash being paid into the royal treasury, the Wazîr was delivered into the hands of the *Saïd*, to do with him just as he should think fit: but that prince set, on this occasion, an example of virtue, the most eminent and rare to be found among men; for, instead of taking vengeance on his enemy, or even of making him pay the sum which he had been obliged to give the Soltân, he treated him with so much honour and generosity (Q), that *Dhia al Molk* became his best friend ^f.

Unparalleled
generosity.

^b EBN AMID, p. 368. ^c D'HERB. ubi sup. p. 607. EBN AMID, p. 368. ABU'LF. p. 246. ^d ABU'LF. p. 246. Lebtarikh. p. 43. EBN AMID, p. 368. ^e NIGHIARIST. ap. D'Herb. p. 606, & seq.

(M) A town on the *Euphrates*, between *Halep* and *Rakka*.

(N) According to the *Lebtarikh*, he was born in 474, reigned 13 years, lived 24, and died in 501. But these two last numbers must be mistakes, for 37 and 511.

(O) Or *Seyd*. The *Spaniards* from thence have made their *Cid*.

(P) This sort of traffic was frequently practised by the late *Muley Ismaël*, emperor of *Morokko*.

(Q) This is agreeable to a precept of the *Korân*. *Do good to him who does you harm.*

Sixth Soltân,
Sanjar.

AFTER the death of *Mohammed* was known, *Sanjar* (R), son of *Malek Shâb*, who had governed the great province of *Khorasân* for twenty years, under the two preceding reigns of his brothers, raised a puissant army; and marched (S) into the province of *Persian Irâk*, where his nephew *Mahmûd Abu'l-kassim*, surnamed *Mogayatho'ddin*, had taken the title of Soltân: but the latter being defeated, after a bloody battle fought between them, he retired to the castle of *Saveh*, a place of great strength and importance.

Divides the
empire,

MAHMUD, finding his affairs entirely ruined, was obliged to sue for peace to his uncle, and sent to him his Wazîr *Kemalo'ddin Ali*, a very eloquent person, who, by his address, brought about an accommodation. Hereupon *Mahmûd* went to visit *Sanjar*; and was so well received, that he obtained of him the investiture of the province of *Irâk* (T), with the following conditions: that the name of *Sanjar* should always be mentioned in the public prayers before that of *Mahmûd*; that this latter should not have the fourth veil, or curtain (U), in his apartments; that the trumpet should not sound when he went in or out of his palace; and lastly, that he should retain the officers whom his uncle had established in his province.

with his ne-
phew.

MAHMUD, according to *Kondamîr*, was obliged to receive these conditions with thanks, and resolved to spend his time in hunting, without meddling with any affairs. However that may be, this seems, from the course of the history, to have been an actual partition of empire, which took place soon after, if not from the time when the agreement was made; by virtue whereof *Mahmûd* and his descendants were to enjoy the share allotted to him, with the title of Soltân, in as absolute a manner as *Sanjar* enjoyed his. Accordingly we find that *Mahmud* was succeeded in his dominions by four or five princes, who claimed under him, during the reign of *Sanjar* * in *Khorasân*: nor does it appear that he gave any opposition to their succession; or that they applied to him for his consent. At the same time it must be confessed, that the histories and extracts which have come to us relating to these Soltâns, are very defective; and, to add to the misfortune, that of *Ebn Amîd*, which was one of our chief funds, descends no lower than the reign of Soltân *Mohammed*, *Sanjar*'s predecessor ^m.

Death of
Kothbo'ddin.

THIS Soltân is called ⁿ *Moazo'ddin*, *Abu'lbareth*, and *Moazo'ddin Borhan* (X). The first thing remarkable that we meet with in his reign is the death of *Kothbo'ddin*, founder of a new monarchy, in the year 521. His father *Bustekkîn* was slave to *Balkatekkîn*, or *Malkatekkîn*, who was one of *Malek Shâb*'s principal slaves, and possessed the employment of *Teshîdâr*, that is, great butler, or cup-bearer; on whose death the Soltân gave it to *Bustekkîn*: and, because the revenues of *Karazm*, a country on the east side of the *Caspian* sea, were annexed to that office, he easily obtained the government of that province. His son *Kothbo'ddin* succeeded him in all his places. As he was a man of spirit and valour, his credit grew so much during the reigns of *Barkiarok* and *Sanjar*, that he obtained the title of *Karazm Shâb*, that is, king of *Kharazm*, which descended to all his posterity, in that great monarchy of which he was the founder, and which proved at length the ruin of the *Seljûkian* dynasty of *Irân*, to which they owed their rise. However *Kothbo'ddin*, though very powerful, never departed from his obedience to the Soltâns; and, for thirty years, he did his duty of cup-bearer at court every second year, being relieved every other year by his son *Atsiz* ^o.

Hej. 521.
A. D. 1127.
First Karazm
Shâh.

Revolters
subdued.

Hej. 524.
A. D. 1129.

In the year 524, *Sanjar* passed the *Jibûn*, into *Mawarâ'lnabr*, to reduce *Abmed Ebn Soleymân*, governor of *Samarkand*, who refused to pay the usual tribute. Being obliged to surrender after a vigorous siege, the Soltân spared his life, only depriving him of the government, which he gave to one of his slaves: but *Abmed*, finding means to get into *Sanjar*'s favour, was in a little time restored. After this *Babrâm Shâb*, Soltân of the *Gazni* family, whose kingdom extended from the province of *Gazna*, to the east of *Khorasân*, a great way into *Hindostân*, had a mind also to shake off the yoke of the *Seljûkians*. Hereupon, in 530, the Soltân entered his dominions with a large army: but *Babrâm*, not being able to resist so great a force, sent ambassadors to pay the tribute, and do homage for his crown, by which means he diverted the storm ^p.

Hej. 530.
A. D. 1135.

Atsiz Karazm
Shâh

UPON the death of *Kothbo'ddin* before-mentioned, his son *Atsiz*, called also *Takash*, succeeded, both in his employments and the title of *Karazm Shâb*, though no more, in reality, than governor of that province, like his father. He grew in great credit with *Sanjar* by his services, especially in coming up seasonably to rescue him out of the hands of an ambuscade laid for him by *Abmed*, governor of *Samarkand*, before-mentioned. But afterwards growing out of

* *Lebtar*, p. 43. ^m *KOND.* ap. *D'Herb.* p. 755, & seq. art. *Sangiar*. ⁿ *D'HERB.* art. *Seljûkian*.
^o *D'HERB.* p. 176, art. *Cothbeddin*. ^p *KOND.* ap. *D'Herb.* p. 756, art. *Sangiar*.

(R) Pronounced also *Sanjer*, and *Senjar*.

(S) According to *Abu'lfaraj*, and the *Lebtarîkh*, this war began in the year of the *Hejrah* 513, of *Christ* 1119.

(T) In another place of *D'Herbelot*, p. 537, art. *Mahmûd*, it is said that he was made *Sanjar*'s governor, and lieutenant-general, in both the *Irâks*; and p. 185, art. *Barkiarok*, the title of lieutenant-general is given

him, as the signification of *Atabek*. The *Lebtarîkh* says, that *Sanjar* restored to him *Irâk*, as far as the borders of the *Roman* empire and *Syria*.

(U) Hung before the door of a room for state.

(X) This is the same mentioned by *R. Benjamin*, the lying Jew, in his travels, who calls him *Senigar Shâb*, son of *Shâb* (1), that is, *Mulîk Shâb*.

(1) *Benj. Tudel. edit. Const. l'emp.* p. 87.

a favour at court, he got leave to retire to his government, where the people were inclined to revolt. The Soltân, at his departure, saying to those about him, *I see the back of a man, whose face it is likely I never shall see again*; they advised him to have him arrested: but Sanjar would not consent; alleging, *that he should violate the acknowledgements due both to him and his father, for their services, if he should do any thing to offend him on a bare suspicion*.

ATSÎZ verified the Soltân's prognostic; for he no sooner arrived in *Karazm*, than he put himself at the head of the rebels: so that Sanjar was obliged to reduce by force an enemy, whom he had suffered to escape, by having more regard to the maxims of amity than those of policy.

However, the expedition did not give him much trouble; for advancing in 533, with superior forces, he put the rebels to flight: and *Il Kiliç*, son of *Atsîz*, being taken, was put to death. The troubles in *Karazm* being thus effectually suppressed, Sanjar gave the government of it to his nephew *Soleymân Shâh*. But as he left him only a few forces, he was soon obliged to quit it to *Atsîz*; who advancing with a considerable army, re-entered *Karazm*. And this year is reckoned for the commencement of the dynasty of the *Karazm Shâhs*, or sovereigns in a proper sense ^a.

b Two years after, *Samarkand* rebelled again, in opposition to the governor; who, being afflicted with the palsy, was not able to act. The Soltân marched against them; and, after a siege of six months, the city surrendered; but Sanjar spared the inhabitants, according to his usual clemency; and displacing the feeble father, gave the government of the place to his son.

c DURING the Soltân's stay at *Samarkand*, he was solicited by some lords of his court to bend his arms against *Gurjîsh*, king of *Karakatay* (Y); alleging the glory that would arise from the conquest of a country deemed in a manner inaccessible. Sanjar, prevailed on by their instances, marched on that side (Z); but *Gurjîsh* advancing with his forces, cut in pieces 30,000 of the Soltân's troops, and seized his camp, where was all his equipage, and *Haram*, or women; among whom was *Tarkhân Khatûn*, his principal queen. Sanjar, in this distress, picked out 300 of his bravest men, and made his way through the middle of his enemies, in order to reach *Termed* (A), where he arrived with only twelve or fifteen followers. The rest of his scattered troops repairing thither by degrees, he passed with them into *Khorasân*, quite ashamed of his expedition; which convinced his people that he was not invincible, as before they thought him to be ^r.

d ATSÎZ continuing more and more to encroach on the Soltân's authority, he found himself obliged, a second time, to take the field against him; and, in 538, having reduced several passes and strong places in the way, came and besieged him in his capital city. *Atsîz* finding himself reduced to the last extremity, sent very rich presents to Sanjar, intreating pardon, which was granted by the generous Soltân: who, on his taking a new oath of fidelity, left him in possession of his government. But all this clemency had no effect on the ambitious mind of *Atsîz*. Sanjar, receiving advice from several parts that he was raising forces, and paid no regard to his orders, sent *Adibfâber*, one of his great lords, to inform himself of the conduct of *Atsîz*; who, on his arrival in *Karazm*, set guards over him, and sent assassins to *Marû* to kill the Soltân. But *Adib* coming to the knowledge hereof, gave notice to Sanjar; so that the bravoës were discovered, and put to death. *Atsîz*, concluding that the intelligence came from that lord, had him thrown head-long from the top of his castle into the *Jihûn*, or *Amû*.

e IN 542, the Soltân undertook once more to punish the treason of *Atsîz*; and invested *Hazar Asb*, the strongest place in *Karazm*, where *Atsîz* shut himself up; and, after making a vigorous defence, had the good luck to escape; the city having been taken at length by storm. Sanjar followed him to the city of *Karazm*, which he might soon have taken; but whether weary of the fatigues attending the camp, or through his aversion to shed blood, he listened to proposals of peace, negotiated by a *Darwîsh*, or religious man; by whose management *Atsîz* was obliged only to repair to the side of the *Jihûn*, opposite to the Soltân's camp, and there prostrating himself, kiss the earth. *Atsîz* came to the place appointed; but, without alighting off his horse, only stooped forward, and bowed his head to salute the Soltân; who, for all this arrogance, sent him the pardon he had promised: after which all hostilities ceased between them, till the time of the death of *Atsîz*, which happened in 551, the year before that of the Soltân ^s.

f ONE of the most remarkable events in the Soltân's reign is the signal victory, which, in 544, he obtained over *Hussèyn Jèhânsûz*, Soltân of the dynasty of *Gaur*, a country lying between

^a KOND. Lebtar. & Nighiar. ap. D'Herb. p. 146, art. *Atsîz*. ^r KOND. ubi supr. p. 756, art. *Sangiar*.
^s Ibid. p. 146. & seq. art. *Atsîz*.

(Y) See an account of this country before, p. 140, 141, & seq. *D'Herbelot*, or his author *Kondamîr*, says, it is called *Black Katcy*, because of the thickness of its forests, and the deepness of its vallies, which render it dark and gloomy.

(Z) The *Lebtarîkh* places this expedition in the year 536, of *Christ* 1141, and says, the consequence of his defeat was the loss of *Mawâra'nahr*.

(A) A city on the *Jihûn*, to the north of *Bâlk*.

between that of *Gazna* and *Khorasân*. *Hussey*n having entered this last province with a great army, in order to conquer it, *Sanjar* marched his troops, and, defeating them, took both him and *Ali Cheteri*, his general, prisoners. As *Ali* was born in the dominions of *Sanjar*, and had formerly been loaded with favours by him, that prince put him to death for his ingratitude; but soon after sent home *Hussey*n to govern *Gaur* under his authority.

The Soltân taken by the Turkmâns.

Hej. 551.
A. D. 1156.

Escapes by stratagem.

IN 548 the Soltân was led, against his inclination, to chastise the *Turkmâns*, who refused to pay the usual tribute of sheep (B); when his army was defeated, and himself taken prisoner by that rabble, to the great dishonour of the house of *Seljûk*; which was so much revered by all the *Turkish* nation (C). These *Turkmâns*, not knowing what to do with the person of so great a prince, placed him in the day-time on a throne, and shut him up at night in an iron cage. He spent four years in this confinement; till the Soltâna *Tarkhan Khatûn*, who governed in his absence, happening to die in 551, he resolved to deliver himself out of the hands of the *Turkmâns*.

To bring this about, he employed *Amîr Elias*, one of his confidants; who carrying on a correspondence with *Abmed Komaj*, governor of *Termed*, got him to provide boats ready in the river, against the Soltân passed by in hunting. This stratagem succeeded to *Sanjar*'s wishes; and the governor, after entertaining him magnificently at his castle, gathered what troops he could, who conducted him to *Marû*, then the capital of *Khorasân*, where he usually resided. But the Soltân found that city, and all the country through which he passed, in so bad a condition, on account of the incursions which the *Turkmâns* had made during his absence, that he fell into a deep melancholy, and afterwards into a distemper (D) of which he died in the year 552^e.

Hej. 552.
A. D. 1157.

His death.

ACCORDING to the *Lebtarîkh*, the Soltân lived seventy-two years, and reigned sixty-two, in which must be understood to be included the twenty years, which the same author says he reigned in *Khorasân* before the death of *Mohammed* his predecessor.

Extensive dominions.

HE extended his empire from *Katay* and *Kotan* (E), to the end of *Syria* and *Egypt*, and from the sea of *Khozâr*, or the *Caspian*, to *Yamman*, or *Arabia felix*.

His character.

HE fought nineteen battles, of which he gained seventeen: was much feared by all; and famous for liberality and clemency to his subjects. He was diligent in matters of government, but hated kingly pride; wearing a coat of skins^u. Yet the *Karazm Shab*'s serving the office of cup-bearer to him, is produced as an argument of the magnificence with which he lived.

Greatly beloved.

ALL the oriental historians praise this prince for his valour and justice, magnanimity and goodness. As a proof of this, they write, that he was so well beloved by his subjects, that they continued to publish his name in the temples for a whole year after his death, as if he had been still alive, and on the throne. They gave him also the surname of *Esikander Tbani*, that is, *Alexander the second*: and his name of *Sanjar* has passed for that of *Alexander* among his posterity^x.

Atabek dynasties.

IT is remarked that this Soltân established *Saad Ebn Zenghi* (F), who had been his governor, lieutenant-general of all his dominions, under the title of *Atabek*; which title signifying *father of the prince* (G), and given to the tutors or governors of the *Seljûkian* princes, became afterwards a title of dignity.

Reign of the Seljûks.

AFTER *Sanjar*'s death, *Mabmûd*, his sister's son, by *Mohammed Khân*, descended from *Bagra Khân*, succeeded in *Khorasân*. But at the end of five years, one of his lords (H) revolted from him, and, after several battles, seized his dominions, and deprived him of sight. The Soltân of *Karazm*, whose dynasty rose during the reign of *Sanjar*, taking advantage of these divisions in *Khorasân*, made himself master of one part of that great province, while the other

^t KOND. ubi supr. p. 756, & seq. art. Sangiar.

^u Lebtarîkh, p. 43. ^x KOND. ubi supr. p. 757. art. Sangiar.

(B) The cause of this war is represented somewhat differently in the *Lebtarîkh*. According to this author, the *Gâz*, or *Turkmâns*, crossing the *Jibûn* towards the end of *Sanjar*'s reign, suffered great misery: yet the king resolved to march against them. The *Gâz* begged peace in the most suppliant manner; each family offering a piece of silver, with which the Soltân was content: but the grandees obstructing the treaty, the *Gâz* were attacked.

(C) This event, in the article of *Atsiz*, is placed in the beginning of *Sanjar*'s reign; but on whose authority does not appear: for though *D'Herbelot* quotes *Kondamîr*, it is along with other authors, at the end of the whole article, and not at the particular facts or paragraphs, as he does in other articles. It is there said that *Atsiz* governed the state, in conjunction with *Mabmûd*, *Sanjar*'s nephew, during the Soltân's captivity.

(D) According to the *Nighiariştân* (·) and *Abûlfaraj*,

(1) *D'Herb.* p. 557. *Abu'lf.* p. 258.

it was the cholic, attended with a looseness and vomiting.

(E) This is straining things too far; for, instead of conquering, he was defeated by the *Karakitayans*, as before related.

(F) This must have been *Omado'ddin Zenghi*, the first *Atabek* of *Irâk*, in 521, or the *Modhaffero'ddin Moshaker*, first *Atabek* of *Pârs*, or proper *Persia*, in 543, both being established during *Sanjar*'s reign. He seems to have been the first; but *D'Herbelot* is very confused on this head. See the articles *Atabek*, *Saad ben Mozaffer*, and *Salgar Shâb*.

(G) Dr. *Pococke* renders it, *administrator regni*. *Abûlfaraj*. hist. dynast. p. 250. So does *D'Herbelot* in some places.

(H) The *Lebtarîkh*, which calls him *Moyedabia*, says, that he had been one of *Sanjar*'s slaves.

remained

a remained in possession of the rebels (I). So that the *Seljukian* Soltâns, who still reigned in both the *Irâks*, no longer had any footing in *Khorasân* ^r.

We must now turn back to these Soltâns; the first of whom, *Mogayatho'ddîn Mahmûd* ^{extinct in Ebn Mohammed}, though beginning his reign at the same time with his uncle *Sanjar*, and dying ^{Khorasân} twenty-seven years before him (K), is yet reckoned his successor: *Mahmûd*, *Sanjar's* sister's son, before-mentioned, not being put in the list of Soltâns.

^r Mirkhond ap. D'Herb. p. 573, art. Mahmûd Khân.

(I) The *Lebtarîk* says, the Soltâns of *Gaur* had also a part.

(K) Here we must take notice of a great mistake in *Kondamîr*, or his extractor *D'Herbelot*, who, in the article of *Mahmûd*, p. 537. says, he resided fourteen years in

Irâk, as governor under *Sanjar*; but that, on the Soltân's death, he was proclaimed by the people for his fine qualities; yet in the same page (article *Mohammed Khân*), makes *Mahmûd*, the son of this latter, to succeed him twenty-six years after.

S E C T. IX.

The reigns of Mahmûd, Togrol, and Massûd.

b **I**T hath been observed before, in the reign of *Sanjar*, that *Mahmûd*, son of his brother *Mohammed*, surnamed *Mogayatho'ddîn Abu'l-kassim*, by the agreement made between them ^{Seventh Soltân, Mahmûd.} in 513 (A), was left in possession of the *Persian* and *Arabian Irâks*, with the countries westward thereof; tho', according to *Kondamîr*, he was only *Sanjar's* governor and lieutenant-general, yet he seems to have acted independently of him: nor does it appear that his uncle exercised any power within his dominions. It is true, none of the authors before us give any account of this Soltân's transactions, after his agreement with *Sanjar*. *D'Herbelot's* extracts from *Kondamîr*, and other oriental authors, end there ^{Defect of authors.}. *Teixeira* was in such haste to finish his abstract of *Mirkhond*, that he would scarce allow himself to look into the history of the *Seljukian* Soltâns, or even to know their names. The *Lebtarîk* only says, that *Mahmûd* married c two of *Sanjar's* daughters, and fought two battles with his brother *Massûd*, whom he defeated both times. In short, the particulars collected by *Abû'l-faraj*, relate almost solely to the affairs of *Mesopotamia* and *Syria*; which, in effect, are all the materials we have towards the history of this Soltân's reign.

THAT author informs us, agreeable to the account given by the western historians, that, in the year 512, as *Baldwin*, king of *Jerusalem*, was swimming in the *Nile* at *Balbays*, in *Egypt*, a wound, which he formerly had received, opened; whereupon returning to *Jerusalem*, he there died, after having recommended the care of his kingdom to *Al Comes* (B), lord of *Roha*. ^{Death of Baldwin. Hej. 512. A. D. 1118.}

d IN 514 the *Gorj*, or *Korj*, who are the same with the *Khozars*, the *Kassâks*, and other nations, invading the *Mohammedan* countries, *Al Anîr Ilgâzi*, lord of *Mardin*, *Dobays ebn Sadeka*, lord of *Hellah*, and king of *Togrol* (C), to whom belonged *Arrân* and *Nakhjawân*, advanced to meet them as far as *Teflis*, with 30,000 men. The armies being drawn up to battle, there came forth 200 *Kassâks*, who, as the *Moslems* thought, intended to surrender themselves: instead of that, they attacked their front so vigorously with arrows, as put them into disorder; which those in the rear taking for a flight, fled with such precipitation, that they stumbled over one another. The *Gorj* pursuing for twelve *Persian* leagues, slew most of them, and took 4000 prisoners; but king *Togrol*, *Ilgâzi*, and *Dobays*, escaped. The *Gorj* returning, besieged *Teflis*; and, after harrassing the inhabitants, took that city next year by storm. ^{The Gorj, or Khozars, invade the Seljûks.}

c IN 515 *Soleyman*, son of *Ilgâzi*, being just turned of twenty, rebelled against his father; but the latter coming upon him unexpectedly, seized those who had set him on, and punished them. Among the rest he ordered one *Nafr*, a commander brought up by his father *Ortok*, to have his eyes plucked out, and tongue cut off. He condemned another, whom he had made governor of *Halep*, first to be deprived of sight, and then to have his hands and feet chopped off, which occasioned his death. ^{Affairs of Syria.}

SOLEYMAN was brought before him drunk; but he was restrained from killing him, by natural affection. After this he fled to *Damaskus*; and *Ilgâzi* made *Soleymân*, son of his brother *Abdo'ljabbar*, governor of *Halep*, and named him *Badro'ddawlat*; after which he returned to *Mardin*.

^a Bibl. orient. art. Sangiar & Mohammed, fils de Mohammed.

(A) Yet the beginning of his reign is reckoned from the death of his father.

Edeffa, who had been taken prisoner by *Jagarmîsh*, and set free by *Jâzvelî*, before-mentioned.

(B) For *Comes*; so they call the count of *Roha*, or

(C) A brother of *Mahmûd*.

and Mesopotamia. THE same year the Soltân (D) gave *Mayaferkîn* to the *Amir Ilgâzi ibn Ortok*; and the cities a

Hej. 516. NEXT year *Ilgâzi* died at *Mayaferkîn*; on which his son *Hafamo'ddin Tamartush* seized the

A. D. 1122. castle of *Mardin*; and his son *Soleymân*, *Mayaferkîn*; *Badro'ddawlat Soleymân* continuing at

A. D. 1123. *Halep*. But, in 517, *Balak*, son of *Babrâm ibn Ortok*, finding his cousin *Soleymân* not able to defend his country, came and closely besieged *Halep*, which was at last surrendered to him.

A. D. 1124. Next year he took *Manbej*, but was slain by an arrow (E), in attacking the castle. Hereupon his army dispersed; and *Okfenkar al Borsiki* took *Halep*, as the *Franks* did *Sûr*, or *Tyre*.

Okfenkar assassinated. TOWARDS the end of the year 520, *Okfenkar*, lord of *Musol*, was assassinated in the royal temple of that city by the *Batânists*, and his son *Ezzo'ddin Massûd* took possession without opposition. The historian wonders how *Ezzo'ddin* should be informed of his father's death b by the lord of *Antiokh* (F), before a courier brought him the news: but *Abû'lfaraj* observes, that it was sooner known to the *Franks*, by the care they took to learn the state of affairs among the *Moslems* b.

Atabeks of Irâk. THE year 521 is remarkable for being the first of the dynasty of the *Atabeks* of *Irâk*, founded by *Omado'ddin Zengbi* (G), son of *Okfankar*, or *Aksunkar*, who was established in the government of the city of *Baghdâd*, by Soltân *Mahmûd*. His brother *Ezzo'ddin Massûd* dying the same year, *Omado'ddin* became possessed of *Musol*, and its dependencies. Next year he took *Halep*, with its castle; and the year following, the city of *Hamab* c.

Egyptian Khalifah assassinated. IN 524 *Al Amir Beabkâmillab Abuali*, lord of *Egypt* (H), was assassinated by the *Batânists*, as he returned from taking a walk. The same year there were seen at *Baghdâd* scorpions c with wings, and a double sting.

The Soltân dies. THE next year proved fatal to Soltân *Mahmûd*, who died at *Hamadân*, in *Shawal*, or the tenth month, having lived about twenty-seven years (I), and reigned thirteen d.

His character. HE was a handsome personage, and very generous; but the love of women, and hunting, by degrees, impaired his character. It is reported, that his hunting-equipage was so magnificent, that he kept 400 greyhounds and blood-hounds, each of which wore a collar set with jewels, and a covering edged with gold and pearls. He laid out so much in this expence, that he often wanted money to pay his troops, and for other occasions e. Yet he did not fleece his subjects to recruit his coffers: he likewise restrained his favourites from doing them any injury. He was merciful, good-natured, and prudent. He forbore to punish those who d spoke ill of him. No prince ever studied the art of reigning more. He was skilled in grammar, poetry, and chronology (K); was very eloquent, and wrote a fine hand f.

Eighth Soltân, Togrol. MAHMUD left for his successor his brother *Togrol*, surnamed *Rokno'ddin* (L); but his brother *Massûd* disputed the crown with him; and several battles were fought between them, in the space of three or four years, which he reigned. According to *Kondamîr*, he was the second Soltân of a branch of the *Seljûkians* who reigned in *Persian* and *Arabian Irâk*: which confirms our remark, that the agreement made between *Sanjar* and *Mahmûd* contained a division of the *Seljûkian* empire of *Irâk*, or *Persia* at large. However, it does not appear that oriental historians consider them as two separate monarchies, but as one and the same; making *Mahmûd*, the predecessor of *Togrol*, the successor of *Sanjar*; though both died some years before him, as e hath been already observed g.

His reign short. THIS Soltân, according to *Abû'lfaraj*, before he came to the throne, possessed the province of *Arrân* and *Natchjawân* (M). But the authors before us give no account of the transactions of his reign, excepting *Abû'lfaraj*; whose memoirs, in the preceding reign, are confined to *Mesopotamia* and *Syria*.

b ABU'LF. p. 248, & seq.

p. 251.

p. 43.

c ABU'LF. p. 250. D'HERB. p. 141, art. Atabek.

e KOND. ap. D'Herb. p. 537, & 756, art. Mahmûd & Sanjar. Lebtar. p. 43.

g KOND. p. 1030. art. Thogrol, fils de Mohammed.

d ABU'LF.

f Lebtar.

(D) A question may here arise, whether Soltân *Sanjar*, or Soltân *Mahmûd*, is to be understood?

(E) *Fulcher Carnotens.* says, *Balak* was slain in the battle against *Josceline*; that 3000 men were slain, and his head sent to *Antiokh*.

(F) *Baldwin*, king of *Jerusalem*, was at this time in possession of *Antiokh*, though he restored it to *Boamond* the younger the same year.

(G) He is, by the historians of the crusade, called *Sanguin*, which is a corruption of *Zengbi*.

(H) He was the tenth Khalifah of *Egypt*, of the family of *Fatmah*. They are called lords of *Egypt*, by the historians who lived within the dominions of the princes subject to the Khalifah of *Baghdâd*, because they acknowledged no other Khalifah.

(I) Our authors differ here: *D'Herbelot*, who quotes *Kondamîr*, says, he either governed or reigned alone twenty-seven years: the *Lebtarîkh*, that he lived but

twenty-five years, yet puts his birth in 487, which extends his life to thirty-eight years: perhaps it should be 497, and that will bring it to twenty-eight. The numbers in this author are very incorrect; and *D'Herbelot* seems to make use of them sometimes, without quoting him; and even to substitute them for those of *Kondamîr*. In this uncertainty we must make *Abû'lfaraj* our guide, since *Ebn Amîd* has failed us.

(K) We were unwilling to fully so good a character, by inserting in the text, that he made a collection of the interpretations of dreams.

(L) According to the *Lebtarîkh*, his name is *Rokno'ddin Abu'l Mutafer Togrol Bek*. We are the more exact in giving the several names, because some authors mention only one, some another; which frequently confounds readers.

(M) Commonly called *Nakhjuwân*, *Nakhchuwân*, and *Nakhjivân*, in *Armenia*.

- a THIS annalist informs us, that in the year 526, *Soltân Sanjar* wrote (N) to *Omâdo'ddîn* *Zengbi* (*Atabek* of *Irâk Arabi*) and *Dobays Ebn Sadekah* (lord of *Hellab*), commanding them to march into *Irâk*, against the *Khalifah Al Mostarshed*. Accordingly they went, and encamped in a place called *Manariyah*, which belongs to *Dojayl* (O). The *Khalifah Al Mostarshed*, passing over to the west side (of the *Tigris*), pitched his tents in *Al Abbasiya*. The armies met in *Hadra al Barâmakeh* (P); when *Zengbi*, attacking the right wing of the *Khalifah*, where was *Jamâl oddawlat Akbal*, put them to flight. At the same time the *Khalifah*, supported by *Nasr al Khadem* (the eunuch), who commanded his left wing, fell on the right wing of *Omâdo'ddîn* and *Dobays*; and after a sharp conflict, put them to flight; killing and taking many of their men^s. The same year the *Atabek al Shabîd* recovered *Moarrab Al Nomân*, in *Syria*, from the *Franks*^h.

Hej. 526.
A. D. 1131.
The Atabek
Zenghi

attacks the
Khalifah,

who besieges
Musol.

- b NEXT year the *Khalifah* sent a pretty sharp message to *Zengbi*, by *Sheykh Bchao'ddîn Abu'l Fotûb*; who relying on the *Khalifah's* power, and his own character as legate, added several reproaches of his own. Hereupon *Zengbi*, arresting him, treated him very ill. *Al Mostarshed*, incensed hereat, departed from *Baghdâd* with 30,000 men; and, approaching *Musol*, *Zengbi* marched out of the city with part of his forces, leaving the rest under the command of his deputy *Nasîro'ddîn*, whom the *Khalifah* besieged; and, while he pressed the place closely without, a gang of plaisterers, or workers in lime and mortar, within, agreed to betray it to him: but being discovered, and executed, he retired, after three months leaguer to little purpose; and next year a peace was concluded between him and the *Atabek*ⁱ.

- c SOLTÂN *Togrol* died at *Hamadân*, in the first month of the year 529; lived twenty-five years, and reigned three. He was just and valiant, good-natured and liberal. He understood the art of governing, and did nothing unbecoming a prince^k.

Togrol diss.
Hej. 529.
A. D. 1134.

MASSUD (P), surnamed *Gayatho'ddîn Abû'lfetab*, was at *Baghdâd* when his brother *Togrol* died: and while his friends sent a courier to hasten him up to *Hamadân*, then the capital of the *Seljuikians* of *Irâk*, the court party dispatched another to *Dawd*, son of *Togrol*, with the same view: but the uncle happening to get the start of the nephew, *Massûd* was unanimously saluted Soltân by the grandees, and *Dawd* no more thought ofⁱ.

- d HE was scarce seated on the throne, before he found himself obliged to make war on *Al Mostarshed*, twenty-ninth *Khalifah* of *Baghdâd*, of the family of *Al Abbâs*. It seems that, in the reign of *Togrol*, *Dobays Ebn Sadekah*, who was governor-general of *Irâk Arabi* for the *Khalifah*, plotted with that Soltân to surprize him in *Baghdâd*. But *Togrol* falling ill of a burning fever, hindered the execution: *Al Mostarshed's* army also got the better. This war lasted till *Massûd* came to the crown; when the *Khalifah*, at the instance of some court lords, had his name suppressed in the public prayers, and even deprived him of the title of Soltân.

attacks the
Khalifah,

- e MASSUD, being informed of this injury, set out instantly from *Ray*, where he resided, at the head of a powerful army, for the *Arabian Irâk*; from whence the *Khalifah* advanced, accompanied by a great number of his grandees. The two armies came to a battle in the seventh month of the year 529; when the *Khalifah's* left wing deserting to the Soltân, he was surrounded and taken; while his right wing, after a slight opposition, fled. After this defeat, *Baghdâd* opened its gates to *Massûd* without opposition. The Soltân having had another war in his head, carried *Mostarshed* with him into the province of *Adherbijân*. Being arrived at *Marâgha*, the *Khalifah* was confined in a tent, at a distance from the army, near the gate of that city: where messengers passed between him and the Soltân, relating to peace. At length it was agreed, that *Al Mostarshed*, besides paying yearly 400,000 crowns in gold, should remain in *Baghdâd*, and not raise any other troops besides his ordinary guards.

who is de-
feated,

- f AFTER this agreement, that prelate was suffered to ride on horseback, with the covering of a saddle (Q) carried before him, in token of honour. In short, he was ready to return to *Baghdâd*, when news being brought that an ambassador was arrived from Soltân *Sanjar*, the people followed *Massûd* to meet him, and among the rest some of those who had the care of the *Khalifah*. Twenty-four *Batanists* took this opportunity to get into his tent, and murder him, by giving him above twenty wounds; then cutting off his nose and ears, left him naked, where he remained till the citizens of *Marâgha* buried him. Many believe, with good rea-

and assassi-
nated.

^s ABU'LF. p. 251. ^hEBN AMID, p. 363. ⁱABU'LF. p. 251. ^kKOND. ubi supr. p. 1030. Lebtar. p. 44. ^lKOND. ubi supr. p. 563. art. Massoud.

(N) If the name of *Sanjar* be not put here by mistake for that of *Togrol*, then the Soltâns of *Irâk* must have been dependent on him; and his successor *Massûd*, as well as his predecessor *Mahmûd*, must have done every thing they did by his orders or consent.

(O) In another copy *Dokhayl*. It is the country along the *Tigris*, for some space, to the north of *Baghdâd*.

(P) The villa of the family of *Barâmakeh*. We

mention the great cities and the small, according to our original proposal, that the geography of these countries may be known to our readers.

(* *Massûd*, or *Massaid*; the last *a* being the *Ayn*, which is a guttural, but melted down into the *u*, so as scarce to be heard in the pronunciation; or it may be said to serve only to give the *u* a guttural sound.

(Q) The harness of a horse.

son, says *Kondamîr*, that *Massûd* was at the bottom of this murder; and talked of an agree-
ment with him, on the terms above-mentioned, only to cover his design.

Dobays slain. NOT long after this, as *Dobays ibn Sadekab* was stooping, with his fingers on the ground, before his tent, near the city of *Kbunej*, a young *Armenian*, employed by the Soltân, cut off his head: for *Massûd* was jealous of his power, and had only made use of him as an instrument to oppose *Al Mostafshed*^m.

The provinces revolt. THE year following, the kings and lords of the provinces, assembled at *Baghdâd*, threw off their obedience to *Soltân Massûd*. On this, *Dawd* (or *David*), son of *Soltân Mahmûd* (R), marched from *Adherbijân*, followed by *Omâdo'ddin Zenghi*, from *Musol* to *Baghdâd*, where he was prayed for in the pulpits (S). The Soltân on this news hastens to that city, and besieges it: but finding, after fifty days leaguer, that he could do nothing against it, resolved to return to *Hamadîn*. He was actually on the road, when *Tarentây*, lord of *Wâset*, arriving with a great number of barks, he returned to the siege. At the same time, the princes who had assembled at *Baghdâd* falling out among themselves, king *Dawd* returned home, and the rest dispersed. The Khalîfah *Al Râshed*, with a few followers, passed over to *Zenghi*, who was on the west side (of the river), and retired with him to *Musol*.

Massûd enters Baghdad. HEREUPON *Soltân Massûd*, entering *Baghdâd*, fixed his seat there: then, assembling the judges, witnesses, and those learned in the laws, he laid before them the oath which *Al Râshed* had made to him, in his own hand-writing: *I, in case I shall assemble forces, march out, or put to the sword any of Soltân Massûd's adherents, depose myself from the empire.* Accordingly he was, by their sentence, deposed; and his name suppressed every-where in the pulpits, before he had reigned twelve months.

Deposits the Khalifah. Then the Soltân called another council, who, after declaring *Al Râshed* unworthy of the Khalîfat, elected *Al Moktafi Beamrillah*, son of *Al Mostadber* (or *Al Mostadhaber*), who was his friend. The deposed Khalîfah, leaving *Musol*, in 531, went to *Hamadîn*, where king *Dawd* then was; and from thence to *Ispâhân*, where he was slain by some of his domesticks (T), at noon, while he took a nap, after his recovery from a fit of sickness; being forty years of age. He was buried at *Shâbrestân*, without *Ispâhân*ⁿ.

A good minister. MASSUD, understanding that the governor of *Pârs* (or *Proper Persia*) made some difficulty to acknowledge *Moktafi*, the new Khalîfah, he sent his brother *Seljûk Shâh*, with the *Atabek Karasankar*, to bring him to his duty. But the *Atabek* had no sooner made one day's march, than he sent the Soltân word he would proceed no farther, unless he sent him *Pîr Mohammed Khâzen*, his prime Wazîr, whose death he sought. This Wazîr managed state affairs very well; but disgusted the courtiers by too firm and haughty a carriage. *Massûd* could not consent at first to so unreasonable a demand; but, as *Karasankar* had all his forces at his devotion, he was obliged at last to send him the Wazîr's head.

THE *Atabek* being satisfied, returned to his duty; but did not long enjoy the fruit of his revenge; for he died a few days after he had gotten rid of his enemy. The Soltân gave his command to *Ildighîz*, with the almost absolute government of *Adherbijân* (of which he was the first *Atabek* (U), and that of *Kurdestân*. He likewise gave him in marriage his sister-in-law, who had been promised formerly to *Soltân Togrol*, his brother and predecessor. Soon after this, *Abbâs*, governor of the city of *Ray*, with some other conspirators, rose, in favour of *Soleymân Shâh*, brother of *Massûd*, and set him on the throne. But this plot was soon quashed: after which the Soltân remained in peaceable possession till his death^v.

The Atabek Zenghi. As this is all we find in our authors relating to the remainder of his reign, we shall supply the defect with the *Atabeks of Irâk*, who resided at *Musol*, or *Mosûl*, and are called lords of that city, and of *Syria*.

Hej. 532. A.D. 1137. baul'd in marriage. In the year 532, the *Atabek Omâdo'ddin Zenghi* made a progress into *Syria*; and, on his arrival at *Hamâh*, sent to *Shehabo'ddin*, lord of *Damaskus*, desiring that he might marry his mother *Zamorrod Khatûn*, daughter of *Al Jaweli*; the same lady who built the college out of *Damaskus*, near the river *Barada*. By this means *Hems*, and its castle, came into his possession. His motive to the marriage was, that as the affairs of *Damaskus* seemed to be under her direction, he was in hopes thereby to gain the country: but, when he found himself disappointed in his expectations, he went away, and left her behind.

^m KOND. & EBN SHOHNAH, ap. D'Herb. p. 634, art. Mostarsched. ABU'LF. p. 252. ⁿ ABU'LF. p. 253: • KOND. ap. D'Herb. p. 563, art. Massoud.

(R) *Kondamîr*, in *D'Herbelot*, calls him the son of *Mohammed*. For all this disagreement, he is doubtless the *Dawd* who is said before to have been a son of *Togrol*, and whom a court party would have advanced, in opposition to *Massûd*. According to the same author, this war was occasioned by the Soltân sending to demand of *Al Râshed* the sum which his father had promised to pay yearly. *D'Herb.* p. 710, art. *Râshed*.

(S) And, according to *Kondamîr*, had the title of Soltân given him by the Khalîfah.

(T) *Kondamîr*, in *D'Herbelot*, says, he was slain by the *Batanijs*.

(U) This dynasty commenced in 555, and ended in 622.

a NEXT year, he took *Baalbek* (X) (in Syria); and, the year following, *Shabrazîr*, with its *Takes several territory*. In 539, he rescued *Roba* (or *Edeffa*) out of the hands of the *Franks* (Y); and laid *Hejrah 539. A. D. 1144* siege to the strong castle of *Bîr* (Z): but when he had near taken it, an express arriving, with an account that *Nasîro'ddîn*, his deputy in *Musol*, was slain, he departed. However, the *Franks*, fearing his return, sent for *Nojmo'ddîn* (A), lord of *Mârdîn*, and delivered it up to him. Next year, while he was besieging the castle of *Jabar* (B), certain slaves slew him (C), in the night, *Killed by slaves.* and fled to the castle. The besieged on this, rejoicing, called out to let the army know their commander was slain; accordingly, entering his tent, they found him breathing his last. He was more than sixty years old when he died; behaved with great gravity both towards his army and his subjects; and was perfectly skilled in the art of governing. The city of *Musol* (D), before he took it, was, for the most part, destroyed; and the adjacent country, which now abounds with fruits and odoriferous plants, was the most barren in the world.

b NURO'DDÎN (E) *Mahmûd*, who was in the camp when his father was slain, drawing the ring off his finger, went straight to *Halep*; and, taking possession of it, remained there; while his brother *Mahmûd Sayfo'dâîn Gazi*, hastening from *Shabrazîr*, which had been assigned him, entered *Musol*; and *Hejrah 541. A. D. 1149.* thus became lord of that city, with *Al Jazîreh* (or *Mesopotamia*). He died there, after he had reigned three years, and was succeeded by his brother *Kotbo'ddîn Maîddûd*. His elder brother, *Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd*, who possessed *Halep* and *Hamâb*, in Syria, marching into *Al Jazîreh*, took *settles in* *Senjâr*, without any opposition, from *Kot o'ddîn*: but peace afterwards being concluded between Syria them, *Nûro'ddîn* resigned *Senjâr*, and took in lieu of it *Hems* and *Rababa* (F), in Syria. The same year, he invaded the *Franks* about *Antiokh*, and defeated them, after a bloody battle, in which the prince of that city was slain (G). His son *Baymond* (*Boamond*) succeeding, who being but an infant, his mother governed the kingdom during his minority.

c IN 546, *Nûro'ddîn* invaded the territories of *Jûsîn* (or *Joscelin*) (H), which lay to the north *Defeated by of Halep*; and being met by that wise and valiant knight (I), was defeated, after a fierce battle, and his armour-bearer taken; whom *Jûsîn* sent with *Nûro'ddîn's* arms to king *Massûd Ebn* *Hej. 546. A. D. 1151.* *Kelî Arslân*, lord of *Koniya* and *A'sara*; saying, *This is your son-in-law's armour-bearer: after him, something more will come to you.* *Nûro'ddîn*, greatly incensed at this conduct of *Jûsîn*, resolved to be revenged on him. Accordingly, sending for some of the chiefs of the *Turkmâns*, he, by large gifts, engaged them to seize *Jûsîn*, knowing he was not able to cope with him in battle.

d The *Turkmâns* therefore keeping a watchful eye upon him, surprized him one day as he was hunting, and brought him bound to *Nûro'ddîn* (K); who immediately thereupon went and *Got him seized.* took the castles of *Ayn tâb*, *Azâz*, *Kûres*, *Al Râwandân*, *Borjo'l refâs* (L), *Dolûk*, *Marash*, *Nabro'l Jawr*, and others belonging to *Jûsîn*.

THE year following, viz. 547, *Soltân Massûd* died at *Ilâmâdân*, after he had lived forty-five *Massûd dies.* years, and reigned eighteen, with six months over.

THIS prince was a great lover of pious and learned men; humble and affable: but, for religion, clemency, justice, and bravery, superior to all the *Seljûkiâns*. He often defeated armies at the first onset, and killed lions with one stroke. He frequently, when a boy, was in battles, and fought himself. He always came off victor in the wars with his brothers. The people lived *His character.* in great ease during his reign. He disregarded treasures, giving them among his courtiers; which was the reason that he almost always wanted money, and left none in the treasury.

e MASSUD was the last of these Soltâns who had any power in the *Arabian Irâk*; for, upon *Seljûk domi-* his demise, *Moktafi*, thirty-first Khalîfah of *Baghdâd*, of the family of *Abbâs*, deprived the *nions.* *jûkiâns* of all authority in that city. For this reason *Ebn Shobnah* makes this dynasty to end in the year 547; which was also fatal to the race of *Gazni Soltâns*.

IN the time of *Massûd* also a new dynasty of Atabeks arose, which carried away part of his *Atabeks of* dominions: for the *Salgariâns*, or family of *Salgar*, invading *Pars*, or *Proper Persia*, assumed *Pârs.*

^p ABU'LF. p. 255, & seq.
art. Massoud. Lebtar. p. 44.

^q D'HERB. p. 563, art. Massoud. Lebtar. p. 44.
^s Id. ibid.

^r D'HERB. p. 563,

(X) And gave the command of it to *Najmo'ddîn Jyub*, or *Job*, father of the famous *Salaha'ddîn*, or *Saladin*, who recovered Syria from the *Christians*. *Abu'lf.* p. 263, & seq.

(Y) *William* of Tyre says, it was by mining; and that *Josceline* soon recovered, but could not hold it.

(Z) Or *Al Bîr*, on the *Euphrates*. Lat. observed, 37° 10'.

(A) He was successor to *Hafamo'ddîn Tamartâsh ebn Ilgazi*, who, in 532, took the castle of *Al Hetakh* from the last of the *Merwan* family.

(B) *William* of Tyre calls it *Calogenbar*: it stands on the *Euphrates*, between *Bîr* and *Rakkah*.

(C) *William* of Tyre says, he was drunk when he was slain.

(D) *Mausel*, or *Mojul*, as 'tis variously written.

(E) He is called *Norandîn*, and *Nuoldîn*, by the historians of the crusade.

(F) Or *Rabba*, on the *Euphrates*.

(G) This was *Raymond*, who succeeded *Boamond*, slain in 1130.

(H) He was called earl of *Edeffa*, and resided at *Tel-basbar*, named *Terbexel*, and *Turbessel*, by the historians of the crusade.

(I) Yet *William* of Tyre gives him the character of a voluptuous and dissolute man, and one who rejoiced at the loss of *Antiokh*.

(K) *William* of Tyre only says, he was taken by the enemy, and died in the castle of *Halapai*, or *Halep*.

(L) That is, the tower of lead.

Hej. 543. the title of kings. They began to reign in the year 543, fixing their residence at *Sbîrâz*, in a
A. D. 1148. that province¹.

The famous
Togray.

WE should rob this reign of one of its greatest ornaments, should we omit to mention the famous *Mowiado'ddîn abu Ismâil ebn Ali*, surnamed *Togray*, who was reckoned the most excellent writer of his time (M), both in verse or prose. A celebrated poem of his, called *Lamîyat al Ajem* (because the last consonant of each rhyme is a *Lam*, or *L*), has been published by Dr. *Pocock*, with a *Latin* translation, under the title of *Carmen Togray*. According to *Ebn Shohnab*, he was first employed at court by *Soltân Malek Shâb*, and *Maffûd* made him his Wazîr (N): but being taken prisoner in the battle which that prince had with his brother *Mahmûd*, in 513, he lost his head; the Soltân alleging, that *he knew him to be an infidel, and a wicked man*². But *Ebn Khalikan* says, he was put to death by *Mahmûd's* Wazîr (or Vizier) *for no other cause, but that they feared him on account of his excellent virtues*³.

¹ Lebtar. p. 44. D'HERB. p. 748, art. Salgar.

² EBN SHOHNAB, apud D'Herb. p. 1027, art. Thogrul.

³ Pocock, notæ in carm. Tograi, p. 3, & seq.

(M) Or the *phœnix* of the age, as *Pocock* has it.

(N) In the city of *Mausal*, or *Musol*, according to *Pocock*.

S E C T. X.

The reigns of Malek Shâh II. Mohammed Soleyman Shâh, Arslân, and Togrol, in whom the dynasty ended.

Tenth Soltân,
Malek
Shâh II.

MALEK SHAH II. surnamed *Mogayabo'ddîn* (A) was, according to *Kondamîr*, the son of a *Mohammed*, son of *Malek Shâb I.* But *Abu'l-faraj* and the *Lebtarîkh* say that he was the son of *Mahmud*, son of *Mohammed*, and, consequently, great grandson of the first *Malek Shâb*. He succeeded his uncle *Maffûd*: but his reign was of no long continuance, as having been wholly unworthy of the crown; for he minded nothing but indulging his appetite (B), and left affairs intirely to his ministers.

Is deposed

by Kasbek.

NOTWITHSTANDING his incapacity, he grew jealous of the authority of *Khasbek*, surnamed *Belingberi*, who had been in great esteem with *Maffûd*, and passed for one of the most valiant men of his time. *Malek Shâb* wanted to have him arrested: but as the whole court thought such a proceeding unjust, *Hassan Kandar*, who was one of *Khasbek's* best friends, resolved to prevent the blow; and, under pretence of giving the Soltân a grand entertainment, kept him b three days in a continual debauch, in the midst of which he seized his person, and shut him up in the castle of *Hamadân*. After which they sent for his brother *Mohammed*, who was then in *Kbuzestân*, and set him in his place. Some time after, *Malek Shâb*, finding means to escape out of prison, fled to the province from whence his brother had been called to the throne; where he remained till the death of *Mohammed*, in the end of the year 554: when, hastening to *Isfâhân*, he re-ascended the throne; but enjoyed it only a few days, dying in the beginning of the year 555, at the age of thirty-two^b. According to the *Lebtarîkh*, he reigned the first time four months; and the second no more than nine days.

Khalifah
shakes off

the Seljûk
yoke.

It is proper to take notice here, that as the Khalifah *Moktafi* owed his elevation to the credit and authority of *Maffûd*, he had no share in the government of his state during the life of that Soltân; but, after his death, he resumed the authority, and quite excluded that of the *Seljûkians*; for he would not allow *Malek Shâb* to have any power or command in the Soltânat of *Baghdâd*; but remained sole master in his dominions, which comprehended *Babylonish Irâk* (C), and *Arabia*: in short, it was under this Khalifah that the power of the *Seljûkians*, who had been masters of all the forces and possessions of the Khalifahs, began to decline, and, by degrees, became extinct^c. On this occasion *Abu'l-faraj* observes, that *Al Moktafi* was the first who reigned in *Irâk Arabi* without a Soltân, and governed his armies, as well as subjects, according to his own will (D), since the time that the *Mamlûks*, or slaves (E), first usurped power over the Khalifahs, under *Al Mostansir*^d (F).

^a ABU'LF. p. 247. Lebtar. p. 44.

^b KOND. apud D'Herb. p. 544, art. Malek Shâh, fil. de Mohammed.

^c D'HERB. p. 592, art. Moktafi.

^d ABU'LF. p. 258.

(A) The *Lebtarîkh* subjoins *Abu'lfetah*.

(B) Diversions and music. *Lebtarîkh*.

(C) Called also *Arabian Irâk*, containing the antient *Khaldea*.

(D) He reigned twenty-four years; dying in *Hijrah* 555.

(E) Meaning the *Turks*.

(F) It should be *Al Montasser*, who was the eleventh Khalifah of the *Abbâs* family; under whom the *Turkish* militia began to usurp authority over the Khalifahs.

a As Khasbek, who was the chief instrument of the advancement of *Mohammed*, furnished *Eleventh* *Gayatho'ddîn*, would needs have the intire government of the state at his own disposal; and as *Soltân, Mo-* that lord's credit, as well as riches, rendered him powerful; *Mohammed II.* *Mohammed* soon perceived that he could never reign with authority, so long as such a person was alive. For this reason he resolved to get rid of him, according to the advice of one of his ministers; who, alluding to the youth of the prince, and age of *Khasbek*, told him, that *no new branches shot from the foot of the vine, till the old ones were cut away.*

UPON his death (G) the Soltân became possessed of all the wealth which he had amassed, *Slays Khas-* during the time that he had the management of the treasury. It is remarked, as a thing extra- *bek.* b ordinary, that he had in his wardrobe an infinite number of very precious moveables (H), among which were 13,000 scarlet and purple vests.

HOWEVER, the death of *Khasbek* had like to have been the ruin of *Mohammed*: for that great lord had made powerful friends at court, who were resolved to revenge it. With that intent the Atabek *Ildigbîz* (I), and *Aksînkôr*, lord of *Marâgha*, having revolted, deposed *Mohammed*, and proclaimed his uncle *Soleyman Shâh*, son of *Mohammed I.* The young unexperienced Soltân was so frightened at this news, that not knowing whether to fight or accommodate matters, *Flies for fear.* he fled to *Ispâhân*, while *Soleyman Shâh* took peaceable possession of his capital *Hamadân*.

THE new prince might have preserved the crown with as much ease as he obtained it, if he *Soleyman* had not been intirely destitute of counsel, and very unhappy in his conduct. Among other indif- *Shâh ad-* c crete actions, he took the employment of the great chamberlain from *Mohammed Karazm Shâh* *vanced.* (K), and gave it to *Alp Argûn*: he likewise turned out his Wazîr *Fakro'ddîn Kashi*, and put *Abû'Inejib* in his place. These two great officers, to revenge their disgrace, plotted to restore *Mohammed*: but as that could not be done without deposing *Soleyman Shâh*, and the militia seemed to be attached to him, they contrived a stratagem, which succeeded to a wonder.

MOHAMMED KARAZM SHAH tells his sister, who was the Soltân's wife, as a great secret, *Flies in his* that there was a plot on foot to bring back his nephew; and that her husband's person was to be *turn.* seized that very night. The too credulous and fearful Soltân, without staying to enquire the least into the matter, immediately mounted horse, with a few of his intimates; and took the road to *Mazanderan*, a province on the *Caspian* sea.

d NEXT day every body was strangely surprized to hear of the Soltân's flight. The soldiers immediately mutinied, and running to the palace, plundered it. *Mohammed* no sooner received *Mohammed* advice of his uncle's flight, which was so like his own, that he made haste to *Hamadân*, and *returns.* re-ascended the vacant throne.

SOLEYMAN SHAH, perceiving too late that he had been duped, resolved to attempt the recovery of his dominions, by the assistance of his friends. The Khalifah *Moktafi*, and the Atabek *Ildigbîz*, joined their troops to those which he gathered in *Mazanderân*: but being met by his nephew *Defeats his* on the banks of the river *Arras*, or *Araxes*, was overthrown, and obliged to retire to *Musol.* *uncle.* *Mohammed*, after this victory, was inclined to have attacked the Khalifah, who gave protection to his uncle: but considering that he had another enemy, his brother *Malek Shâh*, to fear, he was e obliged to make up matters with *Moktafi*, who gave him his own daughter in marriage.

THIS princess, named *Kermân Khatûn*, set forward with a splendid equipage, and the Soltân *His death.* went to meet her; but an hectic fever which attended him put an end to his life, on the road to *Hamadân*, in the year 554 (L), after a seven years reign, aged no more than thirty-two.

THIS Soltân has always passed for a most accomplished prince, who possessed all the virtues *His character,* military and civil. He was a great patron of men of learning, piety and merit: in which, say the historians, he was the very reverse of his brother *Malek Shâh*.

It is said that this prince quitted life with much reluctance; that, before he expired, he ordered his troops, his court, and all his treasures, to pass before him, as it were in review; and that, after he had considered all these things, he said, *How is it possible that a power so great as mine* f *is not able to lessen the weight of my disorder one single grain, nor prolong my life but for a moment?*

He left his dominions to his brother *Malek Shâh*, who survived him only a few days, as hath been said before. He was succeeded by his uncle *Soleyman Shâh*, the other competitor of *Moham-* *and successors:* *med*.

^a ARU'LF. p. 258.

^e KOND. TARIKH BENAKITI, TARIKH KHOZIDEH, apud D' Herb. p. 608, & seq. art. Mohammed, fils de Mohammed.

(G) *Abû'Isaraj* represents *Khasbek* as seizing *Malek Shâh* without provocation, and sending for *Mohammed* only with design to destroy him: but that *Mohammed*, seeing into his villainy, slew both him and his armour-bearer two days after, as they came into his presence; and cast out their heads to be eaten by dogs. *Abû'if.* p. 247.

(H) The *Tarîkh Khozideh* gives a list of them all.

(I) Who became afterwards first Atabek of *Adherbi-jân*.

(K) *D'Herbelot*, or his author, must be mistaken here; for it cannot be *Mohammed*, but *Atsiz*.

(L) In *Dbû'lhajjah* (which is the last month), according to the *Lehtarîkb*.

*Twelfth Sol-
tân, Soleyman
Shâh,*

*He. 555.
A. D. 1160.*

is soon deposed.

SOLEYMAN SHAH, surnamed *Moazo'ddin Kassef* (M), was the son of *Soltân Mohammed*, a son of *Malek Shâh* I. This prince being at *Musol* when his two predecessors died, the great lords, after some debate among themselves, sent for him, and placed him on the throne. But as he gave himself up intirely to voluptuousness, and the company of women, without minding the affairs of the kingdom, they seized and imprisoned him, at the end of six months; advancing, in his room, his nephew *Arslân*, in the year 555. Setting aside his bad conduct, for which he was deposed, he did not want some good qualities: he was very familiar with those about him; and excelled as to his behaviour, person, and eloquence. He died in the second month of the year 556, at the age of forty-five^f. This is all the account we have of *Soleyman's* short reign, and taken from the *Lebtarikh*; for *D'Herbelot* says nothing of it. As for *Abû'lfaraj*, he does not mention the Soltâns of *Persian Irâk*, after the death of *Mohammed* II. when the Khalifah b threw off the *Seljûk* yoke, and resumed the dominion in *Irâk Arabi*.

*Thirteenth
Soltân, Arslân,*

*suppresses a
rebellion.*

ARSLAN was the son of *Togrol*, son of *Mohammed*, son of *Malek Shâh* I. and surnamed *Abû'l Modhaffer Zeyno'ddin*, according to *Kondamîr*; but the *Lebtarikh* styles him *Rokno'ddawlat*. He is commonly called by historians *Malek Arslân*. He was proclaimed Soltân in *Hamadân*, by the influence of the Atabek *Ildighîz* (N): but from the beginning of his reign, *Kimâr*, governor of *Ispâhân*, and *Enbanej*, or *Inanj*, governor of *Ray*, revolted against him; setting up for Soltân one of his cousins, named *Mohammed Seljûk Shâh*; with whom, at the head of a great army, they advanced to *Hamadân*. *Arslân* went to meet them as far as *Kazvîn*, where he got the victory; for the new Soltân was killed in the battle, and his two supporters fled to *Ray*, and from thence to *Mazanderân*.

*Defeats the
Abkhâz.*

ARSLAN had no sooner put an end to this war, but he found himself engaged in another; for the prince of the *Abkhâz*, situated between *Georgia* and *Cherkassia*, who was a *Christian*, entering *Adherbijân*, ravaged that province as far as *Kazvîn*. The Soltân, turning his victorious arms on that side, defeated him near the strong castle of *Kâk*, which he had taken and fortified; but, being afterwards forced by the *Seljûk* troops, was demolished.

TOWARDS the end of the year 559, *Soltân Arslân* made a progress to *Ispâhân*: the Atabek *Zengbi Salgari*, who commanded in that city, went out to meet him, and took the oath of allegiance. The Soltân confirmed him in his government, of which he extended the bounds as far d as the province of *Fârs*, or *Pârs*.

*Enbanej
submits.
Hej. 561.
A. D. 1165.*

ENBANEJ (O), who still stood out in *Mazanderân*, in 561 made alliance with the *Karazm Shâh*, by whom being assisted with a great body of troops, he entered *Persian Irâk*, and ravaged the country about *Abker* and *Kazvîn*: but *Arslân*, accompanied with the Atabek *Ildighîz*, coming on him by surprize, obliged him to fly to his old retreat. Two years after, the same rebel, invading the country about *Ray*, defeated *Mohammed*, the son of *Ildighîz*, who was sent against him. Hereupon *Ildighîz* himself marched; and, being come to that city, made several propositions to *Enbanej*, who thereupon agreed to go with him, and make his submission to the Soltân: but the night before this ceremony was to be performed, *Enbanej* was killed in his lodgings. The Soltân, on this news, gave the government of *Ray* to the son of *Ildighîz*, who soon e after married the only daughter of *Enbanej*; the fruit of which was *Kutluk* (P), surnamed *Enbanej*.

*The Soltân
dies.
Hej. 571.
A. D. 1175.*

IN 568 the mother of the Soltân, a princess of great virtue, died in the house of *Ildighîz*; and this great man followed her not long after. The Soltân himself, afflicted at two such great losses, fell sick of a languishing illness, which yet held him till the year 571, when he died; after he had lived about forty-three years, and reigned about fifteen (Q).

His character.

HE was a prince not only valiant and generous, but also patient, and good-natured to such a degree, that he would not suffer any body to be spoken ill of in his presence^g; nor ever treated any of his domestics with severity or contempt; being eminent for modesty and clemency. He never denied any-thing to a man of good address and parts. He was very nice in his diet f and apparel; for he had very rich vests, of every kind and colour, wrought with gold, such as no king before him ever wore. His conversation was familiar, and perfectly sincere^h.

*Fourteenth
Soltân,
Togrol II.*

TOGROL, son of Soltân *Arslân*, called also *Rokno'ddin Kassef* (R), was the last Soltân of the *Seljûk* dynasty of *Irân*, or rather *Persian Irâk*, which ended in him. He succeeded, and

^f *Lebtarikh*, p. 45.

^g *KOND.* ap. *D'Herb.* p. 129, art. *Arslan ben Thogrol*.

^h *Lebtar.* p. 45.

(M) The *Lebtarikh* calls him Soltân *Moazo'ddin Abû'l-haveth Soleyman Shâh*.

(N) First Atabek of *Adherbijân*; where he began to reign the same year in which the Soltân *Arslân* began his, viz. of the *Hejral* 555.

(O) Or *Inanj*.

(P) He is called *Kiligh*, in *D'Herbelot*, p. 836, who,

in page 277, art. *Cotluk*, gives him the surname of *Fakro'ddin*.

(Q) According to the *Nighiariştân*, fifteen years eight months and fifteen days. The *Lebtarikh* of *Gol-min* has but eleven years; yet places the beginning and end of his reign as in the text.

(R) He is named, in the *Lebtarikh*, Soltân *Mogay-atho'ddin Togrol*.

governed,

a governed his dominions happily enough, under the direction of his maternal uncle the valiant *Mohammed* (S), son of the Atabek *Ildighîz*.

At the beginning of his reign *Badanjar* attacked the province of *Adherbijân*; and *Mohammed*, son of Soltân *Togrol ebn Mohammed*, that of *Persian Irâk*: but *Mohammed ebn Ildighîz*, with his brother *Kizil Arslân* (T), marching against them at the head of a great army, soon obliged them to sue for peace.

In the tenth year of his reign there was one of those great conjunctions of the seven planets, *Grand conjunction*, which very rarely happen. It appeared in the third degree of *Libra*; which, according to the rules of judicial astrology, is a very airy sign. All the astrologers of that time, and among the *Hej. 581. A. D. 1185.* rest *Anvâri*, surnamed *Hakîm*, or the philosopher, foretold, from this phænomenon, that such violent winds would blow the forementioned year, and such dreadful hurricanes arise, that most of the houses in the country would be blown down, and the mountains themselves shaken. These predictions had such an effect on many people, that they provided places under-ground, to retreat from such horrible calamities.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, to the utter confusion of the astrologers, there did not blow, during the whole time assigned by them, any wind to hinder the farmers from threshing and winnowing their corn¹. Yet the *Lebtarîkh*, as if to save the credit of these pretenders to foreknowledge, would persuade us, against the testimony of other historians, that they from thence prognosticated the great devastations which attended the irruption of the *Moguls* under *Jenghîz Khân*, into the countries of *Turân* and *Irâk*², twenty-nine or thirty years after: for although he began his conquests in the east of *Tartary* about that time, viz. in 599, yet he did not move westward, to subdue provinces, till the year 614, or that following. Why then might not the phænomenon in question have related rather to the fall of the *Seljuk* monarchy of *Irâk*? Was it too small an event for so great a congress of the heavenly bodies? Or could the astrologers see the more distant evil, but not that near at hand?

In the same year 581, the Atabek *Mohammed*, son of *Ildighîz*, dying, a breach began between the Soltân and *Kizil Arslân Atabek* (U), brother of the deceased; for this ambitious lord, taking upon him to dispose of all things without *Togrol*'s orders, gave great umbrage, both to that prince, and his whole court. The Atabek, perceiving the Soltân to be displeased with him, to prevent the consequence, marched of a sudden with a great army towards *Hamadân*, from whence *Togrol*, having no forces to oppose him, retired. *Kizil Arslân* entered the city without resistance; and, after he had continued there for some time, content with having given this insult to the Soltân, withdrew home to *Adherbijân*.

AFTER his return, *Togrol* re-entered his capital; but the Atabek did not let him remain long in quiet: for drawing several discontented lords of *Irâk* to his party, he persuaded them to send proper persons to let the Soltân know that they were ready to come and ask his pardon, if he would have the goodness to grant it them. *Togrol*, well pleased with their submission, appointed a day to receive it, when he was to play at mall in the great square of the city. The lords did not fail to appear there before him; but, instead of asking pardon, seized his person, and imprisoned him in the strong castle named *Kalât al Najû*, or the castle of refuge.

As soon as this scheme was executed, *Kizil Arslân* left *Adherbijân*, and came to *Hamadân*, with design to set *Sanjar*, son of the late *Soleymân Shâh*, on the throne. But, on receiving advice from *Baghdâd* that the Khalifah should say, *the Atabek had a good pretence to become Soltân himself*, he resolved to assume that title, and ordered money to be coined in his own name. This proceeding changed the face of affairs: for *Fakro'ddin Kûtlûk* (X), his nephew, and several other great lords, who thought themselves his equals, entering into a conspiracy, slew him, and divided *Togrol*'s dominions among them.

At this juncture the Soltân escaped from his confinement, by the intrigues of *Hoffamo'ddin*, general of his troops; among whom there were many attached to his interest. As soon as he was at liberty, he raised an army; and defeating the rebels, punished them as they deserved.

YET did not this put an end to their treasons; for, in 588, *Firmab*, widow of the Atabek *Kûtluk* rebels: *Mohammed*, son of *Ildighîz*, who lived in the *Harâm*, among the Soltân's women, was prevailed on by her son *Kûtluk Enbanej* to poison the Soltân. But that prince having notice thereof, prevented the blow, by making her take the dose which she had prepared for him. After this, he ordered *Kûtluk* to be seized; and would have secured his own life, if he had not restored him to his liberty; which was the cause of all the evils that afterwards befel him.

¹ D'HERB. p. 1028, art. Thogrul ben Arslân.

² Lebtar. p. 45.

(S) *Abû'l-faraj* calls him the *Pablawan Mohammed ebn Idegar*, and says he was lord of *Al Jebâl*, or *Kûhestân*, part of *Persian Irâk*; of *Ray*, *Ijâbân*, *Adherbijân*, and *Arrân*; which last is part of *Armenia*. *Abû'ij*. p. 272, & seq.

(T) Or *Kezel Arslân*, that is, *the red lion*. He is called elsewhere *Kilij* or *Kelej Arslân*, and *Kezel Kizil Arslân*.

(U) Third Atabek of *Adherbijân*.

(X) Surnamed *Enbanej*, before-mentioned. He was fifth Atabek of *Adherbijân*, twenty years after.

joined by
Takash.

IN short, this ungrateful wretch was no sooner released out of prison, than he sent to persuade *Takash*, fifth king of *Karazm*, to conquer *Persian Irâk*. *Takash* came; and joining his forces, went and took the castle of *Thabrek* (Y): but after remaining for some time about *Ray*, retired on the Soltân's approach, leaving *Tafaj* to take care of his new conquests (Z). But next year *Togrol* recovered all, and punished *Tafaj*, whom he took prisoner.

both defeated.
Hej. 590.
A. D. 1193.

IN 590 *Kûtluk*, acting in concert with *Takash*, marched with a powerful army into *Persian Irâk*; but being defeated by *Togrol*, was obliged to fly into *Karazm* to his assistance. The Soltân, after this, thinking he was delivered from all his enemies, abandoned himself to women and wine, with boundless excess. And though he was told, that *Takash* was raising a formidable army to invade his dominions, yet intoxicated with his success and delights, he continued his debauches, and neglected affairs to such a degree, that the grandees of the court wrote themselves to *Takash*, to make haste, assuring him that he might easily surprize *Togrol* in the midst of his revels.

Togrol slain.

TAKASH, following their advice, made such expedition, that he arrived at the gates of *Ray*, while the Soltân was still buried in liquor. However, he put himself at the head of his troops, and marched toward the enemy, repeating certain verses out of the *Shâb Nameh* (A), spoken by some warrior, boasting of what he would do: but raising his mace, as if he was going to strike, in conformity to the words he had pronounced, he discharged such a blow on one of the fore legs of his horse, that the beast fell under him, and he was thrown himself by the fall. *Kûtluk*, seeing him on the ground, immediately ran, and with one blow of his scymitar, put an end to his life, and the power of the *Seljûks* in *Irâk*¹.

Malice of
Takash

TAKASH, not content with the downfall of this prince, whose dominions he joined to his own, sent his head to the Khalifâh at *Baghdâd*, and had his body fastened to a gibbet at *Ray*^m. It is surprizing, that neither of these two remarkable circumstances, which are related by the *Leb-tarikh*, are mentioned by *D'Herbelot*, in either the article of *Togrol ben Arslân*, or *Takash*, wherein the death of that prince is spoken of; and yet, if we mistake not, he takes notice of them in some other place: on which occasion he observes, that some of the *Persian* historians ascribe the ruin of the *Karazmian* empire, not many years after, by *Jenghîz Khân*, under Soltân *Mohammed*, son and successor of *Takash*, as a judgment on that family, for their ingratitude to the *Seljûkians*, to whom they owed all their fortune.

revenged soon
after.

ACCORDING to *Kondamîr*, Soltân *Togrol* reigned eighteen years ten months and a halfⁿ. The *Leb-tarikh* has twenty-nine years, by mistake for nineteen; as appears by collating the year of his death with that of his predecessor, marked by the same author. What children he left (B) does not appear.

Character of
Togrol;

THIS prince had a great many noble qualities; for he was not only remarkable for his courage, which made them compare him to *Rostam* and *Isfandiar* (C), but also for his wit and knowledge. He excelled so much in poetry, that some compare him to *Anvari* and *Dbahir*^o. He often disputed with the learned; had a majestic mien; and was very handsome. He surpassed all the *Seljûkians* in goodness and justice, as well as in managing his arms both on foot and on horseback^p.

Of the Soltâns
in general.

THE *Seljûkians* of *Irâk* were, for the general, a race of very accomplished princes, eminent for their good-nature, courage, liberality, justice, and other virtues, both civil and military. They owed their ruin chiefly to their too great bounty, and indulgence to their favourites; particularly in vesting governors with so much dignity and power, as the *Karazm* Shâhs and Atabeks, by whom their own was at length extinguished.

Defects of
Greek

THUS we have completed the history of the first and principal *Seljûkian* dynasty, compiled almost wholly from the oriental historians; on which occasion it may be proper to observe, that, of the fourteen Soltâns whereof this monarchy consists, none but the two first are mentioned (under the corrupt names of *Tangrolipix* and *Axan*) by any of the *Byzantine* historians, excepting *Anna Commena*, who speaks of the two next, *Malek Shâh* and *Barkiarok*, but names only the latter; after which they pass to the *Seljûkian* princes, who settled in *Asia minor*; seeming to confound the two dynasties together.

¹ D'HERB. ubi supr. p. 1029. & seq.
art. Selgiukioun.

^m Leb-tar. p. 45.
^o Ibid. p. 1028, art. Thogrul.

DE LA CROIX hist. de Genghis, p. 131.
^p Leb-tar. p. 45.

ⁿ D'HERB.

(Y) *Tabrak*, or *Tabarak*, near *Ray*.

(Z) This affair is somewhat differently related elsewhere. See *D'Herb.* p. 834. art. *Takash*.

(A) That is, the royal book: it is a famous *Persian* poem, containing the history of the ancient kings of *Persia*. It consists of 60,000 distichs; which the author, *Ferdusi*, was thirty years in composing, at the command of *Mahmûd Gazni*, often mentioned before.

(B) We only find an account of one son, who, on the irruption of the *Mogols* in *Karazm*, in the year 1220, was put to death, with eleven other children of sovereign princes, by the bloody *Turkan Khatûn*, widow of *Takash*, who had so unworthily treated his father. *De la Croix* hist. *Gengh.* p. 242.

(C) Two *Persian* heroes of antiquity.

^a AYTON, or *Hayton*, the *Armenian*, whose memoirs, in conjunction with those of the *Greeks*, the other *European* historians have hitherto made use of, does much the same thing. He gives some account of the four first Soltâns; after which he says, the *Turks* cut to pieces the brother of *Barkiarok*, who attempted to ascend the throne; and then falling out among themselves about the choice of a successor, the *Georgians* and *Greater Armenians* invaded, and drove them out of, *Persia*. That hereupon they removed, with their families, into the kingdom of *Turky* [meaning *Ikonium*]; and thus increased the power of the Soltân, so that he became the most potent of all the Soltâns ¹.

^b This false information, or defect in the before-mentioned authors, is doubtless owing to the grants made by *Malek Shâb* I. of the countries west of *Persian Irâk*; which thus becoming in a manner independent, under their own princes, the *Greeks* heard no more of the great Soltân, as they called him, of *Persia*, or of his commanding in *Asia Minor*: and therefore concluded the empire of the eastern *Seljûks* was at an end. It must likewise be considered, that, by this alienation of the provinces, the intercourse with *Persia* was much interrupted; which might be one reason why *Hayton*, though living in the very midst between those two monarchies of the *Turks*, appears to be so utterly ignorant of the affairs of *Persia*, from the time of *Barkiarok*, to that of *Jenghîz Khân*.

^c To this cause may be added his want of reading, and being of a different language, as well as religion, from the *Turks*; which might have hindered him from conversing with his neighbours, or consulting their histories. It is true, *Abû'l-faraj*, as having had the advantage of the *Arabic*, and more erudition than his countryman *Hayton*, carries down the *Irâk* dynasty through a succession of eight Soltâns more: but after *Irâk Arabi* comes to be severed from the *Seljûk* dominions, by the Khalifâh *Moktâfi*, on the death of *Mohammed* II. in the year 554, as if that dismemberment had cut off all correspondence with *Persia*, he speaks no more of the succeeding Soltâns of the *Seljûk* race.

¹ HAITH. de Tart. cap. xv. p. 378, & seq. ap. Grynæi, nov. orbem.

C H A P III.

The Soltâns of the second branch, or dynasty, of the Seljûkians, called that of Kermân

^d **K** ERMÂN, the country from whence this race of Soltâns takes its denomination, is a province of *Irân*, or *Persia* at large, the same with ancient *Karamania*. It has on the west *Pârs*, or proper *Persia*; on the north *Sejestân*, or *Sistân*; on the east *Mekrân*; and on the south the straits of *Harmûz* or *Ormûs*. The principal city is called *Kermân*, or *Sirjân*, situate near the borders of *Pârs*. Besides which, we meet with several others, as *Tuberân*, *Gab-bis*, *Barsîr*, or *Berdasîr*, *Mastib*, or *Masrib*, *Bemnasîr*, or *Kermasîn*, *Bam*, *Giroft*, or *Sireft*, &c. To which may be added the ports of *Jasbes*, *Minâ*, and *Gomrûn*, or *Bander Abbâsi*; with the islands of *Harmûz* and *Keshom*, which lie off the southern part of it, at present called *Mogostân*.

^e This dynasty takes the name of *Kermân*, because it was founded in that province: but the power of its princes was not confined within the bounds of that single country; for they enlarged their dominions not only by the acquisition of *Pârs*, on the west, but of the countries eastward, as far as the river *Send*, or *Indus* ²; comprising, as it should seem, the province of *Mekrân*, or *Makrân*, with part of *Sajestân*, and *Sablestân*, and possibly so much of *India* as lay between those provinces and the *Indus*.

^f ALL the oriental historians agree, that this dynasty commenced in the year 433 of the *Hejrab*, and ended in 583, subsisting 150 years, under eleven Soltâns, viz. 1. *Kaderd*. 2. *Soltân Shâb*, 3. *Turân Shâb*. 4. *Irân Shâb*. 5. *Arslân Shâb*. 6. *Mohammed*. 7. *Togrol Shâb*. 8. *Arslân Shâb* II. 9. *Baharâm Shâb*. 10. *Turân Shâb* II. 11. *Mohammed Shâb*. Of whom, from the scantiness of the extracts given by *D'Herbelot*, who is our only assistant as to the history of this branch of the *Seljûkians*, it appears that the orientals themselves have spoken very little.

KADERD, or *Kadherd*, the first, and founder of this race of Soltâns, who, from him, are, by way of distinction, called *Kaderdians*, was the son of *Dawd*, or *Jaffar Bek*, son of *Mikaël*, son of *Seljûk*. In the year 433, his uncle *Togrol Bek*, founder of the dynasty of *Irân*, made A. D. 1041.

² KOND. ap. D'Herb. p. 801. art. Selgiakian Kermân.

him

- him governor of the province of *Kermân*, the *Persian Karamania* of the *Greeks*, where he became so powerful, that he assumed the authority of a sovereign prince, and added to his new dominion the province of *Fârs*, or *Pârs* (A), adjoining to it on the west. So that, in the year 455, he had formed a considerable state, with which he might have been satisfied; but the desire of possessing more, which generally encreases with many acquisitions, having pushed him on to attack the dominions of his nephew *Malek Shâb* I. third Soltân of the *Seljûks* of *Irân*, he was defeated at *Gurj*, in the year 465; and being taken prisoner, was confined in a castle in *Khorasân*; where, not long after, he was poisoned, by order of *Malek Shâb*^b, as hath been already related^c. This prince reigned thirty-two years, and left for his successor a son named *Soltân Shâb*.
- Second Soltân, Soltân Shâh.* MALEK SHAH, on the death of his uncle *Kaderd*, restored his dominions to his cousin-german *Soltân Shâb*, son of *Kaderd*, who reigned there under his authority. But he enjoyed the throne no more than two years, according to *Kondamir*, who places his death in 467; although the *Tarikh Khozideh* gives him a reign of twelve years, which ends in 477^d.
- Third Soltân, Turân Shâh.* TURAN SHAH, EBN KADERD succeeded his brother *Soltân Shâb*, under the authority likewise of *Malek Shâb*. He reigned with the reputation of a very just and wise prince, applying himself solely to repair the ruins made in his dominions by the former wars. He died in the year 489, after he had reigned thirteen years; and left for his successor his son,
- Fourth Soltân, Irân Shâh.* IRAN SHAH, who had not the good qualities of his father: besides, his cruelty was so great, that his subjects, no longer able to endure it, in general conspired against and slew him, in the year 494, and fifth of his reign. He was succeeded by *Arslân Shâb*, son of *Kerman Shâb* ebn *Kaderd*^e.
- Fifth Soltân, Arslân Shâh.* ARSLAN SHAH, during the life of his uncle *Irân Shâb*, kept himself concealed in a shoemaker's shop, for fear of falling into his hands: but as soon as he heard of his death, he made himself known, and was proclaimed Soltân the same year, by the unanimous consent of the grandees of the kingdom. So that the *Seljûkians* of *Pârs*, his relations, who had given much uneasiness to his predecessors, durst not attack him. By this means he reigned in peace for forty-two years, and left the crown to his son *Mohammed*^f.
- Sixth Soltân, Mohammed.* MOHAMMED, surnamed *Mogoyatbo'ddin*, succeeded his father *Arslân Shâb*, in the year 536; and, the better to secure himself on the throne, put out the eyes of all his brothers. All that *Kondamir* relates of him is, that he was much addicted to judicial astrology, and was very fond of building. He reigned fourteen years, and died in the 551st year of the *Hejrab*^g. Some call this prince *Turân Shâb*^h.
- Seventh Soltân, Togrol Shâh.* TOGROL SHAH, surnamed *Mohio'ddin* (B), succeeded his father *Mohammed*, and died after reigning twelve years. He left three sons, *Arslân Shâb*, *Babarâm Shâb*, and *Turân Shâb*, who made war on each other for twenty years together, with alternate advantages; so that he who gained a victory was acknowledged for Soltân, till such time as he was driven out by one of his two brothersⁱ. These succeeded one another, as set forth in the list of Soltâns, at the beginning of this chapter: but the duration of their reigns is so uncertain, that authors have marked only that of *Turân Shâb*, to which they give eight years.
- Eleventh Soltân, Mohammed Shâh.* HE was succeeded by his nephew *Mohammed Shâb*, son of his brother *Babarâm*, or *Beberâm Shâb*, who was the eleventh and last Soltân of this second branch of *Seljûkians*: for *Malek Dinar*, a descendant of *Ali*, son-in-law of the prophet *Mohammed*, having conquered *Kermân* in the year 583, this dynasty, according to *Kondamir*, and the *Tarikh Khozideh*, became extinct. But the reigns of the four last Soltâns are so confounded one with the other, that the *Tarikh al Tawarikh* reckons no more than nine princes in this *Kermân* succession^k.

^b KOND. ap. D'Herb. p. 225, & seq.^c See before, p. 168.^d D'HERB. p. 826, art. Solthan Schah.^e Ibid. p. 498, art. Irân Schâh.^f KOND. ap. D'Herb. p. 130, art. Arslân Schâh, fils de Kermân Schâh.^g Ibid. p. 609, art. Mohammed, fils d'Arslân Schâh.^h D'HERB. p. 800.ⁱ KOND. ubi supr. p. 1030. art. Thogrul Schâh.^k Ibid. p. 540, & 800, art. Malek Dinar, & Selgiukian Kerman.(A) The *Arabs* write *Fârs*; the *Persians*, *Pârs*.

(B) That is, the restorer of religion:

C H A P. IV.

History of the third dynasty of the Seljûkians, called that of Rûm.

S E C T. I.

Their dominions, conquest, establishment, and succession.

THIS dynasty of the *Seljûkians* takes its name of *Rûm* from their having reigned in the country of *Rûm*, that is, of the *Romans*, or rather of the *Greeks*; whose emperors, being the successors of the *Roman* emperors, preserved the title of emperors of the *Romans*, although they had changed the seat of their empire from *Rome* to *Constantinople*; and consequently were more properly or immediately sovereigns of the *Greeks*; who besides, at this time, of the two nations were only subject to them; *Italy*, and the western provinces, having being torn off from their dominions many ages before.

IT is not to be presumed, from the denomination which this dynasty or race of Soltâns bears, that they were lords of all the then *Roman* empire, or country of the *Romans*. No: that was a glory reserved for the *Othmân* or *Osmân Turks*, who rose out of the ruins of these *Seljûkians*; and succeeded them first in their dominions, which were confined for the general to *Asia minor*, or rather a part of it, during the reigns of all the Soltâns of the *Seljûk* race, excepting two or three of them, who extended their conquests beyond its bounds, to the east and south, which yet continued as part of the *Rûmean* monarchy, but little longer than their respective lives.

THE *Arabs*, who were the great reigning power before the *Turks*, had wrested from the *Roman* emperors all their dominions in *Africa* and *Asia*, excepting *Asia minor*; the eastern parts of which, towards the *Euphrates*, had been in their hands for the space of more than 150 years: but, for some time before the appearance of *Seljûkians*, the emperors had recovered from most of the cities they were possessed of within that province, besides some part of the *Greater Armenia*; which, however, they soon lost again; being taken from them by those new invaders.

ASIA MINOR, called more commonly by the latter *Greeks* *Anatolê* (A), that is, *the east*, is a large peninsula in the western part of *Asia*. It is bounded on the north by the *Euxine* sea and *Propontis*, on the west by the *Archipelago*, on the south by the *Mediterranean* sea and *Syria*, on the east by the country of the *Lazi* or *Kurti*, and the river *Euphrates*. It is situated between the 36th and 42d degrees of latitude, and between the 44th and 58th degrees of longitude, reckoning from *Ferro*; being in length, from west to east, about 640 miles, and in breadth, from south to north, 360 miles.

AT the time when the *Seljûk Turks* first invaded *Asia minor*, it was divided much in the same manner as in former times, in twelve large provinces: all these, excepting four, are maritime; and, beginning with the most eastern, lie round the peninsula in the following order: *Pontus*, *Paphlagonia*, and *Bitthynia*, along the *Euxine* sea: *Mysia*, in which is *Æolis*; *Ionia* and *Caria*, are washed by the *Archipelago*: *Lycia* (containing *Mylia*), *Pisidia* (including *Pamphilia*), and *Cilicia*, by the *Mediterranean*. The four inland provinces are *Lydia*, *Phrygia* (containing *Lycaonia* and *Isauria*), *Cappadocia* (including *Armenia minor* and *Cataonia*), and *Galatia*; the three first run eastward, in the same parallel, from *Ionia* to the river *Euphrates*; and the fourth lies to the north of *Phrygia*, and part of *Cappadocia*.

FROM the account which has been given, the reader may form an idea of the manner in which these provinces are situated, in respect of one another; but, to make it still more clear, it may be proper to observe, that *Cappadocia*, which extends from *Phrygia*, eastward, to the *Euphrates*, lies between *Pontus* on the north, and *Cilicia*, with part of *Syria*, on the south; *Galatia* has on the north *Paphlagonia* and *Bitthynia*; *Phrygia*, which is the middle province of all, and whose north-west corner is covered by a skirt of *Bitthynia*, is bounded on the west by *Mysia*, *Lydia*, and *Caria*; and on the south by *Lycia*, *Pisidia*, and part of *Cilicia*.

OF these provinces, *Pontus*, *Phrygia*, and *Cappadocia*, are very large; *Paphlagonia*, *Bitthynia*, *Mysia*, *Pisidia*, *Cilicia*, and *Galatia*, of a middle size; *Lydia*, *Caria*, and *Lycia*, still less: and *Ionia*, least of all. It is not necessary to give a description of these provinces, accord-

(A) And corruptly, by the *Turks* and others, *Natolia*.

ing to the state they then were in ; for that will appear sufficiently from the history of the Soltâns, wherein we shall have frequent occasion to speak of the principal cities and places in each.

Seljûkian
history ;

THERE is scarce any piece of history among *Europeans* in greater confusion than this of the *Seljûkian* Soltâns of *Rûm* ; or any which deserves more to be set in a clear light, on account of the great connection which there is between the affairs of those Soltâns, and those of the latter *Roman* or *Greek* emperors, as well as the *Othmân Turks*, their successors, reigning at present. This is owing to the imperfection of the *Greek* account of their affairs, full of chasms and errors ; from whence alone *Leunclavius*, *Knowles*, and all the other western writers hitherto, have compiled their histories of this dynasty.

its bad state.

It may be presumed, that the defects of the *Greek* authors might be supplied, and their errors corrected, from the oriental, especially those of *Rûm*, or the countries subject to this third branch of the *Seljûkians*, if any of them yet remain. But the misfortune is, that very few particular histories of the eastern monarchies have as yet come to our hands ; and fewer still of the general ones been translated.

Want of helps,

With respect to these latter, no translation has been published which treats of the Soltâns of this dynasty, excepting that of the compendium of *Abu'l-faraj*, who speaks only of the first eleven, and mentions no more than the names of some of them. For this author, digesting his materials by way of annals, gives no compleat or connected account of any of them. However, so much as we find in him has been of great use to us, in compiling our history of this third branch of the *Seljûkians* ; nor could we possibly have cleared up the chief difficulties, and settled some of the most important facts, without his assistance.

from oriental
authors.

As to the extracts from the oriental authors which *D'Herbelot* furnishes, they are very considerable ; for though in the articles under the names of the respective Soltâns, he cites *Kondamir*, *Ebn Shobnah*, and other *Persian* historians, and has given a table of those princes, from one or more of them ; yet the account he gives of the first Soltân is copied almost wholly from *Abu'l-faraj* : as if the other authors had inserted nothing relating to them, but their names ; which, in such case, he ought to have acquainted his readers with, in order to account for so strange an imperfection, and prevent their imputing it to his own neglect.

Greek
writers,

THE *Byzantine* historians afford no small fund of materials : but then they relate almost intirely to such princes as they had wars or other transactions with ; and extend very little beyond those affairs, in which themselves were concerned : so that you neither find in them a regular series of the Soltâns, nor often the true names, if the names at all, even of those with whom they had to do. In short, they have related matters very imperfectly, often erroneously, and in great confusion, both in point of history and chronology ; nor have the orientals been free from the same faults, which we shall point out as we go along. However, as scanty as our memoirs are on every side, yet the authors often supply the defects of one another : and if, from the oriental writers, we have received a more compleat succession of the Soltâns, and better account of their transactions in the east, yet we should be at almost an entire loss for their conquests in the west, but for the *Greek* historians.

their defects.

It has been already remarked from those writers, in the reign of *Togrol Bek*, first Soltân of the *Seljûkian* dynasty of *Irân*, that the *Turks* penetrated very early into the *Roman* empire. They tell us, that *Tagrolipix* (B), so they call *Togrol Bek*, having slain *Pisares*, or *Basasiri*, and subdued the *Babylonians*, that is, the people of *Irâk Arabi*, named also *Babeli*, sent his nephew *Kutlu Moses* (C) against the *Arabians* ; but, being defeated, he fled into *Baas*, or *Baasprakan*, in *Persarmenia*, and, forcing his passage through the country, returned into *Persia* ; where, for fear of the Soltân, who was enraged at his bad success, he retired to the city of *Pasar*, and rebelled against him, while he was in an expedition against the *Arabs*.

Kotolmish
invades

TAGROLIPIX, having finished that war, marched against *Kutlu Moses* ; and while he held him besieged in *Pasar*, sent part of his army, under the command of *Affan*, or *Hassan*, surnamed the deaf, another of his nephews, to subdue *Persarmenia* ; but he miscarrying in that design, the Soltân dispatched his half-brother *Abraham Alim*, or *Halim*, with a great force, on the same expedition, which succeeded better than the former : for *Abraham* burned *Artze*, or *Arzerûm*, and took the *Roman* general prisoner. *Tagrolipix* generously gave the general his liberty ; and some time after, sent an ambassador to summon the emperor *Monomakhus* to become his tributary. The emperor, for this insult, treating the ambassador ill, the Soltân invaded *Iberia*, at a time when the *Romans* were at war with the *Patzinake Scythians*, which happened in the year of *Christ* 1050.

the Roman
empire.

Not long after, discord arising between the Soltân and *Abraham Alim*, the latter fled to *Kutlu Moses*, and joined in the rebellion : but the Soltân defeated them both near *Pasar* before-

(B) Or *Tangrolipix*, as some.

(C) Or *Kutlu Moses*, as some write : *Bryennius*, more correctly, *Kutlumes*, for *Kutlumish*.

a mentioned; and *Abraham* being taken prisoner, was put to death. *Kutlu Muses*, with his cousin *Malek*, son of *Abraham*, followed by 6000 men, fled to the borders of the *Roman* empire, from whence he sent for protection to *Monomachus*, a little before his death, which happened in 1054: but instead of waiting for an answer, he marched into *Perfarmeria*, and took *Karfe*, now *Kârs*; when hearing that *Tagrolipix* was advancing towards him, he fled to the *Arabs*, who were the Soltân's enemies.

HERE *Kutlu Muses* remained during the life of *Tagrolipix*: but as soon as *Axan*, so the *Greeks* call *Alp Arslân* (D), had ascended the throne, he returned from *Arabia* with considerable forces; and advancing to *Re* (E), laid claim to the sovereignty. But while the two armies were on the point of engaging, the Khalifâh of *Babylon* (F) of a sudden appeared, and, interposing his authority, which he still retained in spirituals, brought the contending parties to this agreement: that the Soltân should hold *Persia*; and that *Kutlu Muses*, and his children, who were five in number, though not particularly named, should possess all the countries which they were able to take from the *Roman* emperor; and that *Axan* should assist them with troops for that purpose.

THE Soltân having, in performance of this agreement, furnished *Kutlu Muses* with forces, that prince, and his five sons, invaded the *Roman* empire; and, in the reign of *Michael Ducas* and his successor, made himself master of all *Perfarmeria*, *Lycaonia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Bithynia*.

ACCORDING to *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras*, who have been followed by all the western historians; *Kutlu Muses* lived at least sixteen years after that battle; for they say, that he actually commanded a body of troops which came to the assistance of *Botoniates*, when he usurped the empire^a in the year 1078.

THIS account, given by the *Greeks*, of the conquests made in *Asia minor* by the *Seljukian Turks*, under the command of *Kutlu Muses*, it must be confessed, contains several errors; which having remarked elsewhere^b, we shall not repeat here. It will be sufficient for our purpose to take notice, in this place, that those writers were misinformed as to the event of that battle; which, according to the oriental historians, was fought in the year of the *Hejrah* 455, Hej. 455. and proved fatal to *Kutlu Muses*, who was killed by a fall from his horse, as he was going to engage *Alp Arslân*, against whom he rebelled, in the province of *Damagân*^c, in *Persia*. A. D. 1052.

Now this being supposed to be fact (and the authority of historians ought to be allowed, when speaking of an affair which concerned themselves, and happened in their own country), all which the before-mentioned *Greek* authors relate, concerning the actions of *Kutlu Muses* after that battle, must be false: and this seems, in good measure, confirmed by *Nicephorus Bryennius*, a more correct historian than the former, who relates, that the emperor *Michael* sent an ambassador to *Soleymân*, son of *Kutulmes* (G), in the year 1074, desiring his assistance against *Botoniates*^d: which implies that his father was then dead. And this may explain what he says afterwards; that, in 1078, the same usurper sent to demand succours of *Masur* (H) and *Soleymân*, sons of *Kutulmes*, prince of *Nice*^e, that is, late prince of *Nice*.

THE single remark touching the death of *Kotolmîsh* is all which has been yet transmitted to us from the eastern writers concerning that prince (I), corruptly called *Kutlu Muses* by the *Greeks*; excepting another, which seems to be taken from them, made by a late author, who informs us, that he established himself in *Asia minor*, about the year of the *Hejrah* 442, of *Christ* 1050^f; which is not at all improbable; since, according to *Cedrenus*, the *Greeks* became acquainted with the *Turks* about the year 1040; and ten years was time sufficient for making considerable conquests in that country.

HOWEVER that be, the *Greek* history seems to clash again with the oriental in this article: for if *Kotolmîsh* had settled himself in *Asia minor* so early as the year of *Christ* 1050, how can it be imagined, that he should repair two or three years after to the borders of the *Roman* empire, suing for protection, as the *Greeks* relate the case? for this supposes him either to have been driven out of his new possessions in that country, almost as soon as he acquired them, which we hear nothing of from either quarter; or else that he had not as yet made any conquests there; which is contrary to the authority of the eastern historians.

^a CEDREN. ZONAR. & univ. hist. vol. vi. p. 606, & seq. ibid.

^d NICÉPH. BRYEN. in Mich. Ducam, c. 15. CROIX hist. Genghis Can. p. 127.

^b See before. p. 163.

^c Id. in Botoniat. c. 1.

^e Idem,

^f DE LA

(D) *Knowles* boldly denies *Axan* and *Aspasalem*, or *Alp Arslân*, to be the same (1); which is more than *Leunclavius*, whose plagiary he is, would venture to do; though relying too much on the authority of *Cedrenus*, he looked on *Hayton* the *Armenian's* account of the four first Soltâns to be false.

(E) That is *Rey*, or *Ray*, the northern capital of *Persian Irâk*.

(F) Thus the *Greek* writers confound *Babylon*, which

was on the *Euphrates*, with *Baghdâd*, which was on the *Tigris*.

(G) Which is nearer the true name *Kotolmîsh*, than *Kutlu Muses*.

(H) A mistake, we presume, for *Masût*, or rather *Masûd*.

(I) *D'Herbelot* has given us no article under his name, in his *Bibliothèque orientale*; and *Abû l-faraj* only mentions him and his son *Soleymân*.

(1) *Knowles's* hist. of the *Turks*, p. 9. edit. Ricaut.

Kotolmîsh
settled

It would be in vain to pretend to solve the above difficulties, till we are sufficiently furnished with memoirs from the eastern writers, relating to *Kotolmîsh*. In the mean time it must be observed, in behalf of the account given by *De la Croix*, which we only suppose to have been taken from some oriental author or authors, that there is an error in the *Greek* relation, which seems to lessen its authority. For the application made by that *Seljûkian* prince to *Monomachus*, is said to have been made after the battle against *Togrol Bek*, wherein *Ibrahim*, his cousin, and partner in the rebellion, was taken and strangled. Now this could not possibly be the case; since that battle, by the testimony of the oriental writers, was fought in the year 1059, which was five years after that emperor's death: and if the *Byzantine* historians have been mistaken in one circumstance, they might in another; especially when it relates to an event which happened at so great a distance from the capital of the empire.

in Asia minor.

ON a presumption therefore that *Kotolmîsh* had established himself in *Asia minor* about the year 1050, he will have a kind of dominion in that country for the space of thirteen years. However, it is not this prince, but his son *Soleymân*, who was the first of the *Seljûkian* Soltâns of *Rûm*: nor does it appear that *Soleymân*, who did not begin his reign till nine years after his father's death, derived any title to those territories from him.

BUT before we enter upon the history of that prince and his descendants, it will be proper to settle the number of them, with the beginnings and lengths of their respective reigns; about which there is no small disagreement, as well between the oriental authors and the *Grecian*, as among the oriental authors themselves.

Soltâns of
Rûm.

IN order to do this the more effectually, and to the satisfaction of our readers, we shall insert two tables, or lists, of the Soltâns of the *Rûm* dynasty: the first according to the *Persian* authors, as communicated by *D'Herbelot*, with our remarks thereon; the second as rectified by the assistance of other oriental authors, compared with the *Greeks*.

First table,

Soltâns.					Reign began. Years		
					Hej.	A.D.	reigned.
1. <i>Soleymân</i>	—	—	—	—	480	1087	20
2. <i>Dawd</i> , or <i>Kilij Arslân</i>	—	—	—	—	500	1106	18
3. <i>Massûd</i>	—	—	—	—			19
4. <i>Kilij Arslân II.</i>	—	—	—	—			10
5. <i>Rokno'ddin Soleymân</i>	—	—	—	—	588	1192	24
6. <i>Azzo'ddin Kilij Arslân</i>	—	—	—	—	600	1203	[1
7. <i>Gayatho'ddin Kay Khosraw</i>	—	—	—	—	601	1204	6
8. <i>Azzo'ddin Kaykaws</i>	—	—	—	—	609	1212	1
9. <i>Alao'ddin Kaykobâd</i>	—	—	—	—	610	1213	26
10. <i>Gayatho'ddin Kay Khosraw II.</i>	—	—	—	—	634	1236	8
11. <i>Rokno'ddin Soleymân II.</i>	—	—	—	—	[644	1246]	20
12. <i>Kay Khosraw</i>	—	—	—	—	664	1265	18
13. <i>Gayatho'ddin Massûd</i>	—	—	—	—	682	1283	[5
14. <i>Kaykobâd</i>	—	—	—	—	687	1288	[13
Slain	—	—	—	—	700	1300	

whence taken.

THIS table is taken from *D'Herbelot*, who, in his article of the *Seljûkian* dynasty, has given a list of the Soltâns, with the length of their reigns; and we have added the years in which they ascended the throne, from the particular articles inserted in his *bibliothèque*, under their respective names. The figures within hooks, resulting from the other numbers, have been inserted by us, to fill up the vacancies; that our readers may better judge of its real imperfections.

Its imperfec-
tions

THOSE which occur upon the face of the table are two very material ones. First, the sum of the years which all the princes reigned amounts only to 189, being 31 short of the duration of the dynasty (reckoning from its commencement in 480, to its conclusion in 700), which makes 220 years. The second apparent defect is in the interval between the second and fifth Soltâns: for, as that interval appears to be 88 years, and the years of the reigns of the three Soltâns within that period make but 47, which fall 43 short; either those reigns must have been considerably longer than they are represented by the table, or else there must be an omission between *Dawd* and *Rokno'ddin* of one or two princes, whose reigns are necessary to fill up the vacancy. Besides these great defects, you find that the number of years reigned do not always tally with the years when the reign began: thus *Rokno'ddin*, the fifth Soltân, is made to reign 24 years; yet the distance betwixt the beginning of his reign and that of his successor is but 22 years. By the same rule *Gayatho'ddin*, the seventh, ought to have 8 years to his reign instead of 6; while *Alao'ddin*, the ninth, has two more given him than come to his share.

Disagreement
among the

IN effect, *D'Herbelot* acknowledges there is a great difference between *Kondamîr*, whom he seems to follow, and the author of the *Nighiariştân*, as to the length of the reigns; though he only mentions two instances, with regard to the second and fourth Soltâns; the *Nighiariştân* allowing

a allowing the first but four years to his reign, and giving 20 to the latter ; which widens the gap, taken notice of above, between the second and fifth Soltân, by four years.

WITH regard to this chasm, as it is evident, from what has been said, that there is some defect in the numbers, so *D'Herbelot* gives us room to believe there may be a Soltân wanting to compleat the list : for this author farther informs us, that *Kondamîr* and the *Nighiaristân* differ also in the names, succession, and number, of the Soltâns.

As to the number (which is the article of the three at present most to our purpose), he says, *oriental* that the *Nighiaristân* makes these Soltâns the 14th and 15th, whom *Kondamîr* reckons the 13th *historians* and 14th², as in the table. Hence it appears, that, according to the first author, there were fifteen Soltâns in the dynasty of *Rûm*, or *Asia minor*.

b *D'HERBELOT*, indeed, has not told us either the name of the additional Soltân, nor his rank in the succession ; but with regard to the latter, where is his reign more likely to come in, than in the interval or chasm before-mentioned ? Nay, that author seems to point out the very place ; for though in the table he reckons *Massûd* the third Soltân, in the article of *Massûd*, he makes him the fourth (K).

Now this being supposed, we have found out a Soltân to supply the place of the third ; which, by his setting *Massûd* a descent lower, becomes vacant. And there is the more reason to believe that there ought to be more Soltâns than three within the interval in question ; because, according to our computation, that interval is larger by twelve years than what the foregoing table makes it. *fairly stated.*

c As to the disagreement which *D'Herbelot* says there is among the oriental historians, with respect to the names of the Soltâns of *Rûm*, he has furnished us with no instance thereof : but we shall mention some hereafter, particularly in the history of *Azzo'ddîn*, our twelfth Soltân ; and perhaps some authors put his name in the succession instead of *Rokno'ddîn's*, as we ourselves have done.

In these remarks on the foregoing table, the reader sees the grounds for the alterations which are made in that which follows ; the particular proofs in support of which will be produced, as we go along, in the history of the Soltâns. It may be sufficient to intimate here, that as the chasm before-mentioned has been supplied from certain occasional remarks left us by the *Byzantine* historians and *Abu'l-faraj* ; so, in settling the chronology, we have been chiefly obliged

d to the last author, who has inserted in his annals the deaths of three our four of the Soltâns : which serve as so many fixed points to guide us into our enquiries, and justify our dissenting from the authority of other oriental writers. *Reasons for the*

Soltâns.						Reign began. Years <i>Second table.</i>		
						<i>Hej.</i>	<i>A. D.</i>	reign'd.
1. <i>Soleymân</i>	—	—	—	—	—	467	1074	11
— Death	—	—	—	—	—	478	1085	
Interregnum	—	—	—	—	—			8
2. <i>Dawd</i> , or <i>Kilij Arslân</i>	—	—	—	—	—	486	1093	14
3. <i>Sayfan</i>	—	—	—	—	—	500	1106	10
4. <i>Massûd</i>	—	—	—	—	—		1116	38
5. <i>Kilij Arslân II.</i>	—	—	—	—	—		1152	40
6. <i>Gayatbo'ddîn Kay Khosraw</i>	—	—	—	—	—	588	1192	6
7. <i>Rokno'ddîn Soleymân</i>	—	—	—	—	—		1198	5
8. <i>Kilij Arslân III.</i>	—	—	—	—	—	600	1203	1
Kay Khosraw restored	—	—	—	—	—	601	1204	7
9. <i>Azzo'ddîn Kaykaws</i>	—	—	—	—	—	608	1211	8
10. <i>Alao'ddîn Kaykobad</i>	—	—	—	—	—	616	1219	18
11. <i>Gayatbo'ddîn Kây Khosraw II.</i>	—	—	—	—	—	634	1236	8
12. <i>Azzo'ddîn</i>	—	—	—	—	—	642	1244	22
12. <i>Kay Khosraw</i>	—	—	—	—	—	664	1265	18
Interregnum	—	—	—	—	—			
14. <i>Gayatbo'ddîn Massûd</i>	—	—	—	—	—			1
15. <i>Kaykobad</i>	—	—	—	—	—	683	1284	4
Slain	—	—	—	—	—	687	1288	13
						700	1300	

² *D'HERB.* ubi supr.

(K) Accordingly, *Alao'ddîn*, who in the table is the ninth, in the article of *Caikobad* is said to be the tenth. It is true, he is not uniform in this respect ; for *Gayatbo'ddîn*, the seventh in the table, is made the fifth or sixth in the article : in like manner *Kaykaws*, the eighth in the

table, is only the seventh in the article under his name. But it must be observed, that *D'Herbelot* not only made use of authors who disagreed on this subject, but also that his *Bibliothèque* is very incorrect ; he not living either to fit the work for the press, or to see it printed.

Defects of
Greek authors

pernicious to
history.

THE dates of the reigns, which are inserted only according to the years of *Christ*, are computed the best we could from the little light given by the *Byzantine* historians, who seldom mark the time of actions ; which is almost an inexcusable fault, as it gives great perplexity to a compiler, and makes it very difficult to connect the history of the *Greeks* with that of other nations.

It has been already observed, that no compleat series of Soltâns, or continued account of their transactions, much less the dates of them, is to be gathered from those writers. *Leunclavius*, misled by *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras*, makes two dynasties of Soltâns : one at *Nice*, which lasted only during the reigns of *Kutlu Muses* and his son *Soleymân Shâh*, as they call him : the other, at *Iconium*, which commences with *Alao'ddîn*, whom he makes to be the son of one *Kai Kosroes*, but of a different family from that of *Kutlu Muses*, and newly come out of *Persia*, from whence he was expelled by the *Tartars* ^a. And tho' the defect of the Soltâns, between *Soleymân* and *Alao'ddîn*, may be supplied in some measure from other *Greek* historians, who had better opportunities of being acquainted with affairs than the two above-mentioned ; yet, with regard to the Soltâns who succeeded *Alao'ddîn*, you meet with scarce any thing besides their distorted names, according to the corrupt custom of the *Grecians*. What little there is of history is very erroneous, and delivered in great confusion.

^a LEUNCL. hist. Musulm. Turc. p. 78, & seq.

S E C T. II.

The reign of Soltân Soleymân.

First Soltân.
Soleymân,

founds the
monarchy.

Hej. 408.
A. D. 1087.

Conquest of
Rûm ;

Hejrah 467.
A. D. 1074.

when made.

Hej. 468.
A. D. 1075.

First year of

WHATEVER conquests *Kotolmîsh* made in *Lesser Asia*, or whatever power and authority he exercised there during his life ; yet the *Persian* historians, who make his son *Soleymân* the founder of this *Seljûkian* dynasty, are so far from deriving any right of possession to him from his father, that they speak as if the *Turks* had no dominions in *Asia minor* for him to reign over, till they were conquered by his uncle. *Hamdallab al Mestîfi*, author of the *Tarîk Khozideh*, says, that *Malek Shâh*, third Soltân of the *Seljûkians* of *Iran* (or *Persia* at large), on advice that the *Greek* emperor (A) was dead, sent *Soleymân*, son of *Kotolmîsh*, to make war on the *Greeks* in *Asia minor* ; and that this prince, having made conquests there, settled himself entirely in the year 480 ^a. *Kondamîr* more particularly informs us, that *Malek Shâh* gave to his cousin *Soleymân* the country of *Rûm*, or what he had taken from the *Greek* emperor, extending from the *Euphrates* a great way into *Asia minor*, of which part *Arzerûm* ^b was the capital ^b.

It is not said when this conquest or grant was made ; but it may be presumed to have been done three or four years after his accession to the throne, when he began to carry his arms westward of that river : and we meet with a passage, taken from the same historian, which helps to countenance this opinion, namely, that in the year 467, *Malek Shâh* sent his cousin *Soleymân* into *Syria*, with an army sufficient to reduce that province ; and that, in a short time, he subdued the whole country as far as *Antiokk* ^c. It is true, *Syria* is the country said in this passage to be conquered, and not *Asia minor* ; but that might have happened through a mistake in *Kondamîr*, or his translator *D'Herbelot*, both of whom are pretty subject to such failings : and there is the more reason to believe so ; because, first, we find *Soleymân* in that very year 467, or of *Christ* 1074, actually at the head of the *Seljûk* forces about *Nice*, when *Botoniates* the *Roman* emperor sent to him for succours (*). Secondly, It appears from two other oriental authors, of equal credit with *Kondamîr*, and, in our opinion, more accuracy, that the conquest of *Syria* was not undertaken till the year following, viz. 468, when *Atsîs*, or *Atkîs*, was sent by the same Soltân to conquer that province ; and accordingly did conquer it, and settled there ^d. Nor do the same authors speak of *Soleymân's* entering *Syria* to make any conquest, till about the year 477, when he took *Antiokk* from the *Romans* or *Greeks* ; which was the only city he ever possessed in *Syria*, and which he did not long hold, as will be related hereafter.

FROM hence we think it highly probable, that the beginning of *Soleymân's* reign ought to be placed much earlier than the year 480 of the *Hejrah* ; although *D'Herbelot* affirms that all the oriental historians unanimously agree to fix it to that year ; excepting one, who puts it three years higher ^e. But whether the first be the true commencement of the dynasty or not, we may

^a D'HERBEL. p. 822. art. Soliman ben Coutoulmîsch.

^c KOND. ubi supra.
also before, p. 169.

(*) See hereafter.

^e D'HERB. p. 801. art. Selgiukian.

^b KOND. 2p. D'Herb. p. 542. art. Malek Schâh.

^d Vid. EBN AMID. p. 350. ABUL'F. p. 237.

(A) This must be the emperor *Diogenes*, who died in 1071.

a venture to affirm, that the latter must be erroneous, because we have proof that *Soleyman* died in 478, which was two years before : and, indeed, from the disagreement which *D'Herbelot* confesses there is among the oriental authors, concerning the number and reigns of these Soltâns, as well as from his giving little or no account, from them, of the actions of either *Soleyman* or several of his successors, it appears, that the historians he made use of (who seem to be chiefly, if not solely, the *Persian*, excepting *Abû'l-faraj*), had in their hands very few memoirs relating to the *Seljukian* princes of *Rûm*, at least the first of them ; which might have happened thro' the distance of place and confusion of affairs during those times. his reign fixed.

HOWEVER that be, on a supposition that *Soleyman* began his reign in the year 467, it will be a farther confirmation that he derived nothing in succession from his father, who, in that case, died nine years before (and twenty-two, according to the account which puts the commencement of the dynasty in 480) ; whence it may be presumed, that whatever territories *Kotolmish* might have been possessed of in *Asia minor* at his death, whether by usurpation, or grant from *Togrol-bek*, they fell into the hands of his nephew *Alp Arslan*, against whom he had rebelled ; nor did his son *Soleyman* enjoy any part of them during the life of that Soltân, according to the oriental historians, who affirm, that the countries which he possessed were conquered from the *Romans*, and given to him by *Malek Shâh*, who succeeded *Alp Arslan*, in the year of the *Hejrah* 464, and of *Christ* 1072. Settled by grant, not by conquest.

THE *Greek* writers are not acquainted with this grant, or the Soltân who made it : but the best of them agree very well with the account of this conquest, and the commencement of the reign of *Soleyman*, as delivered by the oriental authors whom we follow : for they tell us, that, soon after the death of the emperor *Romanus Diogenes*, the *Turks* broke into the territories of the empire. *Michael Ducas*, his successor, being alarmed at this irruption, sent against them A. D. 1072. *Isaac Comnenus* ; who, after gaining a few advantages, was defeated, and taken prisoner on the frontiers of *Cappadocia*, not far from *Cæsarea*. His brother *Alexis*, on his return, having passed the river *Sangarius*, was attacked by a party of *Turks*, who had already made incursions thro' *Bithynia* as far as *Nice*. Early progress Hej. 466. A. D. 1073.

ANOTHER army was soon dispatched against them under the command of *John Ducas*, the emperor's uncle, and *Cæsar* ; but, while he strove to reduce *Ursel*, who had revolted, the *Turks* took the opportunity to pursue their conquests. He himself was afterwards taken by *Ursel* ; and both of them by *Artuk* (C) (who then commanded the *Turkish* forces) at *Trikeum*, near the above-mentioned river. About the same time a new army came from *Persia* under *Tutak*, who ravaged the country about *Amasia*. To him *Ursel*, after being dismissed by *Artuk*, applied for assistance ; but *Tutak* betrayed him, for a sum of money, to *Alexis Comnenus*, who had been appointed general in *Asia*. In his return, *Alexis* was attacked near *Heraklea* in *Bithynia* by a party of *Turks*, but escaped by his courage and address. About the same time *Isaac Comnenus*, newly made governor of *Antiokh*, was slain in an engagement with a party of *Turks*, which had made an irruption into *Syria* ^f.

AFTER this, several persons aspiring to the empire, *Michael* sent an ambassador to *Soleyman*, son of *Kutulmes* (or *Kotolmish*), desiring his assistance against *Nicephorus Botaniates*, general of the armies of the east, who had revolted ; and being joined by *Kbrysofules*, a *Turkish* commander, who in the reign of *Diogenes* had taken part with the *Romans*, had marched from *Phrygia* into *Bithynia*, with a design to get into *Nice*. *Soleyman*, being gained by the emperor, seized all the passages, and watched the motions of *Botaniates* ; who, having but three hundred followers, took the by roads, and travelled by night to avoid the *Turks*, and reach that city before they knew of his march : but they, getting intelligence of it, sent a party of horse to harass his men. These, however, he repulsed ; but, fearing to be surrounded, sent *Kbrysofules*, who for a small sum of money prevailed on them to withdraw, and leave the way to *Nice* open. When he came near to that city, to his great surprize he found a numerous army drawn up in order before the suburbs, whom he took to be enemies ; but, to his greater surprize, he found they had proclaimed him emperor ^g.

It appears from this passage, that *Soleyman* was in *Asia minor* in the year 1074, which we suppose to be the first of his reign ; and the abrupt manner, in which *Nicephorus Bryennius* here speaks of him for the first time, gives room to conjecture that he had been in the country for some considerable time before, which farther supports our hypothesis. What follows, from the same author, seems to confirm it still more. *Botaniates*, being in possession of the empire, raised forces to oppose *Nicephorus Bryennius*, who aspired to the throne ; and having demanded succour of *Mas'ûr* (D) and *Soleyman*, sons of *Kutulmes*, prince of *Nice* in *Bithynia*, they sent him 2000 men, and promised him more. But after he had, by the conduct of *Alexis Comnenus*, who succeeded him, quashed the rebellions of *Bryennius* and *Basilacius*, he had likewise that of *Nicephorus Melissenus* to suppress. This lord, during the two former rebellions

^f NICEPH. BRIEN. in Mich. Ducam, cap. 1—8.

^g Idem ibid. cap. 15.

(C) In *Turkish*, *Crtok*.

(D) Rather *Masut* ; as the *Greeks* write *Masûd*, or *Masfûd*.

in *Europe* setting up for emperor, had gotten together some *Turkish* troops in *Asia minor*, with a which he overran the country; putting all the towns which he took into the hands of the *Turks*. By this means, in a little time, they became masters of all *Phrygia* and *Galatia*: in short, he reduced *Nice* in *Bitbynia*, and struck terror through the empire^h. And thus, probably, that famous city came to be possessed by *Soleymân* (E), who afterwards made it the seat of his new empire.

BOTANIATES, greatly alarmed at these successes, sent an army against the enemy under the command of *John*, an eunuch, who went and encamped near *Fort Basileum*, about forty stadia from *Nice*; and marching along a lake (F) came to *Fort St. George*, and took it. It was then debated if they should besiege that city, or go to *Doryleum* (G) and fight the Soltân (H). The former being resolved on, they sat down before it; but hearing of the Soltân's approach to relieve the place, the eunuch retired for fear, while the *Turks* pursued and harraſſed them extremelyⁱ.

WE are informed by the princess *Anna Comnena* (I), that when *Botaniates* obtained the empire, the *Turks* were possessed of the countries between the *Euxine* sea and the *Helleſpont*, between the *Egean* sea and the sea of *Syria*, and between the gulfs which are along the coasts of *Pamphilia* and *Cilicia*. As he had gained the empire by help of the *Turks*, so he used their aid to overcome *Nicephorus Bryennius*, who aspired to the throne^k. But those adventurers, who were ready to join with any party to serve their own turns, afterwards assisted his competitors *Meliffenus* and *Alexis* to dethrone him. At length he resigned the crown to *Alexis*, in 1081. During these disputes, the *Turks* made use of their opportunity, took *Cyzicum*, and ravaged the country of *Anatolia*^l.

AT the time when *Alexis* ascended the throne, as above-mentioned, *Soleymân*, who commanded in *Anatolia*, had fixed his seat at *Nice* in *Bitbynia*, and daily made inroads with his *Turks* as far as the *Bosphorus*, then called *Damalis* (K); but *Alexis*, by ordering armed barks to scour the coast, obliged them soon to abandon it. Pursuing his advantage by land, he retook *Bosphorus*, *Thynia*, and *Bitbynia*; whereupon the Soltân sued for peace; which was granted the *Turks*, on condition that they kept on the banks of the river *Draco*, without ever passing the borders of *Bitbynia*^m.

BUT while *Alexis* was engaged in war with *Robert* and his son *Boemond* in *Illyrium*, *Apelkassem* (L), governor of *Nice*, in the absence of *Soleymân*, ravaged the east, with the coast of *Propontis*, and the sea.

THE occasion of *Soleymân*'s leaving *Nice* was this: one *Filaretus*, an *Armenian*, who for his courage and conduct had been made grand domestic by *Diogenes*, was so touched at his master's hard fate, that he resolved to be revenged; and, in order thereto, seized *Antiokh*; but not being able to live in quiet for the continual inroads of the *Turks*, he embraced *Mohammedism*. He had a son, who, because he could not divert him from his design, rode in eight days to *Nice*, and persuaded *Amîr Soleymân* (M) to come and take *Antiokh*. *Soleymân*, leaving *Apelkassem* to govern in his absence, set forward, and in twelve nights, which he chose to march in to prevent discovery, arrived at that city, and took it by assault; at the same time that *Karatice* reduced *Sinopé*, where he was told there were great richesⁿ.

THE precise time of this event is not to be collected from the *Greek* historian; altho' we know it must have happened between the years 1081 and 1084: for we are informed by *Ebn Amîd*, an oriental historian, that *Antiokh* was in the hands of *Soleymân*, son of *Kotolmîsh*, in the year of the *Hejrab* 477. This is mentioned by that author, on occasion of the death of *Sharfo'ddawlat ebn Korays*, lord of *Halep* and *Musol*, who advancing with troops to take *Antiokh* from *Soleymân*, was routed in battle and slain^o. We are obliged to the same historian for the exact time of *Soleymân*'s death, which happened in the year following. For Soltân *Tajo'ddawlat* (lord of *Damaskus*), hearing of *Sharfo'ddawlat*'s misfortune, marched with his forces, accompanied by *Ortok* the *Turkmân*, to attack *Soleymân* prince of *Antiokh*, who fought several battles with them under the walls of *Halep*; in the last of which he was slain, and his forces routed^p.

^h NIC. BRYEN. Nic. Botan.

c. 3. ⁱ Ibid. l. 2. c. 2, 5, & 8,

AMID. hist. Saracen. p. 352.

^k Idem ib. cap. 1—4, & 5.

^m Ibid. l. 2. c. 7.

^p Ibid. p. 353.

ⁿ ANN. COMNEN. in Alex. l. 1.

^o Ibid. l. 6. c. 7.

^p EBN

(E) This must have happened between the years 1074 and 1078; perhaps in 1076.

(F) Doubtless the lake of *Nice*.

(G) The regal seat of *Soleymân* seems, from this circumstance, to have been at *Doryleum*.

(H) The author should have told us who the Soltân was, whether *Soleymân* or *Kotolmîsh*. This would have helped to clear up some doubtful points. But such perplexing omissions frequently occur in the *Byzantine* historians, who too often attend more to the perfection of

their style than their history. However, from what follows, the Soltân here meant must be *Soleymân*.

(I) She was daughter of the emperor *Alexis* (who succeeded *Botaniates*), and wrote his life.

(K) Or *Skutari*.

(L) Perhaps a corruption of *Abûl Kassem*.

(M) Sometimes he is called Soltân, which is equivalent to King; sometimes *Amîr*, which signifies only a simple commander or general of troops.

- a THIS event is confirmed by the Greek historian *Anna Comnena*, tho' she differs somewhat in the manner of his death. She says, that *Tutuse* (so the Greeks call *Tatash*, surnamed *Tajo'd-dawlat*), brother of the great Soltân (N), who possessed *Mesopotamia*, with the cities of *Jerusalem*, *Halep*, and *Baghdâd* (O), having a great desire to be master of *Antiokh*, advanced with his forces against *Soleymân*; who being defeated, and finding he could not rally his troops, retreated himself: but the officers of the other party coming to tell him, that his uncle *Tutuse* sent for him, and fearing to trust himself in his hands, to avoid being constrained, he drew his sword and ran himself through. Hereupon his soldiers, who had escaped from the battle, joined the army of *Tutuse*¹. Here you have the death of *Soleymân* circumstantially attested by two cotemporary historians, one an *Asiatic*.
- b SOLEYMAN, dying in the year above-mentioned by *Ebn Amîd*, will have eleven years to his reign. But this time of his death, as well as that which we have assumed for the commencement of his reign, is contradicted by other historians both eastern and western. *D'Herbelot* assures us, that *Kondamîr*, and almost all the oriental historians (at least whom he had consulted), agree to place the death of this Soltân in the year 500 of the *Hejrab*, or 1106 of *Christ*², which is twenty-one or twenty-two years later; and give him a reign of twenty years, in consequence of fixing the beginning of it in 480. This is a wide difference, and the more irreconcilable, as *Kondamîr* begins his reign two years after his death, as related by *Ebn Amîd*; and if we follow the computation of *Hamdallab al Mestîfi*, who puts the commencement in 477 of the *Hejrab*, that date will indeed coincide with the years of *Soleymân's* life, but will afford him only about one year of reign, if we fix his death according to *Ebn Amîd*; tho' it extends the same to twenty-three by the system of the other oriental writers. In short, *Cedrenus*, *Zonaras*, and other western historians, confirm the supputation of *Kondamîr*, &c. against *Ebn Amîd*, by speaking of *Soleymân* (P) as making conquests, and fighting battles, many years after the year 1085³. The *Jerusalem Chronicon*, in particular, recites the words of a letter sent by *Soleymân* in the year 1098 to the Soltân of *Khorassân*, to desire succours against the Franks, who had taken from him *Nice* and *Romania*; meaning the country of *Rûm*, or *Asia minor*.
- c BUT notwithstanding the majority is against us in this point, yet we have very good reason to suspect their authority in favour of *Ebn Amîd* and *Anna Comnena*, if it be only considered that the historians whom *D'Herbelot* consulted, seem to have been very little acquainted with the affairs of the *Seljukians* of *Rûm*, for the reasons before offered; and that all which he has produced from them, relating to the death in question, is a naked date, without any concurrent circumstances to support it; whereas *Ebn Amîd*, and *Anna Comnena*, not only relate the manner of *Soleymân's* death, but that event is connected with foreign transactions; which is the strongest proof that the date of it, given by the former of them, must be exact. As to the other Greek historians, after what has been said, it is enough to say, that they could not have so good an opportunity of being rightly informed about such matters, as a princess of the imperial family.
- d

I N T E R R E G N U M.

- e SOLEYMAN, according to *Kondamîr*, and the other *Persian* historians consulted by *D'Herbelot*, left for successor his son *Dawd* (or *David*) surnamed *Kilij Arslân* (Q), who ascended the throne in the year 500, immediately after his father's decease⁴. But it appears, from the history of *Anna Comnena*, that the sudden and violent death of *Soleymân* was attended with an interregnum, or usurpation of the governors in the dominions of *Rûm*; and that *Kbli-ziastlan* (as the Greeks corruptly name *Kilij* (R) *Arslân*) was in *Persia* till about the year 1093, when he returned to *Nice*; which will make a vacancy in the throne of nine years.
- f As there has been nothing transmitted to us from the east, relating to the affairs of the *Seljukians* in *Rum*, from the death of *Soleymân* to the death of this warlike Soltân, excepting his last expedition, in which he died, our sole recourse must be to the Greek historians, particularly the princess before-mentioned; who has given a pretty full account of the proceedings of the *Turks* against the *Roman* empire during that period.

¹ ANN. COMNEN. in Alex. l. 6. c. 7. art. Selgiukian.

² See univ. hist. vol. vi. p. 615, & seq.

³ D'HERB. p. 822. art. Solimân ben Coutolmîsch, & p. 801.

⁴ See D'HERB. ubi supra.

(N) He was the brother of *Malek Shâh*, third Soltân of *Irân*.

(O) A mistake perhaps for *Damaskus*.

(P) They call him *Solimân Shâh*.

(Q) That is the sword of the lion.

(R) This word may be pronounced *Kilj*, or *Kej*, *Klij*, or *Klej*.

Apelkasssem
seizes Nice.

WHEN the news of *Amîr Soleyman's* death reached the ears of his governors in *Asia minor*, a they divided his territories among themselves. *Apelkasssem* by this means became lord of *Nice*, famous for the palace of the Soltâns. He had before given *Cappadocia* to his brother *Pulkas*; but, being naturally active, he thought it unbecoming the dignity of Soltân to sit idle, and made incursions into *Bithynia* as far as the *Propontis*. The emperor, finding he could not be brought to a treaty, sent a powerful army, under the command of *Taticius*, to besiege *Nice*, which encamped at a place twelve stades distant.

Visits the em-
peror.

THE night following a peasant brought advice, that *Prosius*, sent by a new Soltân called *Barkiarok*, approached at the head of 50,000 men. *Taticius*, not able to cope with such a force, retired towards *Nikomedia*. *Apelkasssem* pursued and attacked him at *Preneste*; but the *French*, who were in the army headed by *Taticius*, couching their lances with their usual alert- b nefs, fell on them like lightning; and defeating them, gave *Taticius* leisure to retire.

APELKASSEM, with a design to conquer the islands, built ships, intending to take the city of *Scio* (S), seated on the sea side: but the emperor sent and burnt them in the harbour. At the same time *Taticius* fell on the *Turks* at *Alykas*, called also *Cyparissium*; and after skirmishing with them for fifteen days, at length routed them. The emperor on this wrote an obliging letter to *Apelkasssem*, desiring him to desist from his fruitless attempts, and invited him to come to *Constantinople*. That prince, understanding that *Prosius* had taken many lesser towns, and intended to besiege *Nice*, accepted of the invitation, and was received with extraordinary honours.

Who amuses
him.

THE politic emperor took the opportunity, while *Apelkasssem* was at *Constantinople*, to build c a fort by the sea-side to secure *Nikomedia*, the capital of *Bithynia* (T); making the *Turks*, who would have opposed that design, believe that he had their Soltân's order for it, whom all the while he amused with diversions. When the fortress was finished, he loaded him with presents, gave him the title of Most August, concluded a peace with him, and sent him home by sea. The sight of that fabrick in his passage gave him much displeasure; but he thought it better to dis- semble his resentment than complain.

Nice besieged.

PROSUK soon after besieged *Nice*; and, having attacked it vigorously for three months, *Apelkasssem* sent for succour to the emperor, who sent him the flower of his troops, but with orders to act for his interest; both parties being in effect his enemies. The *Roman* troops, hav- ing taken the city of *St. George*, were admitted into *Nice*, and dislaid their standards. Here- d upon *Prosius*, believing the emperor had entered the city, raised the siege, and retired.

Alexis by ar-
tifice,

IT will be proper to observe in this place, that as soon as the great Soltân (U) (who reigned in *Khorassân*) was informed of the success of *Tutus* against *Soleyman* (as has been related in the life of that prince), he was alarmed; and fearing he might grow too powerful, sent a *Chaus* (X) to the emperor *Alexis*, to propose an alliance with him by way of marriage; offering, on that occasion, to withdraw the *Turks* settled near the sea-coasts; to abandon a certain number of small towns, and furnish him with troops, in case of need.

recovers many
cities.

THE emperor, desirous to recover the places without the marriage, prevailed on the *Chaus* to turn christian: after which, as he had a written order from the Soltân, for the *Turkish* gar- e risons to quit all the maritime places as soon as the marriage was agreed on, he went to *Sinopé*, and shewing the order to *Karatik* the governor, obliged him to depart without taking any thing away (Y), and left in the hands of *Dalassenes* for the emperor. Having by the like artifice gotten the *Turks* out of other towns, and put in *Roman* garrisons, he returned to *Constantinople*, where he was baptized, and received the title of duke of *Ankbiulus*, with other great rewards.

Nice besieged
again:

THE Soltân was extremely vexed when he came to hear how the *Chaus* had served him. Notwithstanding this, he sent a letter to the emperor, assuring him, that, provided he gave his daughter in marriage to his son, he would assist him with troops to prevent *Apelkasssem's* incursions, and take *Antiokk* (Z) from him: at the same time he sent *Pusan* with forces against *Apelkasssem*. The emperor wrote an answer, which, without granting his demand, flattered f his hopes, and sent it away. Mean time *Pusan* attacked *Nice* several times; but being repul- sed by means of the emperor's succours, drew off to *Lopadion* (A), on the river *Lampe*. As soon as he was gone, *Apelkasssem*, loading fourteen mules with gold, set out for *Persia* to obtain

Relieved a se-
cond time:

■ ANN. COMNEN. in Alex. l. 6. c. 7—10.

* ANN. COMN. l. 6. c. 8.

(S) Or *Cium*, in the bay of *Montania*, miscalled *Montanea*, a port of *Nice*.

(T) It became so after *Nice* was taken by the *Turks*.

(U) This was *Malik Shâb*, the father and predecessor of *Barkiarok*.

(X) *Chaus*, or *Chausb*, is a messenger of state.

(Y) The *Greeks* say, *Karatik* was possessed by the de-

vil, for having plundered the church of the thrice pure Mother of God, when he took the city.

(Z) This must be *Antiokk* in *Syria*. Whence it appears, not only that *Antiokk* did not fall into the hands of *Tutus* (or *Tatash*), on the defeat of *Soleyman*; but also that *Apelkasssem* (or *Abû'l Kassim*) was in possession of the greater part of his dominions.

(A) Now called *Lobat*, or *Lupad*.

a the Soltân's confirmation in the government : but the Soltân, who was then at *Spaka* (B), refusing to see him, ordered him to go back to *Pusan* ; saying, he would confirm whatever the other agreed to. After a long and fruitless solicitation he set out to return ; but was not gotten far, before he was met by 200 men, who, by the Soltân's order, strangled him. The ambassador, who carried the emperor's letter, proceeded on his journey ; but hearing, before he got to *Khorassân*, that the Soltân himself was assassinated (C), he returned to *Constantinople*.

AFTER *Apelkassem* had set out for *Khorassân*, as above-related, *Pulkas*, his brother, took possession of *Nice* ; which the emperor, by large offers, tempted him to deliver up : but he still put him off, under pretence of expecting the return of his brother. While this matter was in agitation, the two sons of *Amîr Soleymân*, escaping on the death of the murdered Soltân, by whom they were detained in prison, arrived at *Nice* ; where they were received by those who had most power with the people, and acknowledged by *Pulkas*, who delivered up the city into their hands. From this revolution, or restoration (which, according to the course of the Greek history, happened about the year 1093), we date the commencement of the reign of *Kilij Arslân I.*

(B) Doubtless *Isfâhân*.

(C) This was *Malek Shâh*, as appears from the course of time, as well as the mistaken account of his death, given in this place by our historian, as we have else

where observed (1); altho', by some oversight in ranging her materials, these facts may seem to belong to the reign of *Barkiarukh*, his son and successor.

(1) See before, p. 172.

S E C T. III.

Reign of Soltân Kilij Arslân I.

a NICE having thus, after an usurpation of several years, been restored to the heirs of *Soley- Second Soltân*
mân ; *Kilij*, or *Klij Arslân* the eldest, whom the *Greeks* call *Kbliziaftlan*, or *Kliziaftlan*, assumed the reins of government. His first care was to repeople the city, by calling home the wives and children of the old inhabitants, as he designed to honour it with the ordinary residence of the Soltâns. Then, displacing *Pulkas*, he made *Mahomet* (A) governor : after which he marched towards *Melicene*. What was the occasion of his departure, what part of his dominions he went to, or what he did for some time after, we are intirely strangers to ; the Greek writers, to whom we are obliged for all this Soltân's history, excepting the last transaction of his reign, treating no farther of the *Turkish* affairs than as they concerned themselves. For this reason the reader will not be surprized if he meets frequently with chasms in the history, and sometimes the matters abruptly introduced.

b THE emperor *Alexis*, having been informed that *Elkân*, prince of the *Satrapas* (B), had taken *Apoloniade* and *Cyzicum*, maritime cities, and ravaged the sea coast ; sent *Euphrbene*, who besieged *Apoloniade*, and reduced the exopolis, or out-town. The *Turks* defended the citadel vigorously till succours arrived ; on which the *Roman* general withdrew, and put his men on board the ships : but *Elkân* having seized the mouth of the river and the bridge, they were forced to re-land, and most of them were cut off in battle. After this, *Opus*, being sent against him, took *Cyzicum* and *Poemanenon* by assault ; then besieging *Apoloniade*, forced *Elkân* to surrender ; who, being sent to the emperor, was very kindly received, and turned *Christian* *.

c WHILE *Alexis* was engaged in war with the *Patzinacians* (C), he received advice that the son of *Apelkassem*, governor of *Nice* (called *Satrapa* by the old, and *Amiral*, by the modern *Persians* (D), was inclined to besiege *Nikomedia*. At the same time *Tzakas*, a *Turk*, resolving to set up a naval force, employed a native of *Smyrna* for that purpose ; who having built him several vessels, and forty barks, he went and took *Clazomene* and *Phoceæ*, without much resistance ; then sending a threatening message to *Alopius*, governor of *Mitylene*, he fled : but *Tzakas*, finding the inhabitants of *Metymne*, a city of the isle seated very high, prepared to receive him, he passed on to the island of *Kbio*, which he took by force.

d THE emperor, on this news, sent a fleet against him, which was defeated. Then he sent another under *Constantine Delassenus*, his relation ; who, desirous to take *Kbio* while *Tzakas* was absent, made a breach in the wall, which obliged the *Turks* to implore mercy : but while the general delayed taking possession, to prevent the soldiers from putting them to the sword, the besieged repaired the breach in the night. *Tzakas* arrived from *Smyrna* at the same juncture on the other side of the isle, and marched at the head of 8000 men, followed along the coast by his fleet ; then, going on board, he encountered the *Greek* ships in the night : his own

* ANN. COMNEN. l. 6. c. 11. & 12.

(A) Perhaps the name of the Soltân's brother, which is not expressly mentioned.

(D) Rather *Amîr*, whence comes our amiral, and admiral.

(B) Or *Turkish* governors ; perhaps a *Beglerbeg*.

(C) A *Scythian* nation, who inhabited *Podolia* and *Moldavia*.

being

being joined together by chains, so that they could not be separated. *Opus*, who commanded the *Grecian* fleet, surprized at this new sort of disposition, durst not advance.

the Romans: *Tzakas* followed him slowly, and at length landing, began the attack. The *French*, on their approach, marched briskly against them with their lances: but the *Turks*, having discharged arrows at their horses, obliged them to retire in disorder to the camp, and thence openly to the ships. The *Romans*, dismayed by this defeat, fled likewise, and ranged themselves along the walls of the town. This emboldened the *Turks* to go and seize some vessels: but the sailors, cutting the cables, went and anchored with the rest at some distance from the shore. Mean time *Delassenus* retired to *Bolissus*, a town situated on a cape of the isle; and *Tzakas*, knowing his valour, sent to propose an accommodation.

Proposes peace: NEXT day they met; and *Tzakas* demanded, that what the emperor *Botoniates* had given him, should be delivered into his hands, and a marriage take place between his son and a daughter of the emperor; in which case he promised to restore all the islands he had conquered. It seems this *Turk* had been taken prisoner when young in *Asia*, and presented to *Botoniates*, who honoured him with the title of Most Noble, and with rich presents; on which he took an oath of fidelity to him, but thought himself not bound by it to *Alexis*. *Delassenus* referred him for an answer to *John*, the emperor's brother-in-law, who was expected with forces in a few days: but *Tzakas*, not caring to wait his coming, returned in the night with his fleet to *Smyrna*, in order to raise new forces for the conquest of the island. After which *Delassenus* took *Bolissus*, and the city of *Kbio* itself^b.

Augments his fleet: MEAN time *Tzakas*, while the emperor was at war with the *Scythians*, increased his fleet with an extraordinary number of ships, gathered from several ports, wherewith he resolved to plunder all the isles which refused to submit, and ravage all the western coasts. He endeavoured to excite the *Scythians* to subdue the *Kbersonesus*, and to oblige the succours to return which came from the east; making great offers to draw the *Turks* to espouse his cause^c. After this he assumed the name of king at *Smyrna*, which he made his regal seat; and fitted out a fleet to ravage the isles, and penetrate as far as the very capital of the empire.

Surrenders Mitylene: AT the beginning of spring (E) the emperor sent an army and a fleet to *Mitylene*; the former under the conduct of *John Dukas*, and the latter of *Constantine Delassenus*. The place was commanded by *Galabatzes*, brother of *Tzakas*, who came also in person to defend it. *Dukas* battered the place for three months, and often fought the enemy from morning till night without any advantage; but at last *Tzakas* thought fit to surrender the city, on condition that he might have liberty to return to *Smyrna*. This was granted him: but as he endeavoured to carry off the inhabitants of *Mitylene*, contrary to the treaty, *Delassenus* attacked him by sea, and took several barks; *Tzakas* himself with difficulty escaping in one of the smallest vessels. After this, *Dukas* retook *Samos*, and the other isles which that *Turk* had seized.

He is slain: *Tzakas*, as soon as he returned to *Smyrna*, ordered barks to be built, and galleys of two and three tire of oars, besides other light vessels, with a design to send them out as corsairs. Hereupon the emperor dispatched *Delassenus* with a puissant fleet, and at the same time wrote to stir up the Soltân (F) against his son-in-law, whom he represented as aspiring to the empire of the *Turks*. The Soltân immediately set forward with his forces, and was at *Avido*, which *Tzakas* had besieged, almost as soon as *Delassenus*. *Tzakas* having no ships with him (for his fleet was not yet equipped), and finding himself unable to oppose both the emperor and the Soltân, resolved to meet the latter, not imagining how much he was incensed against him. The Soltân received him with a great shew of friendship, and kept him to dine with him; but as soon as he found him overcome with liquor, drew his sword, and killed him with a stroke on his side^d.

Care of Alexis: THE emperor was scarcely delivered from this enemy, before he found himself obliged to march against the *Komâns*, who continued to make incursions into his territories: mean while the *Turks* took that opportunity to ravage *Bithynia*. When the war therefore was over, he applied himself to secure the country inclosed by the sea between the river *Sangarius* and a place called *Cele*, which was exposed to their frequent incursions. Having found a deep canal, which had been formerly dug by the emperor *Anastasius* to drain the marsh of *Baanom*, he ordered it to be cleansed and extended: but considering that in time it might become fordable, he built on the side of it an exceeding strong citadel, thence called the *Iron Castle*, which served for the defence of *Nikomedie*.

Crusaders; their cruelties: THE emperor had scarce rested from this fatigue, when *Peter* the hermit, author of the crusade, or holy war, arrived at *Constantinople* at the head of 80,000 men, devoted to the recovery of *Jerusalem* from the *Turks*. The emperor advised him to wait till *Godfrey* of *Bul-loin*, and the other princes, arrived: but *Peter*, confident of his own success, passed the sea,

^b ANN. COMNEN. 1. 7. c. 5 & 6.^c Ibid. 1. 8. c. 2.^d Ibid. 1. 9. c. 1 & 3.(E) You find mention often in the *Greek* historians of the seasons of the year, but not of the year itself.(F) *Kilij Arslân*, son of *Soleymân*.

a and encamped near a small city called *Helenopolis*. From hence ten thousand *Normans*, who were among them, made an incursion as far *Nice*, committing the most horrible cruelties; but the garrison of that city sallying out upon them, they were obliged to retreat. After this they took *Xerigorda*; but *Elkan* (G), being sent with some troops by the Soltân, recovered that place.

THAT general, knowing the *Franks* to be very covetous, contrived the way how to ruin ^{justly punished:} them. He first laid his ambuscade; and then commissioned two artful persons to give out in *Peter's* army, that the *Normans* had taken *Nice*, and seized an immense booty. On this report they ran without any order toward that city; and falling into the ambuscade which had been laid for them near *Dragon*, were cut in pieces. The number slain on both sides was so great, b that their bodies being laid together made a mountain. *Peter* retired with a small number of his men to *Helenopolis*, where the *Turks* besieged, and would have taken him, had not the emperor sent some troops to relieve the place^c.

SOON after the rest of the western princes arriving, all crossed the strait to *Civiotot*, except *Boemond*, who marched through *Bitbynia* towards *Nice*, which the confederates invested. The Soltân sent some troops to annoy the christians; but they were defeated; as was the next day A. D. 1097. the Soltân himself; who, seeing the multitude of enemies he had to deal with, gave leave to the inhabitants of *Nice* to act just as they thought best for themselves. The emperor *Alexis*, who was encamped at *Mesampele*, near the town of *Pelekane* (for he did not care to join the *Franks*, whom he looked upon as a treacherous faithless people), finding that the Soltân supplied the city with both men and provisions by means of the lake (H), he advised them to attack c it on that side: and having provided proper vessels for the purpose, the lake not being deep, filled them with men, under the command of *Bitumites*, and set off from the side opposite to the isle of *Kbio*.

THE *Turkish* commanders were so alarmed at this unexpected sight, and the *Franks* making ^{def. at the Sol-} a general assault at the same time, that, on *Bitumites* promising a general pardon, with honours ^{â :} to the Soltân's sister and his wife (said to be the daughter of *Tzakas*), they delivered the city up to him; who sent off the garrison, by way of the lake, to the emperor.

PRESENTLY after, the army set forward for *Antiokk* in *Syria*; with whom the emperor sent a body of troops commanded by *Taticius*. Being arrived in two days at a place called *Leuka*, d they thought fit to separate, and let *Boemond* go before, as he desired. The *Turks* discover- A. D. 1097. ing him in the plain of *Dorylaeum*, fell upon him vigorously, and killed forty of his best men; whereupon, being also himself dangerously wounded, he retreated to the army. As they advanced in companies, they met, near a place called *Ebraik*, the Soltân *Tanisman* (I) and *Hassan*, who alone was at the head of 80,000 men. The battle was very obstinate; when *Boemond*, perceiving the *Turks* fought with more vigour than their enemies, fell with the right wing like a lion on the Soltân *Kliziaslân* (K), or *Kilij Arslân*, and put them to flight. Soon after, they met the *Turks* near *Augustopolis*, and defeated them a second time. After which they suffered them to continue their march to *Antiokk*, without daring to appear.

THE emperor thought this a good opportunity to recover other places from the *Turks*. The emperor e *Tzakas* had seized *Smyrna*; *Hangripermes* was in possession of *Ephesus*: other robbers were ^{recovers} masters of different places: *Kbio*, *Rhodes*, and several other islands, were in their hands, from whence they scoured all the adjacent seas. To prevent these depredations, he fitted out a large fleet, under the command of *John Dukas*, who carried with him the daughter of *Tzakas*, to convince the pirates that the city was taken. Being come to *Avido*, he gave the command A. D. 1097. of the fleet to *Kaspaces*, in order to attack *Smyrna* by sea, while he besieged it by land. The *Smyrna*, inhabitants, terrified, immediately surrendered upon terms, and *Kaspaces* was made governor, but did not long enjoy his post: for having ordered a *Turk* before him, who had stolen a sum of money; the fellow thinking they were carrying him to execution, in despair drew his sword, and stabbed the governor in the belly, mixing himself at the same time with the croud. The f soldiers and seamen were so enraged at this murder, that they put 10,000 inhabitants to the sword.

FROM *Smyrna* *Dukas* marched to *Ephesus*, where, after a bloody battle which lasted near *Ephesus*, and the whole day, he defeated *Tangripermes* and *Maraces*. The remainder of the *Turkish* forces fled up the *Mæander* to *Polybotum*. *Dukas* pursued them; and in the way took *Sardes* and *Philadelphia* by assault. *Laodicea* submitted to him. Then, passing by *Kome*, he forced

^c ANN. COMNEN. l. 10. c. 4—7.

(G) Probably the same *Elkan* mentioned before.

(H) Which lies between *Nice* and the gulf of *Moudania* (of old the *Cianic*); into which it empties itself by a river.

(I) The *Greek* historians give the name of Soltân often

without distinction to all generals or great commanders, as well as to the brother of the Soltân.

(K) The *Latin* writers of the crusade make *Soleymân* the Soltân of *Nice* at this time. But we have already shewn, both from the *Greek* and oriental authors, that he was dead some years before.

H h h

Lampe.

Lampe. He found at *Polybotum* a great multitude of *Turks*, but defeated them intirely, carrying off much plunder and many prisoners.

other places. MEAN time the emperor *Alexis* prepared to succour the *Franks*, who were besieged by the *Turks* in *Antiokk*; and being arrived at *Filomelion*, cut in pieces a great number of their troops, and recovered several places out of their hands. But hearing that *Ismael* (L), son of the Soltân of *Khorassân*, was advancing at the head of a vast army; he thought it most prudent to return with his prisoners and plunder, after he had given notice to the inhabitants in and about *Polybotum* to provide for their safety. *Ismael* advancing, laid siege to the fort of *Paipert*, which the famous *Theodorus Gaurus* had taken but a little while before, with a design to observe the passage of the *Turks*, and make incursions upon them.

Army of Normans. ABOUT that time there arrived at *Constantinople* an army of *Normans*, 100,000 foot and 50,000 horse, commanded by the two brothers of *Flanders*. The emperor would have had them taken the same road which the other *Franks* had followed; but their design was not, it seems, to join the confederates of the crusade, but to march into the east, and conquer *Khorassân* itself. Having passed the straits of *Civitot*, they went and took *Ancyra*. After they had crossed the *Halys*, they came to a little city belonging to the *Romans*; where the priests coming out to meet them, with the cross and gospel in their hands, they were so barbarous as to put them all to the sword. The *Turks*, who are very skilful warriors, took care to carry off all the provisions in the country thro' which they passed; and being near *Amasia*, after defeating, hemmed them in so closely, that they had no opportunity to pasture their horses.

slain by the Turks. THE *Normans* in despair rushed upon their enemy: but the *Turks*, instead of engaging them at a distance with the bow or lance, came to close fight with their swords, and made a dreadful slaughter. Upon this, they asked the Count of *St. Giles* and *Tzitas*, whom the emperor had sent with them for their assistance, if there was not some country belonging to the empire near at hand, which they might fly to; and being informed that there was, immediately abandoned their camp and baggage, flying to the maritime parts of *Armenia* and *Pauraca*. The horse for haste leaving the infantry behind, they were all slain by the *Turks*, excepting a few, whom they reserved as it were to shew in *Khorassân*. The Count and *Tzitas* returned, with the horse which escaped, to *Constantinople*; from whence the emperor sent the Count by sea to *Tripoly* in *Syria*, where he proposed to continue the siege; but died soon after he landed, leaving his possessions to his nephew *William* ^d.

Rebellion of Gregory. IN the fourteenth indiction, *Gregory*, governor of *Trebizond*, who had revolted two years before, intended to shut himself up in the castle of *Kolonia*, which was reckoned impregnable, and to implore the protection of *Tanisman* the *Turk* before-mentioned; but being pursued by *John Comnenus* the emperor's nephew, and his cousin, was taken, and sent to *Constantinople* ^e.

WE must now quit the *Greek* historian, to close this reign with an account of the last action and death of *Kilij Arslân*, which the *Greeks* were strangers to; and altho' it is the only matter relating to this Soltân which has been communicated to us from the oriental authors, yet it serves to give us a greater idea of his power than all the transactions already recited.

Soltân takes Musol. THE inhabitants of *Musol* (*Mausel*, or *Mosul*) having been besieged by *Al Jaweli* (M), who had taken their prince *Jagarmish* prisoner, sent to offer *Kilij Arslân*, lord of *Konia*, or *Ikonium* (N) and *Aksara*, the possession of their city, in case he would come to their relief. Hereupon *Kilij Arslân*, hastening with his forces, took possession of *Musol*, *Jaweli* retiring on his approach. He pitched his camp in a place called *Al Mogreka*, where *Zenji*, son of *Jagarmish*, with his friends, repairing to him, he honoured them all with kaftâns or vests. Then sitting in a throne, he ordered the name of Soltân *Mohammed* (O) to be suppressed in the pulpits, and his own mentioned in place of it.

is drowned. THIS done, he marched against *Al Jaweli*, who was at *Roba*; but being met by him at the river *Khabîr* (P), was put to flight. *Kilij Arslân* plunged into the river, with an intent to cross it; but, while he defended himself with his bow against the enemy, his horse carrying him out of his depth, he was drowned. Some days after his body was found floating on the water, and buried at *Al Shamsânia* (Q). This event is placed, by our author, in the year 500 of the *Hejrah* ^f, which answers to that of *Christ* 1106.

Defects of authors. IT is remarkable that *D'Herbelot*, under the name of this Soltân, has given only an abstract of the foregoing transaction from *Abû'lfaraj* ⁱ; which seems to shew, that there is nothing to

^f ANN. COMNEN. I. II. c. 1—7.

^g Ibid. I. 12. c. 5.

^h ABU'LFARAJ, hist. dynast. p. 245.

ⁱ See D'HERB. p. 1004, art Kilig Arslan Ben Soliman.

(L) *Barkiarok* was then Soltân; but we meet with no son of his who had that name.

(M) *Jaweli*, or *Jawwâli*, lord of *Roba*, or *Orsa*, in *Mesopotamia*. See before, p. 179, & seq.

(N) Hence it appears, that after the loss of *Nice*, he transferred the royal seat to *Koniyah*; so the orien-

tals call *Ikonium*; and the latter *Greeks*, *Kogni*, or *Konni*.

(O) Son of *Malek Shâh*, and fifth Soltân of *Irâk*, or *Persia*.

(P) It rises in *Mesopotamia* from a fountain called *Rat al Ayn*, and falls into the *Euphrates* near *Kerkisâ*.

(Q) Or *Al Shamsâniyah*.

- a be found in *Kondamir*, and the other authors whom he made use of, concerning that prince. But in supplying their defect from the *Syrian* annalist, he has also adopted his chronology, which contradicts theirs: for *Abû'lfaraj* makes the reign of *Kilij Arslân*, to end in the same year that they will have it commence; and we prefer his authority to theirs, for the same reason which induced us to give the preference to *Ebn Amîd*, with regard to the year of the death of his father *Soleymân*. *respecting this prince.*

ACCORDING to their reckoning, *Kilij Arslân* reigned eighteen years; according to ours, fourteen: but the *Nigbiaristân* gives him only four years to his reign. The same authors also make his son *Massîd* to have been his immediate successor; whereas we have taken the liberty, on what we judge to be sufficient authority, to put in one between them.

S E C T. IV.

The reign of Soltân Sayfan.

- b T H E R E is no mention of a Soltân with the name of *Sayfan*, among the oriental historians; *Third Soltân*, but we have already shewn, from their inaccuracy, and other imperfections with regard *Sayfan*; to this dynasty, that there are sufficient grounds to believe, that there were more princes in the succession than those of whom they give us the names. It is confessed also, that some of them reckon fifteen Soltâns; and if so, the chronological chasm, which has been remarked between the reign of *Kilij Arslân I.* and *Rokno'ddin Soleymân*, leaves room for introducing one here. Although *Abû'lfaraj* agrees with *Kondamir* in naming the first ten Soltâns, yet, as he does not *mentioned only* tell their number or rank in the succession, and but barely mentions some, and that only occasionally; so he may possibly have omitted the name of one or more, especially in this interval we are speaking of; which appears, from his dates of facts, to be very wide, at the same time that they help to fill up the chasm, by giving a much greater length of reign to the princes he mentions, than the other oriental authors have assigned them. In this he agrees with those *Greek* historians whom we have chosen to follow in our account of the Soltâns. In short, as the eastern historians afford us scarce any memoirs relating to the first Soltâns of this dynasty, it is but just that we should be governed by the authority of the *Byzantine* writers, to whom we are almost wholly beholden for our materials.

- IT is true, we find *Kbliziaftlan*, or *Kilij Arslân*, spoken of by *Anna Comnenâ*, as Soltân of *Kogni*, or *Ikonium*, till the very last action of this reign: but then the sudden transition, in the account of that action, from *Kbliziaftlan* to *Sayfan*, as Soltân of *Kogni*, shews that the historian was all the while speaking of one and the same person; for there could not be two Soltâns of *Kogni* at the same time: nor do we find any farther mention of *Kbliziaftlan*. It cannot be thought that by this latter is meant *Kilij Arslân*, the former Soltân, according to the *Greek* custom of prolonging the reigns of princes; because he is said to be in the vigour of his youth; and as the same quality is ascribed to *Sayfan*, it is a farther proof that those two names are given to the same person. However that was, *Sayfan* must have been the son of the former Soltân, since he is called the brother of *Masûd*, or *Massîd*; who was the son of *Kilij Arslân*, according to the unanimous consent of the oriental historians.

HAVING premised these few remarks, which are necessary both to justify the innovation we have introduced, and obviate what at first appears to be a very great difficulty, if not a sort of contradiction, we shall proceed to the history.

- e T H E coast of *Asia* having, by the late wars, been ruined, from *Smyrna* to *Attalia*, and those *Greeks*, their once populous and stately cities become heaps of rubbish, the emperor sent *Filokales* to restore *barbarity*; them. That nobleman first rebuilt *Endromit*, or *Adromitium* (which had been so totally destroyed A D. 1106.] by *Tzakas*, that there remained no signs of its habitations), and peopled it with the peasants and strangers (A). After this, being informed that the *Turks* were gathering near *Lampis*, he sent thither some troops, who cut part of them in pieces, and took a great number prisoners, using their victory so cruelly, that they boiled children to death. The *Turks* who remained put on mourning clothes, and went over the country to excite their companions to vengeance.

- AT the same time *Filokales* reduced *Philadelphia* without any trouble: but soon after *Hassan*, *take Phila-* one of the prime commanders, who governed almost absolutely in *Cappadocia*, hearing of the *delphia*. barbarities exercised by the *Romans*, came at the head of 24,000 men, and besieged the place. *Filokales*, who was a man of stratagem, not having forces to take the field, forbade the inhabitants either to open the gates, appear on the walls, or make the least noise. *Hassan*, having been before the town three days, and seen no person appear, concluded that the besieged had neither forces nor courage enough to make sallies: hereupon he divided his army; sending 10,000 men to *Kelbiana*, another party toward *Smyrna*, and a third towards *Cliara* and *Pergamus*.

(A) The date of actions in the margin, when placed in the hook, denotes being set at a venture, or by guess.

with

with orders to ravage the country; and followed with another party himself. As soon as a *Filokales* saw the *Turks* parted into bodies, he sent troops to attack them one by one: they accordingly came up with, and defeated, the two first detachments, killing a great number of men; but could not overtake either of the others, who were gotten too far before.

Sa; fan makes
peace.

A. D. 1108.]

SOME time after, *Amîr Sayfan* marched from the east, with a design to ravage *Philadelphia*, and the maritime cities. The emperor, on this advice, sent a small body of troops up the river *Skamander* to *Endromit* and *Tbrakesion*, to wait his orders. *Gauras* commanded at that time at *Philadelphias*, with a strong garrison, and *Monastras* at *Pergamus*. The army sent by the Soltân of *Khorasân* advanced in two bodies; one of them crossed mount *Sina*, and the other marched into *Asia minor*. *Gauras* went out to meet these latter; and coming up with them at *Kelbiana*, routed them. When the Soltân (B), who had sent them, heard of this defeat, b he dispatched ambassadors to the emperor; who, after he had put several questions to them concerning their master (C), concluded a peace with them.

Turks new ir-
ruption.

A. D. 1109.]

HE had not been long at rest, before he was alarmed with a new irruption of 50,000 *Turks*, come from *Anatolia*, and even from *Khorasân*. The emperor, on this news, passed the strait from *Constantinople* to *Damalis* (†); and though in the gout, got into a chariot, which he drove himself. In three days he arrived at *Aigyla*, where he embarked for *Civitol* (D). As soon as he landed, he was informed that the commanders of the enemy had divided their forces into separate bodies; one was to scour the country about *Nice*; and *Monolikus* to ravage the sea-coast: other parties had done the like about *Prusa*, *Apoloniade*, and *Lopadion*; and had taken *Cyzicus* by assault; the governor making no resistance. The two prin- c
cipal Soltâns, *Kontogma* and *Amîr Mahomet*, were gone to *Pæmanene*, by the country of the *Lencians*, with infinite women and children (E), whose lives they had saved: and *Monolikus*, having crossed *Barene* (which, like the *Skamander*, the *Augilocometes*, the *Ampelle*, and many other rivers, descends from the mountain *Ibibes*), was turned towards *Pæreon*, having passed by *Avido*, *Endromit*, and *Cliara*, with a great number of slaves, but without shedding blood.

Attacked by
Kamytzes.

HEREUPON *Alexis* ordered *Kamytzes*, governor of *Nice*, to follow the *Turks*, with 500 men, to watch their motions, but to avoid fighting. The governor came up with all the Soltâns (F), and forgetting his orders, attacked them briskly. The enemy having heard of the emperor's march, and concluding that he was fallen upon them with all his forces, betook themselves to flight: but being made sensible of their mistake by a prisoner they took, rallied their forces; d and having met with *Kamytzes*, who stayed to divide the spoil, instead of getting into *Pæmanene*, attacked him at break of day. His soldiers all fled, except the *Scythians*, the *French*, and a few *Romans*, who fought valiantly: but most of them being at length slain, and his horse killed, he set his back against an oak, and laid about him incessantly with his poniard, killing or wounding all who came within his reach. The *Turks* surprized at so much valour, and being desirous to preserve him, *Amîr Mohammed* alighted off his horse, and putting aside those who fought with him, said, *Give me your hand, and prefer life to death*. *Kamytzes*, unable to resist such a multitude, gave his hand to *Mohammed*, who ordered him to be tied on horseback, that he might not escape.

His bravery.

Defeated by
Alexis.

THE emperor mistrusting the road which the *Turks* had taken, took another. He passed e by *Nice*; then crossed *Malagna* and *Bosilicus*, two very narrow passes of the mountain *Olympus*. After this he marched to *Aletines*, and thence to *Acrocus*, with design to get before the enemy. There being informed that they were incamped in a valley full of reeds, where they thought themselves in no danger from him, he fell upon them with his forces, killed a great number, and took a great number prisoners. The rest thought to escape by lying concealed among the thick reeds: nor could the soldiers come at them for that reason, and the marshiness of the place: but *Alexis* having ordered the reeds at one end to be fired, the *Turks* flew from the flames into the hands of the *Romans*, who killed one part of them, and carried off the other.

Amîr Mo-
hammed
surprised.

AMIR MOHAMMED, having been joined by the *Turkmâns*, and some other people of *Asia minor*, appeared at the same instant to give the emperor battle; and though *Alexis* opened a f way for himself, by defeating those he pursued, yet *Mohammed* came up with the rear, commanded by *Ampelas* and *Tzipureles*; who running full speed against the *Turks*, *Mohammed*, who well knew how to make use of an advantage, finding them at a distance from their soldiers,

(B) In the title of the chapter he is called Soltân Sayfan; but he was not Soltân of *Khorasân*: and just before he is called only an *Amîr*, or commander.

(C) Yet the historian gives no account of this Soltân, nor even his name.

(†) The *Bosphorus* was called *Damalis* from thence. It is the same with *Fskudar*, or *Skutari*.

(D) Or *Civito* and *Cyisto*, the port of *Nice*, with a castle, which commanded that city, often mentioned by the crusade writers; but they do not mark its situation.

Perhaps near *Khius*, *Kius*, or *Kio*, now *Jemlik*, on the gulf of *Moudania*, or *Montania*.

(E) These were reprisals for the cruelties committed before by the *Greeks*.

(F) As if there were many Soltâns at this time in *Asia minor*. But we have already observed that the *Greeks* made no distinction between Soltân and *Amîr*, king and commander; for they often miscall or mistake one for the other.

a shot not at them but their horses; which bringing them down, they were surrounded and slain. For all this, his troops were put to flight by those left to guard the baggage and the horses; in which confusion *Kamitzes* made his escape^a.

Not long after this, Soltân *Soleymân* ordered his troops of *Khorasân* and *Halep* to over-run *Succers of the* and plunder all *Asia minor*. The emperor, to prevent him, intended to carry the war to the *Turks*, gates of *Kogni*, or *Konyab*, where *Khliziaftlan* (G) commanded: but while forces were raising, A. D. 1114] he was seized violently with the gout, which hindered his design. Mean time *Khliziaftlan* ravaged the country seven times over. The *Turks*, who judged the emperor's disorder to be only a pretence to cover his want of courage, made game of him over their cups, and acted comedies, wherein they represented *Alexis* lying in his bed, surrounded with physicians, upon the em- b who sometimes consulted, and sometimes went about to give him ease; after which they set up peror. a horse-laugh. The emperor at length, landing at *Civiotot*, came to *Fort St. George*, near the lake of *Nice*; then proceeding three days march, he encamped near the bridge of *Lopadion*, on the rivulet of *Karyceum*. The *Turks*, who had ravaged the plain which is at the foot of the *Leuciennian* mountains and *Kolerecia*, on the news of his approach, retired with their plunder. The emperor followed them to *Pæmanene*, and then sent some light troops after them. These overtaking them at *Kellia*, killed many, and recovered part of the spoil.

ALEXIS returning, went to take the air at the pass of *Malagna*, on the top of mount *Olym-* pus; whither the empress came to him from the *Prince's Isle* (†). There being informed that the *Turks* were at hand, he marched towards *Nice*; but the enemy, without waiting for him, c fled. However, being overtaken by two of his generals, who from the top of the *Germinian* mountains observed their motions, they were defeated.

THE emperor being arrived at *Fort St. George*, passed on to the town of *Sagydeum*, and thence to *Helenopolis*, where the empress waited for a wind to return to *Constantinople*. Presently news being brought of another irruption of the *Turks*, *Alexis* marched to *Lopadion*, and thence to *Kbio*; where being informed that the enemy were at *Nice*, he retired to *Miskura*: but understanding afterwards that they were only flying parties, who appeared about that city and *Doryleum* to observe his motions, and not thinking himself yet sufficiently strong to follow them to *Kogni*, he turned towards *Nicomedia*. The enemy judging, by this motion, that he had no design to attack them, took their former posts, and renewed their incursions; which d was what the emperor had in view: however, it gave occasion to his enemies at court to reproach him with doing nothing, after raising so considerable an army.

WHEN the spring was past, *Alexis* judged it time to put his first design in execution, and march to *Kogni*. From *Nice* he passed to *Gaita*, and the bridge of *Pithicus*; then having in three days advanced to *Armenocæstra* and *Leucas*, he arrived in the vast plain of *Doryleum*, where he reviewed his army, and contrived a new method of drawing up his forces in battle. He found that the *Turks* did not fight like other people, joining their bucklers and bodies close together; but divided their troops into a main body and two wings, like three different armies: that when one was attacked, the others ran to its assistance with extreme ardour: they did not make use of lances, like the *French*, but endeavoured to inclose their enemies, and e kill them with arrows: that their usual way of fighting was at a distance; and, whether pursuing or pursued, they made use only of the bow, which they drew with such force, that, even though they shot when flying, they never failed to pierce either the man who followed them, or his horse.

For this reason the emperor ordered his army to be drawn up in such a manner, that his soldiers should oppose their bucklers to the side from whence the *Turks* shot; and that others should shoot on that side which the *Turks* laid open to them in shooting. Having arrived at *Santabaris* in this new disposition, he divided his forces, in order to execute several different designs. He sent *Kamytzes*, with one party, to *Polybote* and *Kedreum*, where *Pulkbeas* was governor; and *Stypeotes* with another, to attack *Amerion* (H). When *Kamytzes* arrived at f *Kedreum*, *Pulkbeas* and his soldiers were fled. Then marching to *Polybotum*, he slew the garrison, and retook the spoil. *Stypeotes* had the like success at *Pæmanene*.

THE emperor, being ready to set out from *Kedreum* to *Polybote* and *Kogni*, was informed that Soltân *Soleymân* had set fire to all the forage through *Asia minor*; and that another army of *Turks* was coming to oppose him: he consulted God, to know whether he should march towards *Kogni*, or give battle to the *Turks*, who were coming from *Filomilion*. Having written

^a ANN. COMN. in Alex. l. xiv. c. 1—8.

(G) By *Khliziaftlan* is to be understood *Sayfan*, or the son of *Kilij Arslân*, the former Soltân. It is observable here, that he who was actually Soltân is styled only a commander, governor, or general; while *Soleymân*, who was only a commander, is called Soltân. Or did *Soleymân*, called the son of old *Soleymân* by the

crusade writers, reign at the same time in the west, about *Nice*?

(†) Near *Chalcedon*, in the *Propontis*, or sea of *Marmora*.

(H) The same, we conceive, with *Amurium*, or *Amorium*.

these two questions on two pieces of paper, he laid them in the evening on the altar, and ^a spent the night in prayer. In the morning the bishop entered, and taking up the first paper which came to hand (I), unfolded it, and read it aloud, whereby he was determined to go to *Filomilion*. Mean time *Badrâs*, having passed the bridge of *Zompi*, defeated a large body of *Turks* in the plain of *Omorion*; while another pillaged his camp. Being pressed hard afterwards by a third party, the emperor came up timely to rescue him. *Alexis*, having passed *Mesonæte*, near the lake of *forty martyrs*, arrived at *Filomilion*, which he took by force. From hence he detached divers parties to ravage the towns and villages about *Kogni*; which they did, bringing away vast multitudes of *Turks*, and a prodigious quantity of plunder: they were followed by infinite crouds of peasants, who came to take refuge in the emperor's dominions.

^b *Turks attack him.* THE emperor returning by the same road he went, in order of battle, for a long time met with no *Turks*, although *Monolykus* kept on one side of him with some troops. But being come to the plain between *Polybote* and the above-mentioned lake, the enemy appeared. *Monolykus* (K), who was a man in years, and of great experience, began the attack, and continued it all the day, without making any impression on the *Roman* ranks. Next day Soltân *Kbliziaftlan* arrived; and though he was no less surprized at the new disposition of the *Roman* army than *Monolykus*, yet being in the heat of youth, he reproached that old man with fear, for not giving them battle. At the same instant the Soltân attacked the rear, and sent two bodies to fall on the van, and one of the wings.

^c *Soltân's narrow escape.* THE *Turks* fought bravely. *Andronicus Porphyrogenitus*, the emperor's son, who commanded the left wing, was killed. *Nicephorus Bryennius* (L), who was at the head of the right, fearing the van would be defeated, ran to its assistance: upon which the *Turks*, with Soltân *Kbliziaftlan*, turned their backs, and reascended the hills. As those who escaped fled different ways, the Soltân, with his cup-bearer, got into a chapel, upon a mount planted with cypress, where they were followed by three *Scythians* and a *Greek*, who took the cup-bearer; but *Kbliziaftlan*, not being known to them, had the good fortune to escape. The night being come, the *Turks* assembled on the tops of hills, lighted a great number of fires, and barked like dogs (M).

^d *Proposes a treaty.* NEXT day the baggage, women, and children, being placed in the middle, the army marched towards *Amprus*; but on the way, the Soltân having assembled all his forces, inclosed and attacked them courageously: however he could not break their ranks, which stood as firm as a wall of adamant. Being vexed and ashamed that he was not able to get any advantage against the emperor, he held a council in the night; and at break of day sent to treat of peace.

^e *Peace concluded.* ALEXIS, who was then in the plain between *Augustopolis* and *Aoronium*, caused his army to halt, in the order they then were, and went to the place of interview, with his relations and chief officers, guarded by some soldiers. The Soltân came presently after, accompanied by all his officers, with *Monolykus* at their head; who, as soon as they came in sight, alighted and saluted the emperor. The Soltân would have done the same, but *Alexis* hindered him: however, when he was near, he alighted, and kissed the foot of that prince, who presented him his hand, and ordered a horse to be brought for him. Then taking off his mantle, he put it on the Soltân. After this, entering on the subject of peace, *Alexis* agreed that he should remain in possession of all the territories which the *Turks* were masters of before the reign of *Dio- genes*, and the battle in which he was taken prisoner. Next day the Soltân and his officers signed the treaty; after which the emperor made them rich presents.

^f *Massîd conspires* WHILE this affair was transacting, *Alexis* having discovered that *Massîd* had conspired to assassinate Soltân *Saysan* (N), his brother, he advised him to stay with him till the plot was blown over: but trusting in his own power, he resolved to return: nor would so much as accept of a guard to escort him to *Kogni*; although he had a dream the night before which might have made him less rash. He thought a great swarm of flies surrounded him while at dinner, and snatched the bread out of his hand; and that, when he went to drive them away, they changed into lions. Next morning he asked a *Roman* soldier the meaning of his dream; who told him, that the insults of the flies and lions seemed to denote a conspiracy of enemies. For all this the Soltân would believe nothing, but continued his journey with more obstinacy than before.

against his brother; HOWEVER, he sent his spies abroad, who indeed met with *Massîd* at the head of an army: but having espoused his interest, they went back, and told *Saysan* that they had seen nobody

(I) Were the emperor and bishop in earnest, or was it a contrivance to reconcile the army to his measures?

(K) He is here called the great Soltân; by which must be understood commander only.

(L) Husband to *Anna Comnena*, the emperor's daughter; an author who wrote her father's life, from whence this account of the *Turks* is taken.

(M) The author often throws reflections of this kind on the *Turks*.

(N) Here is a sudden transition from *Kbliziaftlan* to *Saysan*; whom, for the reasons already alleged, we take to be the same person. Although he is introduced in such a manner, that, at first sight, he seems to be a different Soltân.

a on the road ; so that the Soltân proceeding forward without any mistrust, fell into the snare. As soon as he came in sight, *Gazi*, son of the commander *Hassan Katuk*, whom *Saysan* had put to death, set spurs to his horse, and gave him a stroke with his lance ; which *Saysan* snatching out of his hands, said with an air of contempt, *I did not know that women carried arms*. *Pulkbeas*, who was in his train, and held a correspondence with his brother *Masût*, pretending great zeal for his service, advised him to retire to *Tyganion* (O), a small city near *Filomilion*, where he was very kindly received by the inhabitants, who knew he had made peace (P) with the emperor, under whose obedience they were.

MASUT came presently after, and invested the place ; on the walls of which *Saysan* appeared, ^{who is be- trayed.} and reproached his subjects with their perfidiousness ; threatening them with the coming of the *Romans*, and a punishment suitable to their crime. These menaces were supported by the vigorous resistance made by the besieged. It was then that *Pulkbeas* discovered his treachery : for, coming down from the wall, as if with design to encourage the inhabitants to defend the place, he assured them, that there was a powerful army on the road to assist the besiegers ; and that they had no other way to prevent being plundered, than to surrender at discretion. The citizens, following his counsel, delivered *Saysan* up to his enemies ; who having no instrument with them fit for putting out his eyes, made use of a candlestick (Q), which the emperor had given him, to deprive him of his sight. When he was brought to *Kogni*, he declared to his foster-father that he could see. The foster-father told this to his wife ; who kept the secret so well, that it became public in few days ; so that coming to the ears of *Masût*, it put him in such a rage, that he forthwith ordered *Elgam*, one of his commanders, to go and strangle ^{and strangled.} his unhappy brother ^b.

ALTHOUGH this account of *Saysan* is but lamely introduced, and, for want of some identical marks, he may seem to be a different person from *Kbliziaftlan*, yet, from the circumstances of the whole, we presume, they appear clearly enough to be the same Soltân, under two different names : or rather that, through inadvertence in compiling from two different memoirs, the name of *Kbliziaftlan* has been put, in some places, for that of *Saysan*.

THIS event happened about the year of *Christ* 1116 (R), which gives a reign of ten years to this Soltân.

^b ANN. COMN. in Alex. l. xv. c. 1—7.

(O) Where was his army ? where was *Monolykus*, the great Soltân (as he is called), and the other Soltân, who were with him the day before ? did they all desert him in this time of danger ? or did he put more confidence in *Pulkbeas* than any of them ?

(P) This is a farther argument that *Saysan* is the same with *Kbliziaftlan*.

(Q) Ey making it red hot, and holding it before his eyes.

(R) This date we gather from the death of the emperor *Alexis*. For we are told by his daughter and historian, *Anna Comnena* (1), that a year and a half after his return from the above-mentioned expedition against the *Turks* of *Kogni*, he was seized with a grievous distemper, brought on by a wrong treatment of the gout, which held him six months, at the end whereof he died.

S E C T. V.

The reign of Soltân Massûd.

a ALTHOUGH *D'Herbelot*, in his table of Soltâns, taken from *Kondamir*, places *Massûd* ^{Fourth Soltân,} as the third Soltân, yet in the article under his name, or rather another prince of the *Massûd*, same name ^a, he says he was the fourth. This is conformable to the author of the *Nighiaristân*, who makes the number of the Soltâns to be fifteen, contrary to the general opinion of the *Persian* historians : these historians connect the beginning of *Massûd*'s reign, as the third Soltân, with the year of the *Hejrah* 500, or of *Christ* 1106 : but in case he was the fourth, it must fall lower of course : and on a supposition that he succeeded his brother *Saysan*, after putting him to death, according to the testimony of *Anna Comnena*, his reign will commence in the year ^{begins his reign,} of *Christ* 1116. ^{Hej. 613.}

D'HERBELOT has imparted nothing more from the oriental authors (if they afford any- thing more) than the single circumstance inserted above, which serves only to contradict the system he has adopted, and support ours. Nor has *Abû'lfaraj* mentioned more than two facts relating to this prince : but the *Byzantine* historians, as hitherto, have supplied us pretty well on their side, with materials for a history of his reign.

THE emperor *John Comnenus*, who succeeded *Alexis*, finding that the *Turks* (A), instead of ^{Emperor takes} keeping their treaties made with his father, sacked several cities of *Phrygia*, about the *Meander*, ^{Sozopolis;} ^{A. D. 1120.}

^a D'HERB. p. 563, art. Massoud, fils de Mohammed, at the end.

(A) Our author *Nicetas* calls them *Persians* here, and generally elsewhere ; either because the *Turks* came originally into the empire from *Persia*, or imagining that they still came from thence.

marched

marched against, and defeated them; after which he took *Laodicea*, and inclosed it with walls; ^a then returned to *Constantinople*; but soon after departed, in order to recover *Sozopolis*, in the same country. As the city was defended by a strong garrison, and surrounded with precipices, he ordered some troops to hover at a distance, and shoot at the inhabitants. This drawing them into the plain, as the emperor expected, and while they pursued the *Romans* who fled, they were cut off by an ambuscade; by which stratagem the city fell into his hands. He reduced likewise a fort called the *Spar-hawk*, and several other lesser places, which the enemy had mastered ^b.

also Kastamona;
A. D. 1122.
A. D. 1124.] SOME time after this he marched into *Paphlagonia*, and took *Kastamona*: but, upon his return to *Constantinople*, *Tanisman*, a Turk of *Armenia*, mentioned in the former reign, who commanded in *Cappadocia*, recovered it, and put the garrison to the sword. On this advice ^b the emperor set forward the second time: and when he came before the city, was informed that *Tanisman* was dead, and that *Mohammed*, who was at variance with *Masût*, governor of *Kogni* (B), was in possession of it. Hereupon he made an alliance with *Masût*; and having received a reinforcement from him, marched against *Mohammed*: but the latter, by his persuasions, prevailed on the Soltân to withdraw his troops; so that the emperor was obliged to make use of his own forces. With these he retook *Kastamona*, and then besieged *Gangra*, a very powerful city of *Pontus*, which had been subdued not long before by the enemy. Having battered the walls for some time in vain with his engines, he removed them to a little eminence, which commanded the place: and, by beating down the houses about their ears, obliged the inhabitants to surrender. Then leaving 2000 men in garrison, returned with many prisoners to his capital. ^c

Invades Armenia,
A. D. 1130.] HE had not been long at home, before he marched against *Leon*, king of *Lesser Armenia* (C), who had taken several places, and besieged *Seleucia*. The emperor gained the pass into that country without opposition; and not content with reducing *Adana* and *Tarsus*, resolved to conquer the whole kingdom. He took, either by force or capitulation, a great many forts; and, among the rest, *Boka*, strongly situated on a steep rock. Then he proceeded to *Anazarba*, a very populous city, standing on a steep rock, and inclosed with strong walls. After battering the first wall, and entering by the breaches, much blood was spilt in forcing the second wall; the principal *Armenians*, who had fled there for refuge, making a very brave defence: but the place was taken at last. ^d

and Syria.
A. D. 1132.] AFTER this he marched into *Syria*, where he took *Pisa*, on the *Euphrates*, *Serep*, *Kasferda*, and *Istria*; but was obliged to raise the siege of *Sezer* (D), and so returned to *Antiokk*. From thence he marched back, in order of battle; and, in the way, sent part of his army to ravage the country about *Kogni*, in reprisal for invading his territories during his absence ^e.

Defeats the Turks
A. D. 1135.] SOME little time after, the emperor crossed over into *Asia*, to disperse the *Turks*, who laid waste the country adjoining to the river *Sangarius*. This done, he marched into *Armenia*, to put a stop to their incursions in that province, and curb the insolence of *Constantine Gauras*, who had seized on *Trebizond*, and erected a kind of tyranny. *Mohammed*, before-mentioned, at that time commanded at *Cæsarea*; and, having reduced *Iberia*, with part of *Mesopotamia*, was grown very rich. He boasted of being descended from *Arfaces*, and the modern family of the *Tanismans*, who were the greatest enemies the *Romans* had in the east in that age. The emperor suffered great inconveniencies in the enemies country, from the severe cold, and want of provisions, which destroyed most of the horses in his army. Of this the *Turks* took some advantage; but being at length repulsed, the emperor returned to *Neocesarea* (E), where he had several skirmishes with them, but did not recover that city; which was owing, in great measure, to *John Comnenus*, his brother *Isaac*'s son: who repenting that his uncle should order him to give one of his horses to an *Italian*, who had lost his own, went over to the *Turks*, and changing his religion, married, as it was said, the daughter of *Masût*, at *Kogni*. ^e

Recovers some places.
A. D. 1138.] THE same year he marched into *Phrygia*, to *Attalia*, a famous city (F), in order to repress the incursions of the *Turks*, who had, amongst the rest, seized *Palus Pugusianus*. This is a lake ^f of vast extent, with many isles in it; whose inhabitants, by trading with the enemy, had become so much their friends, that they joined in opposing the emperor. But by means of vessels, and engines, with which he battered the isles, he reduced them at last, though not without the loss of some barks and men ^d.

Massûd takes Mulatayah. WHILE these things were doing in the west, it may be presumed that *Massûd* was extending his dominions in the east: but we are informed of none of his exploits on that side, but one,

^b NICETAS in John Comnen. c. 3.

^c Id. Ibid. c. 5 & 6:

^d Id. ibid. c. 9 & 10.

(B) Here *Masût*, or *Massûd*, who was Soltân, is called only governor of the place.

(C) It contained the eastern part of *Cilicia*, joining upon *Syria*, with some part, perhaps, of *Cappadocia*.

(D) Rather *Shayzar*; called by most of the crusade historians *Cæsarea*.

(E) Called *Niksari*, by the *Turks*.

(F) On the coast of *Pamphilia*.

a by *Abû'lfaraj*, who tells us, that, in the year of the *Hejrab* 537, *Mohammed*, son of *Danish-Meh*, lord of *Malatiah*, and of the borders, dying, king *Mas'ud*, lord of *Koniya* and *Alfara*, took possession of his territories ^c.

Now let us return to the affairs of the *Greeks*. *John Comnenus* dying in 1143, his son *Emperor Manuel* succeeded him. One of his cares was to march against the *Turks*, who ravaged *Thrace*, and attempted to take the fort of *Pithecana*. Having put them to flight, he crossed *Lydia*, and freed the cities of *Phrygia*, near the *Meander*, from their fears. Near *Pilemelion* he engaged the enemy, and was wounded in the heel by a soldier whom he had pierced with his lance; for he exposed himself to danger even more than his father. From thence he pushed on directly for *Kogni*, at which time *Mas'ut* was gone to encamp at *Taxara*, formerly called *Colonia* (G). Being set down before the city, the wife of *John Comnenus*, before-mentioned, spoke very notably from the wall, in behalf of her father *Mas'ut*. The emperor retired, after going round the town; and was forced to fight several battles on the road, to open a way back for his army. ^{A. D. 1144.}

In the year 1146, *Conrade*, emperor of *Germany*, and other *Christian* princes who had taken the cross, came to *Constantinople*, in the way (by land) to *Syria*, intending to pass through *Lesser Asia*. The *Greeks* were in such haste to get rid of them, that the whole maine was employed to ship them over. The emperor *Manuel* took some care about their subsistence: but, at the same time, ordered snares to be laid for them in the difficult passages; by which means a great number of them perished. The inhabitants of cities in their march, instead of receiving and supplying them freely with provisions, from the top of the walls drew up their money in baskets, and then let down as much bread for it as they thought fit themselves: there were even some, who spoiled the flour, and mixed it with lime. But our author is not sure that all this was done by the emperor's order, as was given out; although it was certain that he had ordered base silver to be coined, wherewith to pay them for the goods they sold. In a word, there is no mischief which *Manuel* did not contrive, or cause to be contrived against them; that their posterity might, by the misfortune of their ancestors, be deterred from ever setting foot on *Roman* ground.

The *Germans* and *French* had not marched far into *Asia*, before they were met by the *Turkish* army, commanded by one *Pamplan*; who, excited by the letters of *Manuel*, and animated by his example, fought and defeated them. They afterwards appeared at the *Meander*, to oppose their passage: but *Conrade* spurring his horse into the river, his army followed; and getting over, fell on the *Turks* with such fury, that scarce any escaped. The slaughter might be judged by the vast mountains of bones in that place, which our author *Nicetas* had himself beheld with astonishment. The same historian tells us, that after this famous victory, the *Germans* met with no enemy to oppose them, during the remainder of their march. But we are informed by the western writers who should know best, that the disappearance of the enemy lasted only till the *Franks* came to *Ikonium*, the capital of the *Turkish* dominions in *Lesser Asia*. This city they closely invested: but it was so strongly fortified both by nature and art, as well as bravely defended by the *Turks*, that though they had lain a long time before the place, they made no progress in taking it. At length provisions failing in their camp, such a mortality ensued among the soldiers, that the emperor *Conrade* was glad to raise the siege, and return home. The cause of this mortality, and overthrow of the whole expedition, is generally ascribed, by the said writers, to the *Greeks*, mixing lime with the meal which they brought to sell, by the connivance of their emperor; whom they charge likewise with betraying the designs of the *Christians* to the Soltân *Mas'ut*, or *Mahmût*, as some name him ^f.

THESE are all the transactions mentioned by the *Greeks*, during the reign of *Mas'ut*: to which we have only one more to add, from *Abû'lfaraj*; namely, that in the year of the *Hejrab* 546, *Juslin* (H), having taken *Nuro'ddin's* armour-bearer prisoner, sent him to *Mas'ud*, who was *Nuro'ddin's* father-in-law, with a threatening answer ^e. This fact is of little significance, but as it serves to settle the length of this Soltân's reign; which is thus brought down with certainty to this period; and, from circumstances produced hereafter from the *Byzantine* historians, it is probable that he lived two or three years longer. But, supposing that he died at the end of the year 1152, this will bring the end of his reign fifteen years lower in the century than a calculation made from the years of his reigning assigned by the *Persian* historians; and gives it a length of thirty-seven years, which is double, within one year to what they have given it: but on a supposition that he, and not *Saysan*, immediately succeeded his father, he will then have a reign of forty-seven years. This goes a great way to fill up the chronological chasm which those historians have left in the succession of these Soltâns; and, by the still longer reign of his son and successor we shall be able to accomplish it.

^e ABU'LF. hist. dynast. p. 255.

^f NICETAS in Manuel, l. i. c. 2, 5 & 6.

^g ABU'LF. p. 256.

(G) To the north-east of *Ikonium*, or *Kogni*.

(H) That is *Joscelin*, count of *Edessa*.

S E C T. VI.

The reign of Soltân Kilij Arslân II.

*Fifth Soltân,
Kilij Ar-
slân II.*

IT is agreed, both by the *Greek* and oriental historians, that *Kilij Arslân II.* succeeded his father *Massûd* in the Soltânat of *Rûm*: but this circumstance is all the account which we have received from the *Persian* authors, relating to this prince, except the length of his reign; which they have made shorter by three-fourths than it ought to be. This confirms the suspicion, that they have no memoirs relating to the first *Seljûkian* Soltâns of *Rûm*. In effect, *D'Herbelot*, as before, has given nothing under the article of *Kilij Arslân II.* but what he takes from *Abû'lfaraj*^a; and that is no more than a short account of the troubles which befel him, on dividing his dominions among his sons a few years before his death, and which is to be found in the *Byzantine* historians: so that our readers may be said to be indebted to them for every thing concerning this Soltân, excepting only the time of his death, which is fixed by *Abû'lfaraj*.

*attack'd by
Jagupasan.
A. D. 1161.]*

MASUT, or *Massûd*, emperor of the *Turks*, at his death divided his dominions and provinces among his sons. He gave to *Kbliziaftlan*, or *Kilij Arslân*, his capital *Kogni*, with the places depending on it; to his son-in-law *Jagupasan* (A) the cities of *Amasia* and *Ancyra*, with *Cappadocia*, that fruitful country: and to *Dadun* the cities of *Cæsarea* and *Sebaste*. The three brothers did not long live in unity: for the Soltâns of *Kogni* and *Cappadocia*, envy each other's possessions, carried their complaints before the emperor *Manuel*, who secretly widened the breach between them; though he openly agreed to assist *Jagupasan*, through the aversion which he had to the Soltân, a prince of a dark and gloomy disposition, who studied the death of all his kindred, and often made incursions on the *Roman* territories.

JAGUPASAN, elated with this reinforcement, attacked the Soltân, who fought several battles, with pretty equal success; but victory at length declaring for the former, he laid down his arms, and continued for some time in repose.

*Retires to
Manuel.*

THE Soltân, after this, went to meet the emperor on his return to *Constantinople*, from his expedition to the west (B), and was received with joy; as he imagined his presence would serve to settle his affairs in the east. A triumph was ordered on that occasion; but the people were so affrighted with an earthquake, which threw down the best houses in the city, and darkened the air with vapours, that this pageantry was but little minded. During the long stay which the Soltân made at *Constantinople*, he often diverted himself with public shews. One day a *Turk*, who at first passed for a conjurer, but turned out to be a fool, got on the tower of the *Hippodrome* (C), pretending to fly across it. He was dressed in a white gown, very long and wide: the sides of which being stuck with ozier twigs, were to serve for wings. He stood a long time stretching out his arms to gather the wind. The people impatient called out to him often to fly. The emperor would have dissuaded him from that vain and dangerous attempt; while the Soltân was divided between hope and fear. At last, when he thought he had brought matters to bear, he launched off like a bird; but his wings deceiving him, he was carried down headlong by the weight of his body, and broke his neck, to the great diversion of the *Christian* spectators.

*A Turkish
Icarus.*

*Manuel's
presents.*

THE emperor, who had made *Kbliziaftlan* considerable presents, carried him one day into his cabinet: and having shewn him a great deal of gold and silver coin, wrought plate, splendid habits, and rich silks, sent there for the purpose; asked him, *which of those parcels he would have?* The Soltân said, *he should receive with respect that which was agreeable to his majesty to give.* Manuel then demanded, *if, with the money which he saw, he should be able to humble his enemies?* *Kbliziaftlan* answered; *that he would have done it long ago, in case he had been master of but part of that wealth.* Then, said the emperor, *I will give you the whole, that you may judge what a monarch possesses, who can make such magnificent presents.*

*The Soltân's
disloyalty;*

THE Soltân, charmed with such great liberality, promised to restore to *Manuel* the city of *Sebaste*, with its dependencies. The emperor accepted the offer with joy, and promised to make him farther presents, provided he performed his promise; and, to strike the iron while it was hot, sent *Constantine Gauras* with the money and troops. But *Kbliziaftlan* was no sooner arrived at *Kogni*, than he ruined *Sebaste*, took *Cæsarea*, drove *Dadûn* out of his territories, and went in

^a See D'HERR. p. 1004, art. Kilij Arslân ben Massoud.

(A) Perhaps *Takûb Haffan*.

(B) This, we suppose, was his expedition against *Sicily*; which we judge might have been in the year 1153, or 1154; for our author *Nicetas* marks neither the time nor place.

(C) Called by the *Turks* *Âtmejdân*, which signifies the same thing.

a pursuit of *Jagupasan*, who died while he was raising forces to oppose his enemy. *Dadân* having seized *Amasia*, was the occasion of the death of *Jagupasar's* widow, who had called him thither; for the inhabitants rising, slew her, and drove out *Dadân*, whose power she intended by her intrigues to establish.

BUT they found themselves too weak to resist *Kbliziaſtlan*, who reduced their city to his obedience, as he had done *Kappadocia* a little before; although he was quite a cripple, and to lame of his hands and feet, that he could not go, but as he was carried in a chair. Yet being full of spirit, this did not hinder him to violate the peace, and take several places from the *Romans*: finding also the opportunity favourable, he went and subdued the city of *Melitene*, which he intirely destroyed, and forced out the *Amîr*, although he was one of the same religion. He made use of perfidy to deceive his own brother, and expel him, like the rest, who fled for refuge to the emperor.

AT the same time one *Soleyman*, a subtle fair-spoken person, came to excuse the Soltân's conduct, laying the blame of the infringements made in the treaty, on the *Turks*. His apology was accompanied with excessive praises on *Manuel*, and a present of some fine horses from his master.

THE emperor ordered the ambassador to reproach the Soltân, in his name, with his breach of faith and inconstancy: but *Kbliziaſtlan*, far from paying any regard to his remonstrances, though he called him father, went to *Laodicea*; which, at that time, was not walled; and carried off a great number of prisoners, as well as cattle; killing also many people, and, among the rest, the bishop^b. The *Turks* committed other ravages; but *Manuel* put a stop to them: and repaired *Kliate*, *Pergamus*, and *Endromit*, which had been ruined by them: he likewise built several forts to secure the frontiers^c.

THE care which the emperor took to repair the fortifications of *Doryleum*, gave occasion for a rupture. The Soltân, pretending not to know the design of his coming, sent to intreat him to retire; and the *Turks*, not liking to be driven out of a fruitful territory, so convenient for feeding their flocks, made frequent inroads, burning villages, and ravaging the country. However, *Manuel* went on with the work; and when the fortifications of that place were finished, he set forward those of *Sableum*. This made the Soltân accuse him with breach of treaties: while the emperor, in his turn, upbraided the Soltân with ingratitude.

d BOTH parties being irritated, the emperor made great preparations, and crossed into *Asia*. He marched through *Phrygia*, and, passing by *Laodicea*, came to *Kone*, formerly *Koloffus*, a very rich city (D), where our author *Nicetas* was born: from thence he marched to *Lempis*, and so to *Celene*, where the river *Marſias* has its source. Proceeding forward, he arrived at *Kome*, and next at *Myriocephale*. He advanced with great precaution, always intrenching his army with care, and never exposing himself to danger; though the multitude of warlike engines rendered his march very slow and incommodious. The enemy appeared sometimes, and skirmished with the *Romans*: but, what was worse, they destroyed the forage, and spoiled the water of rivers and fountains, which gave them the flux.

e THE Soltân, having received a reinforcement from *Mesopotamia* and elsewhere, sent an embassy to demand peace of the emperor, on his own terms: which all the persons of experience advised him to accept; representing that the cavalry of the *Turks* (E) was very good; that they had seized the inaccessible parts of the country; and that a contagious distemper already prevailed in the *Roman* army. But *Manuel*, suffering himself to be led by his relations, who had never been in a camp before, sent back the ambassador, without promising any-thing. The Soltân having applied for peace a second time, and received no other answer than that the emperor would satisfy his demands when he came to *Kogni*; he prepared an ambuscade, in the pass of *Sybriza*, through which the *Romans* were to march after they left *Myriocephale*.

f IT is a long valley, bounded on one side with high mountains, and on the other by deep precipices. The emperor, instead of going before with light armed troops, to open the way, divided his army into six bodies, and marched behind the baggage, at the head of the fifth, which consisted of the flower of his troops. The two first corps passed the most dangerous places without any loss; because they covered themselves with their bucklers, and valiantly fought the enemy, who attacked them from the top of the rocks. For want of these precautions, the right wing, which made the third body, was broken and cut in pieces, with *Baldwin*, the emperor's brother-in-law, who commanded them. The *Turks*, elated with this success, shut up the passage entirely; so that the *Romans* could neither advance nor retreat: in a moment both men and

^b NICET. in Manuel, l. iii. c. 5 & 6.

^c Ibid. l. iv. c. 7.

(D) There was the church of *St. Michael*; admired for its largeness, and the beauty of its architecture.

shews he means the same people; and that he uses the form or name, only because they came originally from *Perſia*.

(E) A few lines before he calls them *Perſians*: which

horses

horses were pierced with infinite arrows, which covered the ground with dead bodies, and made the chanel run with blood. a

Romans
overthrown.

THE enemy made great efforts to defeat the troops which were about the emperor, who tried several times to repulse them, and open a passage: but not being able to compass his design, he threw himself almost alone into the middle of them, and happily escaped, after he had received several wounds: about thirty arrows were sticking in his buckler, and his casque was half beaten off. Mean time the soldiers fell thick in the battle: and those who escaped this fatal pass perished in the valley. The whole defile consisted of seven vallies, one within another, the entrance of which was pretty wide, and the way out very narrow. A violent wind happening to raise clouds of dust, both parties fought for some time in the dark, killing indifferently their friends or foes. However, a much greater number of the *Romans* were slain than of the *Turks*, and chiefly the emperor's relations. b

WHEN the storm was over, men were seen buried up to the waist among dead bodies, extending their arms, and imploring help with lamentable cries; without being able to obtain any, from men who were in too much danger themselves to think of assisting others.

The emperor's
distress.

THE emperor was alone, without his armour-bearer or guards, resting himself under a wild pear-tree: there was only one horseman who offered to serve him, and tried to refit his head-piece. At the same time a *Turk* seized the bridle of his horse, but he struck him down with a piece which remained of his lance. Presently after, others running up to take him, he drove them off with the lance of the horseman who attended him; killing one of them, and his assistant cut off the head of another with his sword. Having been joined at length by ten *Romans*, he c

Escapes with
difficulty.

surmounted, with incredible fatigue, the difficulties of the passages: then crossing the river, and marching over dead bodies, he met with a troop of his soldiers, who came up as soon as they saw him. He beheld in the way *John Cantacuzenus*, who had married his niece, fighting very valiantly; but at length was killed and stripped, while he looked in vain to see if any body would come to his assistance. Those who had slain him, having perceived the emperor, who could not be hidden, made a sort of a ring, closing their ranks, to surround him. They were mounted on barbs, nicely trained; which, among other ornaments, had long collars of hair, with little bells. *Manuel*, encouraging his men, repulsed the enemy vigorously; and still advancing, sometimes fighting his way, at length joined the first legions.

An insolent
soldier.

BEFORE he came up with them, he asked for some water out of a river which ran by; and finding that it was tainted with the blood of the slain, threw it away, saying, *How unhappy am I to drink Christian blood?* An insolent soldier retorted, *It is not to-day only that you have drunk Christian blood: you have, for a long time, drank it to such excess, that you have been drunk with it; since you load your subjects with the most violent and inhuman exactions.* The emperor, at the same time, observing the *Turks* carrying off the bags of money designed for paying his army, he exhorted those about him to go and recover them. But the same soldier, continuing his insolences, said, *He ought to have given us that money, instead of commanding us now to go and retake it, at the peril of our lives. If he be that man of courage as he boasts himself, let him go and wrest it from the Turks.* *Manuel* bore these insults with a profound patience. d

The emperor
resolves to fly.

CONTOSTEPHANUS, and some others, arrived in the evening, without having received a wound, they passed the night in the greatest anxiety, leaning their heads on their hands, and reckoned themselves no better than dead men, considering the dangers which surrounded them. What terrified them most was, to hear the *Turks* running round their camp, and calling aloud to those of their country to haste out of it, for that next morning they would put all to the sword. The emperor hereupon conceived the design of flying privately, and leave his people to be slaughtered; nor was he ashamed to own it: those who were about him were filled with indignation at it, and *Contostephanus* most of all. e

With-held by
reproach.

A SOLDIER unknown, who was without the tent, and heard what he said, raising his voice, cried out, *What a detestable thought has entered into the mind of the emperor?* Then addressing his speech to him, *Is it not you,* said he, *who have brought us to perish here, under rocks which bruise us, and mountains which overwhelm us? What have we to do in this valley of groans and tears, in this descent to hell, in the midst of precipices and pits? We have had no difference with these Barbarians, who have inclosed us within this chain of mountains: it is you who have led us to the slaughter, to sacrifice us as victims.* This boldness of speech touched the emperor, and made him resolve to submit to the necessity of the occasion. f

The Soltân
offers

WHILE no hope seemed to be left for the *Romans*, the Soltân, by persuasion of the principal men of his court, who in time of peace received pensions and presents from the emperor, proposed to offer him terms of peace. However, the *Turks*, who knew nothing of their master's intentions, prepared at day-break to attack the camp, courting round it with horrible cries. Twice the *Romans* made a sally to repulse them, and both times returned without gaining any advantage. Mean while the Soltân sent *Gauras*, who, having ordered hostilities to cease, and g saluted

a saluted the emperor after the *Turkish* fashion, presented him with a sword, and a horse which had a silver bit, and was very well trained; making use of the most gentle and agreeable words to comfort him. Observing that *Manuel* had on a black vest over his cuirass, he said, *That colour is not proper in time of war, and presages no good luck.* The emperor received this freedom laughing, and gave him the vest, which was adorned with gold and purple. Afterwards he concluded and signed the peace, by which he was obliged to demolish the forts of *Doryleum* and *Sableum*. *terms of peace.*

THE emperor designed to avoid returning by the place of battle; but the guides brought him directly through it, that he might behold at leisure the deplorable spectacle. In short, the valleys and forests were covered, and every hollow filled, with dead bodies. The heads were all scalped, and the privy parts cut off; which, it is said, was done by the *Turks*, that the *Christians* might not be distinguished from the circumcised, as well as to shew that the victory was theirs^d. *Manuel re- turns;*

WHEN the *Romans* had passed the straits of the mountains, they were attacked again by the *Turks*, who pursued them in parties, and killed the sick and wounded, who were not in a condition to help themselves, notwithstanding all the care that could be taken to prevent it. It is said, the Soltân, repenting that he had let the prey slip out of his hands, had given his soldiers leave to commit those hostilities, which continued till they got to *Kone*. He stayed a while at *Philadelphia* to refresh himself; and, in passing forward, demolished the fortifications of *Sableum*, but left those of *Doryleum* standing; and when the Soltân complained of it, answered, that he paid little regard to a treaty which was extorted from him by force. Hereupon the Soltân sent *Atapakus* (F) at the head of 20,000 chosen men, with orders to lay waste the *Roman* provinces, and bring him home sea-water, sand, and an oar. That commander ruined all the cities near the river *Meander*; had *Tralles* and *Antiokk* delivered to him by composition; took *Luma*, *Pentakbira*, with some other castles, by force, and ravaged all the sea-coast. *violates the peace;* *loses many cities.*

THE emperor, on this advice, immediately dispatched *John Vataces*, his nephew, *Constantine The Duke*, and *Michael Aspacius*, all able men, with forces to repress the enemy. *Vataces* led his troops directly to *Hielium*, and *Limnokbira*; small cities, which had formerly a bridge on the *Meander*; and hearing that the *Turks* were retiring with their plunder, made the greater part of his army lie in ambush, and posted the rest beyond the river. The *Turks* having been attacked in a place where they were much exposed, *Atapakus* charged the *Romans* at the head of his bravest soldiers, to give the others time to cross the river. He gave eminent proofs, for a while, of his courage and conduct: but when he saw that there was another army of the enemy beyond the *Meander*, which slew all those who appeared before them, his ardor abated, and he sought a place where he might pass the stream with less danger. Finding none fordable, he placed himself in his buckler, as in a boat, making use of his sword for a rudder; and holding the bridle of his horse, who swam behind, gained the other side of the river. As soon as he had landed, he told his name aloud, in order to draw the *Turks* about him: but an *Allân*, who served in the *Roman* army, coming up, slew him: upon which his troops being routed, most of them were drowned in the *Meander*. This exploit, more than any other, retrieved the affairs of the *Romans*, and humbled the pride of the *Turks*. *Aspietus* perished unhappily in this rencounter; for a *Turk*, not being able to hurt him, his armour being proof, made a stroke at the head of his horse; which, capering, threw him into the river^e. *defeated;* *their general slain.*

THE emperor being desirous to attack the *Turks* of *Panesa* and *Lacere*, reduced the first; then sent *Katidus*, governor of *Laodicea*, to discover the condition of the others: but he threatening them with the emperor's arrival, they fled immediately; which so enraged *Manuel*, that he ordered *Katidus* to have his nose cut off. Soon after, he gave troops to *Andronicus Angelus*, and *Manuel Cantacuzenus*, to attack the *Turks* of *Karace*, which is between *Lampis* and *Graosgala*. *Andronicus*, having only taken some sheep and peasants, fled full speed at the bare report of the *Turks* being at hand, without so much as enquiring how many they were; and not content with escaping to *Kone*, spurred his horse on to *Laodicea*. The soldiers, astonished at the absence of their general, abandoned the prisoners and the baggage, and would have dispersed, but for *Cantacuzenus*. The emperor would have punished this gallant behaviour of *Andronicus*, by making him walk through the city in women's cloaths, but for the relationship that was between them. *Shameful flight of a Roman general.*

As the *Romans* retired, a *Turk*, from a rising ground, slew a great number with arrows. Several shot at him again, but he had the dexterity to avoid their shafts; till *Manuel Xerus*, alighting, went up to him, and cleft his head with his sword, although he demanded quarter, after killing so many others. A deacon, who was a man of courage, and related to *Nicetas*, *Brawery of others.*

^d NICET. in Man. l. vi. c. 1—4.

^e Ibid. l. vi. c. 6.

(F) Some person, we presume, who had the title of *Atabek*; expressed in *Atapakus*: for the *Seljuks* of *Rûm* copied those of *Lân* in most things.

having had the charge of some plunder at *Karace*, did not leave it behind like the rest, for fear of the danger. Some admired his resolution, in marching slowly in the middle of his enemies; and others mocked him for his avarice, in setting a greater value on the booty than his life: for his part, he despised their raileries, and reproached them with cowardice, in flying when they were not pursued.

Claudiopolis
relieved.

THE *Turks* soon after besieged *Klaudiopolis*; on the news of which the emperor ran to its relief, with incredible diligence, without any equipage besides his arms. He crossed *Bithynia* by the light of torches: he passed the nights without sleep: and, when fatigue and watching obliged him to take a little rest, he lay upon nothing but straw. At the news of his approach the *Turks* betook themselves to flight, and the citizens were filled with joy, being no longer able to have held out ^f.

Great success
A. D. 1182.
A. D. 1186]
of Kilij Arslân.

KHLIZIASTLAN, who greatly feared the emperor *Manuel*, no sooner heard of his death (G), than he went and took *Sozopolis*; besieged, for a long time, the celebrated city of *Attalia*; and ravaged *Kotyalium*; and, more than this, several provinces voluntarily submitted to him ^g. This prince, who enjoyed a vigorous health, though upwards of seventy years of age, took the like advantage of the death of *Andronicus*, and proclamation of *Isaac Angelus*; upon the news of which, he sent *Amîr Sames*, with some horse, to make an irruption into *Thrace*, from whence he returned with many prisoners and much plunder: for the nations of the east let the *Romans* remain no longer in repose than they made them presents, or paid them an annual tribute, which was the way of making them quiet, used by the emperors of that age; who, in this respect, says *Nicetas*, were weaker than women, who handle nothing but the spindle and distaff ^h.

Divides his
empire.

THIS Soltân, who, in his latter days, became very powerful, divided his dominions among his sons, of whom he had many ⁱ: but we meet with the names of only five, *Masfid*, *Kothbo'ddin*, *Rokno'ddin Soleymân*, *Gayatho'ddin Kay Khosraw*, and *Moazo'ddin Kayfar Shâh* (H). After this distribution, his children treated him with much ingratitude, and even contempt: *Kothbo'ddin* (I) went so far as to seize and confine him. Afterwards marching to besiege *Kaysariyah* (that is, *Cæsarea*, in *Cappadocia*), which he wanted to take from one of his brothers, to whose share it fell; the old Soltân, whom he carried along with him, found means at length to make his escape into that city. But meeting there with a bad reception, he applied himself first to one son, and then to another, who all proved alike, excepting *Gayatho'ddin Kay Khosraw*. This prince not only received him with affection, but went with him to besiege *Koniyah*; and having taken it, placed him once more in the throne ^k. The distribution made by *Kilij Arslân* of his dominions among his sons, we judge, from the course of the *Greek* history, to have been in the year 1187, or that following; and his restauration to have happened in 1190 or 91.

The German
emperor
A. D. 1190.

DURING this prince's abdication, and ill treatment by his children, the emperor *Frederic Barbarossa* (K), who had taken the cross, arrived in *Thrace*, in his way to *Syria*; and having made peace with *Isaac Angelus*, repaired with his *Germans* to *Kallipolis*; where, finding ships ready, they crossed over into *Anatolia*. When they came to *Philadelphia*, the inhabitants, who behaved well enough at first, attacked them in the rear, at their departure: but finding they had to deal with statues of brass, and invincible people, they betook themselves to a shameful flight. The citizens of *Laodicea*, in *Phrygia*, on the contrary, received these strangers with so much good-nature, that the emperor prayed for their prosperity on his knees. When they came to the roads leading to the hills, they met with the *Turks*, who incommoded them all they could, by skirmishing; although they had promised them passage, as well as the *Romans*. But they paid dear for their treachery.

defeats the
Turks.

FREDERIC gave battle near the fort of *Filomelion* to the sons of the Soltân of *Kogni*, who had been driven from his dominions, and reduced to a miserable condition; and having defeated them, took the fort and burned it. Coming to a second engagement with them at *Cinglacion*, he gained a signal victory: for as they waited for him at the passes which they had seized, the emperor incamped in a plain; and, having divided his army in the night, he ordered one half to remain in the camp, and the other to feign a flight as soon as day appeared. The *Turks* believing that they fled for fear, quitted the passes, and coming down into the plain, entered the camp, where they expected to meet with a rich booty: but the pretended run-aways returning, and those who were in the camp appearing, they, between them both, surrounded the *Turks*, and made a horrible slaughter of them.

Great slaughter.

As the emperor was on his way to *Kogni*, the Soltân, who had taken refuge in *Taxara*, or *Kolonia*, sent to excuse what had happened, for that he knew nothing of the conduct of his sons,

^f NICET. in Man. l. viii. c. 3.
ⁱ Ibid. in Alex. Comm. l. iii. c. 5.

^g NICET. in Alex. Comm. c. 15.

^h ABU'LFAR. hist. dynast. p. 276.

^h Ibid. in Isaac Angel. l. i. c. 4.

(G) The emperor died in September, in the fifteenth indiction, which answers to the year of Christ 1182.

(H) *Nicetas* mentions only the first four, whom, according to the *Greek* way of corrupting names, he calls *Masut*, *Kepatin*, *Rukratin*, and *Kai Kojraes*; leaving out the additional names of *Soleymân* and *Gayatho'ddin*, whom the *Greeks* write *Seliman* and *Jathathines*.

(I) This prince, by what follows, was in possession of *Koniyah* (called by the *Greeks* *Kogni*, or *Konri*), and consequently was to have been his father's successor in the kingdom, or the sovereign on whom the rest depended.

(K) *Nicetas* never calls him emperor, but king; yet speaks of him as a great, wise, and good prince.

a one of whom, named *Kopatin* (L), had driven him out of his dominions. The *Turks* had barricaded themselves in the gardens which were about *Kogni*; and as they carried light weapons, and shot well, thought they could easily defend themselves against troops heavily armed. But they were also deceived this time by their hopes: for the *Germans* observing that they took the advantage of shooting from behind the hedges and ditches, the horsemen carried the foot-soldiers behind them, and setting them down when they were near the enemy, supported them in every place where they were able to go. Thus all the *Turks* perished, excepting a few who escaped. A *Mohammedan*, who turned *Christian*, swore that it cost him 200 pieces of silver to bury those who remained dead upon his field. By which the number of the slain may be judged of.

b ALTHOUGH the *Germans* were masters of *Kogni*, they would not go into the city; but ^{Takes Ko-} were content to lodge in the suburbs, and there take the provisions which they wanted. The ^{niya.} *Turks*, apprehending that the emperor intended to conquer their country, and settle there, endeavoured to gain his affection by false offers of service: but after he had received some of their children in hostage with guides, he left their frontiers, and pushed into *Armenia*, where he was received with great honours. In a few days he proceeded to *Antioch*, and soon after was unfortunately drowned in passing a river¹.

ONE *Alexis*, who pretended to be the son of the emperor *Manuel*, disguised his imposture with so much art, that he imitated the true *Alexis*, even to the fairness of his hair, and hesi- ^{A Greek} tation in speech. He made his appearance in the cities along the *Meander*: then going to ^{pretender,} *Armale*, discovered himself to a *Roman*, with whom he lodged; telling him, that his father had ^{A. D. 1191.} ordered him to be thrown into the sea, but that he was saved by the compassion of the officers who were charged with that cruel mandate. He and his landlord going to *Kogni*, he presented himself before the old Soltân, who had not then been driven from the throne by his son *Kopatin* (M), and had even the boldness to reproach him with ingratitude and hard-heartedness, not to be touched with the disgrace of the son of an emperor, who had been his friend. *Kbliziaſlan*, overcome by his impudence, and deceived by some marks of resemblance which appeared in his face, made him presents, and gave him hopes.

ONE day, boasting of his birth in the presence of the *Roman* ambassador, the Soltân asked ^{c'aims the} the latter if he was sure that this pretender was *Manuel's* son? The ambassador answered, that ^{empire;} it was certain that the son of *Manuel* had been drowned (N); and that it was in vain for the party present to invent a story which would meet with no credit. The false *Alexis* was so provoked at this answer, that he would have flown in the ambassador's face, if the latter had not cooled his courage by affecting also to be in a great passion; and if the Soltân had not rebuked him somewhat sharply. All the assistance he obtained from this prince was only letters called *mûſûr*, permitting him to lift soldiers: by which he drew to his party *Almuras*, *Arſan*, and other commanders, accustomed to rapine. In a short time he gathered 8000 men, with which, by force or composition, he reduced many cities upon the *Meander*.

SEVERAL generals, and lastly *Alexis*, the emperor's brother, were sent against him: but they ^{slain by a} could do no good, for fear of being betrayed by their soldiers; who shewed more inclination ^{priest.} to serve this pretender than their lawful emperor. Nor was the infection confined to the people only: the principal persons at court were pleased with this illusion. But while the power of this impostor increased every day, and he seemed to be in a fair way of compassing his design, he was suddenly taken off by an unexpected means: for having returned from *Armale* to *Pisse*, and drank more than usual, he was slain by a priest, with his own sword. When his head was brought to the Sebastocrator (*Alexis*), he put back the long hair with his horse-whip, and said, that it was not without reason that so many had been disposed to follow him^m.

KILIġ ARSLÂN died in his capital, in the year 588, according to *Abû'lfaraj*: which gives ^{The Soltân} him a reign of forty years, by our reckoning, from the death of his father *Maſſûd*; although ^{dies.} *Kondamîr* allows him but ten years. The author of the *Nighiaristân*, indeed, doubles that ^{Hej. 588.} number; but both are wide of the truth. From the before-mentioned account of his age, he ^{A. D. 1192.} must have been seventy-six at his death.

THIS prince was grandson to the first of that name; and distinguished himself, not only by the ^{His character.} wars which he carried on against his neighbours the *Greeks*, but also by his wisdom, justice, and skill in governing his people. He left his son *Gayatho'ddin Kay Khoſraw* for his successorⁿ.

¹ NICET. in Isaac Angel. l. ii. c. 7 & 8.

^m Ibid. l. iii. c. 1.

ⁿ ABU'LF. p. 276.

(L) That is *Kothbo'ddin*, not *Kobades*, as *Leunclavius* judged, hist. *Musulm.* p. 86. Some historians say, this *Kothbo'ddin* was taken by *Frederic* in one of these battles.

(M) Either this must have happened after the restoration of *Kiliġ Arslân*, or the marginal date must be

wrong. It does not appear that the *Greeks* knew any thing of his restoration to the throne.

(N) He was first strangled by order of the tyrant *Andronicus*; who, by his arts, thrust himself in to be an associate with the young prince in the empire.

In consequence of this new nomination, *Koniyah*, as being the regal seat of the Soltâns, since the loss of *Nice*, fell to the share of *Kay Khosraw*, as it had done to *Kotbbo'ddîn*, by the first distribution: and it is, doubtless, to this second appointment of *Kilij Arslân*, that the partition, mentioned at the beginning of the next reign, ought to be referred.

S E C T. VII.

The reigns of Gayatho'ddîn Kay Khosraw, Rokno'ddîn Soleyman, Kilij Arslân III. and of Kay Khosraw a second time

Sixth Soltân,
Gayatho'd-
dîn Kay
Khosraw.

GAYATHO'DDIN KAY KHOSRAW, according to our hypothesis, was the sixth (A) Soltân of this *Seljukian* dynasty. On the death of *Kilij Arslân*, his dominions stood thus divided among his sons (B): *Massûd* had for his share *Amasia*, *Ancyra*, *Dorylæum*, and several other fine cities of *Pontus*. *Kotbbo'ddîn* possessed *Melitene*, *Cæsarea*, and *Kolonia*, called *Taxara*; *Rokno'ddîn* was master of *Amyntus*, *Dokwa*, and other maritime cities. And to *Kay Khosraw*, belonged *Koniya*, *Lykaonia*, *Pamphylia*, and all the country as far as *Kottyanium*^a.

Another pre-
tender.
A.D. 1195.]

ALEXIS KOMNENUS, who succeeded *Isaac* in the empire (C), had scarce been three months on the throne, before news arrived of another pretender, a *Silician*, who had taken the name of *Alexis*; and was well received by the Soltân of *Ancyra* (D), with a design to embarrass the emperor, and oblige him to buy his friendship. *Oenopolitus*, the eunuch, who was sent against him, being able to do nothing, he went himself, thinking to make an alliance with the *Turks*: but they refused to conclude a peace with him, unless he paid them down 500 pounds of coined silver, and 300 every year, besides 400 silk vests. *Alexis*, having destroyed some forts, returned to *Constantinople*, after two months employed in this expedition, leaving the pretender to increase in power; and doubtless he would have done a great deal of mischief, if his throat had not been cut in the fort of *Zangre*.

Greek dis-
graces.

A.D. 1196.]

HOWEVER, the Soltân of *Ancyra* carried on the war, and besieged *Diadibris* with all his forces. At four months end, troops arrived under three young chiefs, *Theodore Uranus*, *Andronicus Katakalon*, and *Theodore Kasanus*: but the *Turks*, laying an ambuscade, fell on them at day-break, put them to flight, killed a great number, and among the prisoners took two of the generals; whom they dragged with their hands tied behind their backs, to shew to the besieged. The inhabitants, discouraged at the sight, and being in great want of provisions, delivered up the city, on condition of having the liberty to retire with their families and effects; because the victor would not permit them to stay in the town paying tribute. Soon after, when the war had lasted a year and a half, the emperor made peace with the Soltân; and was not ashamed to agree to the terms which he had refused before the place was besieged^b.

Mangaf re-
volts;

THEODORE MANGAFES, after his revolt at *Philadelphia*, and peace made with the emperor; to avoid the attempts of *Basilus Vatases*, governor of *Thrace*, fled to *Kay Khosraw*, Soltân of *Kogni* (E), and intreated him to supply him with troops to make war upon the *Romans*. The Soltân, instead of granting his request, only permitted him to assemble some *Turks* who lived by plunder. Having gathered a multitude of these, he invaded the empire, doing incredible damages in *Phrygia* (especially about *Laodicea* and *Kone*), and in *Karia*; after which he retired with abundance of prisoners and cattle. The emperor, fearing that *Mangafes* might by his advice corrupt that young prince, who had but newly succeeded his father *Kilij Arslân*, sent ambassadors, who by presents prevailed on him to deliver up that refugee, on condition that he should not receive any corporal punishment. This action of the Soltân so displeased his brothers, who had divided with him their father's dominions, that they would have made war upon him, if he had not appeased them, by alleging, that he had not betrayed him, but only sent him back for the good of the state; that he was a banished man whom he had

is delivered up.

^a NICET. in Alex. Commen. l. iii. c. 5.

^b Ibid. l. i. c. 4 & 9.

(A) *D'Herbelot*, in his table, following *Kondamir*, makes him the fifth; but, in the article of this prince, says he was the fifth or sixth; for that historians differ on this head.

(B) Our author *Nicetas* says, that *Kilij Arslân* made this distribution among his sons in his old age: or, possibly, it was done by agreement among themselves, as he declares afterwards. Such as these are but small inaccuracies with the *Byzantine* historians.

(C) In the year 1195.

(D) According to the above distribution, this must have been *Massûd*.

(E) This event is placed in the reign of the emperor *Isaac Angelus*, at the year 1188. The date does not

agree with what is said a little lower down, that *Kay Khosraw* had but newly succeeded his father; for he did not succeed till after his father's death in 1192. He did not succeed on his abdication, in consequence of the division *Kilij Arslân* made of his dominions; for *Kotbbo'ddîn* was, by virtue thereof, in possession of *Koniyah*, or *Kogni*, the royal seat; nor did he succeed on his father's restoration, for *Kilij Arslân* reigned himself: unless we suppose that he was restored before the year 1188, and that *Kay Khosraw* was his associate, or governed as he was Soltân; for which we have no authority. To make the history therefore consistent with itself, we place this transaction here, supposing it to have happened about the year 1196 or 1197.

a settled again in his own country, to the end that he might no longer persecute others, or be persecuted himself^c.

TOWARDS the end of the third year of his reign, *Alexis* broke the treaty which had been made with *Kay Khosroes*, Soltân of *Ikonium*, upon a very frivolous occasion. This prince stopped two horses, which had been sent the emperor by the Soltân of *Alexandria*; and one of them having broken a leg in running, he sent to apologize for both those accidents, and promised to make satisfaction. *Alexis*, instead of being pacified with this civil excuse, flew into a rage, and threatened much: but at last took revenge upon himself, by ordering the merchants from *Kogni*, *Romans* as well as *Turks*, to be seized, together with their effects, which were squandered away. On advice of this, the Soltân immediately fell upon the cities near the

b *Meander*, took *Karia* and *Tantalus*, with several others; and had become master of *Antiokh*, in *Phrygia*, but for a merry accident.

THE same night in which he intended to surprize that city, one of the principal inhabitants happening to celebrate the nuptials of his daughter, the guests made a great noise, as is usual on such occasions: *Kay Khosroes*, as he approached the walls, hearing the confusion of voices, and the word, which the soldiers, who had been informed of his coming, gave to one another, he retired to *Lampis*.

THERE he viewed his prisoners; and inquiring into their names, countries, and after what manner they were taken, asked if any of his soldiers had hidden the married women and maidens, with a design to abuse them. Then he ordered the effects to be restored which had been taken from them; and finding that their number amounted to 5000, he ranged them according to their families, and, at parting, took care that they should be supplied with provisions during the march. For fear also that they should be injured by the cold weather, he took an ax himself to cleave a tree which was fallen. The soldiers running to see him work, he ordered them to do the same; saying, they might go out of the camp when they pleased to cut wood; but that the *Roman* prisoners durst not do it, for fear of being suspected of a design to escape.

WHEN he arrived at *Filomelion*, he assigned them houses to lodge in, and lands to maintain them, distributing them corn and other grain. He promised moreover to send them back without ransom, when he should conclude a peace with the emperor; and that, in case he refused to conclude one, they should remain five years in his dominions without paying any tax; that afterwards they should pay but a very light one, which should never be increased, as were often those established in the empire. Having thus regulated matters, he returned to *Kogni*. Such favourable treatment made the captives forget their country, and drew into the Soltân's territories abundance of people who had not been taken in war.

ALEXIS sent against the *Turks Andronicus Dukas*, who being very young, contented himself with attacking the troops of *Amîr* in the night, and presently retiring^d.

SOME time after this, war broke out among the sons of *Kilij Arslân*, on the following occasion. *Kothbo'ddîn* (F) being dead, a dispute arose between *Rokno'ddîn* (G) and *Massûd* who should succeed to his dominions (which, as hath been observed before, consisted of *Melitene*, *Cæsaria*, and *Kolonia*). But as *Rokno'ddîn* had more spirit than his brother, and understood military affairs better, he gained the advantage; and constrained him to demand his friendship for one part of his country, leaving him the other part as before. After this, having conceived an inveterate hatred against his brother *Kay Khosraw*, because his mother was a *Christian*, and burning with desire to possess *Kogni*, he sent to require him to deliver it up, in case he had a mind to exempt the rest of his dominions from the hazard of a war.

KAY KHOSRAW upon this, having made peace with *Alexis*, repaired to his court (dressed in a robe adorned with gold point), just as his father had done before to that of the emperor *Manuel*, during the disputes which he had with his brothers after the death of their father *Massûd*: but whereas *Manuel* assisted *Kilij Arslân* with forces beyond his hopes, *Kay Khosraw* received nothing from *Alexis* but common civilities. He was scarce returned to *Kogni*, when he was pursued by *Rokno'ddîn*, and forced to fly into *Armenia* (H); where he was kindly received by *Leon* (I), although formerly he had been at war with him. That prince however lent him no assistance against his brother, with whom he said he was allied, because he foresaw that the war would be very bloody. Hereupon *Kay Khosraw* returned again to the emperor, in hopes of being restored by his means. But this second hope being as vain as the first, he continued at *Constantinople* (K) in a private condition, and much below his birth^e.

^c NICET. in Isaac Angel. l. ii. c. 3.

^d NICET. in Alex. Comnen. c. 5.

^e NICET. l. iii. c. 5.

(F) By the Greeks named *Kopatin*, or *Kobatin*.

(G) In *Nicetas Rukratin*, perhaps by mistake for *Rukratin*. So *Masûd*, instead of *Masûd*.

(H) The isle *Armenia*.

(I) Others name him *Zebun*, a *Turk*. See *Knowles*, vol. 1. p. 39. edit. *Ricaut*.

(K) By what appears afterwards, he recovered his throne. Others say, he died there. See *Knowles*, vol. 1. p. 39.

Seventh Soltân, Rokno'd-dîn Soleyman
A. D. 1198.

ROKNO'DDIN SOLEYMAN having driven his brother *Kay Khozraw* out of his share in the empire, in the same manner as he had expelled his other brothers out of theirs, the whole became again united under one prince.

Emperor turns pirate,

Not long after, the emperor sent *Constantine Frankopolis*, with six gallies, into the *Euxine* sea, under pretence of getting up the wreck of a ship which had been cast away near *Kerasfonte* (L), in returning from the river *Fasis*; but in reality to rob the merchants who landed their goods at *Amintus*. *Frankopolis* following exactly the orders which he had received, spared no vessel whatever; plundering those which carried commodities to *Constantinople*, as well as those which had returned with the price of such as they had sold there. They slew some of the merchants, and threw them into the sea: the rest they stripped to a shameful degree. These presented themselves before the emperor's palace, and entered the great church with tapers in their hands, to demand justice: but their effects having been already sold, and the money confiscated, they could obtain no redress.

and an assassin.

THE merchants of *Koniyab* had recourse to *Rokno'ddîn*; who, by his ambassadors, demanded back what had been taken from them, and at the same time proposed a treaty of peace. The emperor laid all the blame on *Frankopolis*: however, the articles of peace at length taking place, *Rokno'ddîn* had fifty mina of silver, to satisfy him and his subjects, besides the promise of a yearly tribute. Some days after, *Alexis* was shamefully convicted of an attempt against the Soltân's life; having sent a very polite letter to that prince by a *Kassian* (M), whom he had bribed to assassinate him: but the bravo being arrested, the plot was discovered, and the peace broken almost as soon as made; which rupture occasioned the ruin of many cities of *Anatolia*.

Roman barbarities.

AT the same time *Michael*, the natural son of *John* the sebastocrator, a forward and passionate young man, having been sent to collect the taxes due from the province of *Mylassa* (N), revolted: but, being defeated, fled to *Rokno'ddîn*, who received him very civilly, and gave him troops; with which he plundered the cities about the *Meander*, and committed more horrible cruelties than the *Turks* would have been capable of doing.

The Comneni censured.

It must be confessed, that nothing ever contributed so much to the desolation of the provinces, or the ruin of the empire, as the ambition of the *Comneni*; who were of no use to their country so long as they staid in it, and became very pernicious to it when they were out of it^f. To this observation of *Nicetas* we may add, that the *Romans* generally brought on themselves the evils which befell them; either by their breach of faith, or violences committed against the bordering nations: yet, when the injured made reprisals, they loudly exclaimed; as if they had a right to be cruel with impunity, or thought those actions virtuous in themselves, which they deemed most execrable in others.

Rokno'ddîn's exploits,

WE are not much better supplied with materials from the oriental historians, relative to this Soltân, than those preceding him: what little we have from that quarter is given by *Abû'lfaraj*. This author informs us, that *Rokno'ddîn Soleyman* took *Koniyab* from his brother *Gayatho'ddîn Kay Khozraw*^g; and that in 597, in the month of *Ramadân* (O), he forced the city of *Malatîyah* out of the hands of his brother *Moezo'ddîn Kayfar Shâh*, after a few days leaguer. Then marching to *Arzen al Rûm* (or *Arzerum*), which belonged to the son of king *Mohammed ebn Salik*; that lord, depending on *Rokno'ddîn's* promise, went to him, in order to treat of peace: but the Soltân imprisoned him, and then took the city. He was the last of his family, which, for a long time, had reigned there^h. Soltân *Rokno'ddîn*, lord of *Rûm*, died in the year 600, in the month of *Dbulkaada* (P), leaving his son *Kilij Arslân*, a minor, to succeed himⁱ.

and death.
A. D. 1203.

D'HERBELOT affords us nothing from the *Persian* writers concerning this prince, only that he had great disputes with his brother *Kay Khozraw*; but that at length peace was concluded between them: that, having reigned in quiet twenty-four years, he died in 602 of the *Hejrab*, and of *Christ* 1205; and was succeeded by his son *Kilij Arslân*, surnamed *Azzo'ddîn*, an infant^k. But, besides that we hear nothing elsewhere of peace between the two brothers (for *Kay Khozraw* retired to the *Greek* emperor, and lived in *Europe*, while *Rokno'ddîn* lived), there is an error both in the length of his reign and year of his death. For, reckoning from the end of the reign of *Kilij Arslân* II. which is fixed by *Abû'lfaraj* in the year 588 of the *Hejrab*, to 602, when, according to *D'Herbelot's* account, *Soleyman* died, it will give him no more than fourteen years to his reign out of the twenty-four: but as that event is also fixed by *Abû'lfaraj* to the year 600, there must be a deduction of two years out of the fourteen. This is supposing that *Soleyman* immediately succeeded his father *Kilij Arslân*: but it appears from the *Greek* historians, that *Kay Khozraw* reigned between; perhaps as long as, or longer than, *Rokno'ddîn*

Errors of authors.

^f NICET. in Alex. Comnen. l. ii. c. 7. p. 282.

^g AB'ULF. p. 276

^h Ibid. p. 280.

ⁱ Ibid.

^k D'HERB. p. 822. art. Soliman ben Kilig' Arilan.

(L) Or *Kerasus* (from whence came *Cherries*), a city and port of *Pontus* in the *Euxine* sea, about sixty miles south-west of *Trapezus*, or *Trapezond*.

(M) So the *Greeks* call the *Batanijs*, or *Ismaelians*, whom the other nations of *Europe* name *Assassins*.

(N) A city of *Karia*.

(O) The ninth month of the *Mohammedan* year.

(P) The eleventh month.

a reigned himself. To the above mistakes, or inadvertencies, we may add another, which is, that, in the article of *Soleymân*, *D'Herbelot* says that he was the fifth Soltân; whereas, in his table of Soltâns, he gives him the sixth place.

KILIJ ARSLAN III. surnamed *Azzo'ddîn*, was advanced to the throne immediately after the death of his father *Rokno'ddîn Soleymân*, towards the end of the year 600. But as soon as his uncle *Gayatho'ddîn Kay Khosraw* heard that his brother was dead, he left the castle where he resided near *Constantinople*; and, making what haste he could to *Koniyah*, seized the child, and took possession of the city: after which he stripped him of the rest of his dominions. This revolution happened in *Rajeb* (Q) 601¹. *D'Herbelot* has copied the article of *Kilij Arslân III.* from *Abû'lfaraj*, without adding any thing to it from other oriental historians. Some Greek writers say, that this Soltân, whom they call *Yathatines* (which is a corruption of his surname *Gayatho'ddîn*) (†), on the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Latins*, fled along with the emperor *Alexis Angelus*, otherwise called *Comnenus*; and that a few days after, being secretly informed of the death of his brother *Azatines* (so they miscall *Rokno'ddîn*), he departed in disguise, and, repairing to his own people, was proclaimed Soltân^m.

GAYATHO'DDIN KAY KHOSRAW ascended the throne of *Koniyah* for the second time in 601, the same year in which the *Latins* took *Constantinople* from the *Greeks*. *Abû'lfaraj* informs us, that, after this, he became very powerful, and reigned with great dignityⁿ. This is all we learn from the oriental authors touching the second reign of this prince; and the *Byzantine* historians have not said much concerning it. According to a fault very common with them, they do not directly mention the restoration of *Kay Khosraw*; and only give an imperfect hint, where they should speak out.

AFTER the shameful flight of the emperor *Alexis* (who changed his name of *Angelus* to that of *Comnenus*), and the election of *Baldwin* by the *Latins*; these latter, in less than one year's time, reduced all which the *Romans* possessed both in *Europe* and in *Asia*, excepting the cities of *Nice* and *Prusa*. The *Greek* commanders, and other leading men, swayed by the spirit of pride, malice, and corruption, instead of uniting in defence of their country, divided into factions, and formed parties for creating new emperors. The western part of the empire seemed to be quite cut off from the eastern, which sent it no manner of assistance: but, being infected with the same contagion, produced a multitude of commanders, who ruined the country, and formed a monster with three heads.

MANUEL MAUROZOMUS, supported by *Kay Khosraw*, to whom, since the taking (R) of *Koniyah*, he had promised his daughter in marriage, made all his efforts to usurp the sovereign power, and joined the *Turks* to ravage the country about the *Meander*. *Theodorus Laskaris*, illustrious both by his birth and alliance with the emperor, having defeated him, put on the purple buskins; and had himself proclaimed emperor thro' the cities of the *East* (S). On the other side, *David Comnenus*, having gathered troops at *Heraclea*, a city of *Pontus*, and in *Paphlagonia*; having also subdued the *Iberians*, who inhabited along the *Fasis*, reduced some towns and cities, and made himself the forerunner of his brother *Alexis*, whom he had a desire of advancing to the throne: but this *Alexis*, instead of hastening to take possession, loitered about *Trebizond*. Mean time *David* having sent a young man, named *Synademus*, with troops to *Nikomedia*, *Theodore Laskaris* advanced at the head of his army to give him battle; and, taking a cross-road, instead of the great one, fell upon him unawares, and dispersed his forces. He defeated shortly after *Manuel Maurozomus*; cut in pieces part of the *Turks* whom he commanded; and took the most considerable of those who were in the van^o.

IN short, *Lydia*, *Philomolis*, *Prusa*, *Nice*, *Smyrna*, *Ephesus*, and some other cities of the *East*, were subject to *Theodore Laskaris*; who built long ships, and subdued several islands. However, in making peace with *Kay Khosraw*, he gave up to *Manuel Maurozomus*, his father-in-law, part of the country which he possessed; comprizing the city of *Kone* (or *Colossus*), *Laudicea*, and all inclosed within the windings of the *Meander*, to its fall into the sea.

DAVID and *Alexis*, the sons of *Manuel*, and grandsons of the tyrant *Andronicus*, had established their dominion in different parts: *David* in *Paphlagonia*, and at *Heraklia* in *Pontus*; *Alexis* at *Eneum*, *Sinope*, and *Trebizond*. *Aldobrandini*, an *Italian*, learned in the *Roman* laws, commanded at *Attalia*; and the island of *Rhodes* was under a particular lord (T). These numerous commanders, instead of acting in concert, to preserve the cities which they held, or reconquer those which they had lost, gave themselves up to a furious passion of lording it; and

¹ ABU'LF. p. 282, & seq. ^m GEORG. Acrop. Niceph. Geogr. l. i. ⁿ ABU'LF. ubi supra. ^o NICET. in Baldwin. c. 5 & 8.

(Q) *Rajeb* is the seventh *Mohammedan* month.

(R) That is from his nephew *Kilij Arslân*, as before related.

(†) By omitting the *Ga* at the beginning, and adding an *s* at the end. *Yathatines* is the *German* orthography.

(S) Or *Anatolia*; so the *Asiatic* part of the empire was called.

(T) *Greece* was divided in the same manner among many petty sovereigns. See *Nicet.* in *Baldwin*, c. 10.

having

having taken up arms one against the other, yielded their enemies an opportunity of gaining a farther advantages.

Attalia besieged.

KAY KHOSRAW at this juncture laid siege to the city of *Attalia*; imagining that it was not in a condition of defending itself: but *Aldobrandini* having procured 200 foot from *Cyprus*; the unexpected appearance of them, at the beginning of the assault, made the Soltân retire, after he had been sixteen days before the place^p.

As we find nothing farther in *Nicetas* concerning *Gayatbo'ddin Kay Khosraw*, we must, to finish his reign, have recourse to the succeeding historians: who, being less accurate in their account of matters, have greatly embarrassed the history of the Soltâns; and led those, who have hitherto written of them, into very gross mistakes, which we shall endeavour to clear up.

Alexis retires secretly
A. D. 1206.

ALEXIS ANGELUS, the late emperor, hearing that *Theodore Laskaris*, his son-in-law, reigned at *Nice*; being assisted by his cousin *Mikhael Comnenus*, who was prince of *Epirus*, crossed over from thence into *Asia*, and went secretly to *Gayatbo'ddin* (U), Soltân of *Koniyah*, his old friend and ally, then lying at *Attalia*, which he had not long before reduced (X), and begged his aid for the recovery of his dominions, especially that part of them possessed by *Laskaris*. The Soltân had been very serviceable to *Laskaris* (Y) at a time when he was reduced to great straits, by lending him forces, with which he defeated his enemies, and had also concluded a peace with him: but being urged by gratitude to his quondam benefactor, as well as interest, (*Alexis* making him great promises), he threatened *Laskaris* by his ambassadors with the utmost extremities of war, unless he immediately resigned his territories to his father-in-law. *Theodorus* was much troubled at this unexpected message, as fearing both the Soltân's power, and the people's inclination to their old emperor: but, having sounded the minds of his new subjects, and finding them ready to support him, he took heart.

who attacks
Antioch;

BEFORE the return of the ambassadors, *Gayatbo'ddin*, attended by *Alexis*, marched with 20,000 *Turks* and besieged *Antioch* on the *Meander*: which *Laskaris* no sooner understood, than he hastened with 2000 men, the most he was able to raise on so short a warning, to the relief of that city, which was a strong frontier; and being the key of his dominions on that side, he knew, if taken, would open a way into the heart of them. *Laskaris*, drawing near to *Antioch*, sent the ambassador before, who could scarce persuade the Soltân, by oaths, that the emperor was approaching with so small a force. However, he drew up his army in the best manner the narrowness of the place would allow of; which he had scarce done, than 800 *Italians* of the *Roman* army began the attack, and, breaking through the *Turkish* ranks, put them into the greatest disorder. As the *Greeks* had not courage enough to follow them closely, they were separated from the rest of the forces: so that, on their return, they were surrounded, and all to a man cut to pieces, tho' not without making an incredible slaughter of the enemy.

worsts the
Greeks;

fight with
Laskaris;
A. D. 1210.

THE *Greeks*, disheartened at so great a loss, were on the point of flying, when the Soltân, now almost in possession of the victory, descrying the emperor, and trusting to his own great strength, rode up to him; and at the first blow, given with his mace on the head, struck him off his horse. But *Laskaris*, though sorely stunned, nimbly recovering himself, drew his sword; and, while the Soltân turned about, ordering his attendants with an air of contempt, to take him away, he disabled the hinder legs of his mare; which thereupon rearing up, threw her rider, who, before he could rise, had his head struck off (Z): which, being shewn upon the point of a spear, struck such a terror into the *Turkish* army, that they immediately betook themselves to a disorderly flight, leaving the *Greeks* masters of their camp and baggage. *Alexis*, the author of this war, was taken prisoner, and carried to *Nice*, where he was confined to a monastery, in which he ended his days some years after. This gave the *Romans* an opportunity of breathing: for, from that time, the *Moslems* made a peace with them, which they kept inviolably^q.

and slain.

Mistakes of the

THE *Greek* historians, who relate this transaction, make *Jathatines*, or *Gayatbo'ddin*, a different person from *Kay Khosraw*; not knowing that *Gayatbo'ddin* (which name perhaps he most commonly went by after his restoration, or did not assume till then) was his surname. They say that he was the son of Soltân *Aladin*, brother of *Kay Khosraw*; consequently *Kay Khosraw*'s nephew: that *Aladin*, not long surviving his said brother, left his dominions to this *Jathatines*, and his other son called *Azatines* (or *Azzo'ddin*), who was the elder: that *Jathatines*, being afterwards expelled by *Azatines*, fled to *Alexis Angelus*: and that, *Azatines* dying soon after, he returned to *Ikonium*, and recovered his kingdoms. The *Aladin* here said to be the brother of *Kay Khosraw*, seems to be the same with his son the great *Aladin*: who did not

Greek historians,

^p NICET. in Baldwin. c. 11.

^q GEORG. ACROP. Niceph. Gregor. l. i. Univers. Hist. vol. vi. p. 629.

(U) The *Greeks* write *Jathatines*.

(X) This must have been in a second attempt.

(Y) This seems to have been on account of *Alexis*, whose daughter, *Anna Augusta*, *Laskaris* had married; which lady the Soltân used to call sister.

(Z) The historians say it was done so suddenly, that neither those present, nor the emperor himself, knew how it was done, or who did it. This looks as if they would have it pass for something miraculous.

a begin his reign till the year 1219: and *Azatines* is put instead of the *Rukratin* of *Nicetas*, by whom *Gayatho'ddîn Kay Khosraw* had been driven out. How such great mistakes came to be adopted by those writers is hard to account: but whatever errors there may be in the names and genealogy, the circumstances of the story and juncture of time shews, that *Jathatines* is no other than *Kay Khosraw*. According to the chronology of the *Greeks*, *Jathatines* was slain in the year of *Christ* 1210. *Abû'lfaraj* does not mention his death; and *D'Herbelot* only says, from the oriental authors, that, having seized and imprisoned his nephew *Kilij Arslân*,^{concerning this Soltân.} he reigned in the dominions which he had usurped (A) the space of six years, till 609 of the *Hejrah*, and 1212 of *Christ*.^r As there is here a difference of two years, we have fixed his death at the middle year 1211, (which gives him seven years to his second reign, and thirteen to both); being sensible, there may happen a mistake of a year on one side or the other.

WE find the names of two sons; whom he left behind him, *Azzo'ddîn Kaykaw*s and *Alao'ddîn Kaykobâd*, who succeeded each other.

^r D'HERB. art. Gaiatheddin ben Kilig Arslan.

(A) *D'Herbelot* confounds his first and second reign together, or seems to have been a stranger to the former.

S E C T. VIII.

*The reigns of Soltân Kaykaw*s and *Alao'ddîn Kaykobâd*.

c **O**F this Soltân *Kaykaw*s, surnamed *Azzo'ddîn*, or *Ezzo'ddîn*, we find very little mentioned. *Abû'lfaraj* only tells us, that he died in the year of the *Hejrah* 616; leaving no children, but who were minors; by which means his brother *Alao'ddîn Kaykobâd* became his successor.^{Ninth Soltân, Kaykaw.} *D'Herbelot* adds nothing more from his authors, than that he died of a consumption of the lungs: only he differs much from *Abû'lfaraj* as to the time of his death; for, he says, it happened in the year 609, after he had reigned no more than one year^b; whereas the other, putting his death seven years later, allows him eight to his reign. There is the less reason to depend on *D'Herbelot*, as he places the death of his father *Kay Khosraw* in the same year, 609; in which case *Kaykaw*s could not have sat in the throne so long as a year, perhaps not a month. Besides, he begins the reign of his successor *Kaykobâd*, agreeable to *Abû'lfaraj* (whom indeed he, for the most part, copies), in the year 616.^{A. D. 1219.}

d *Azzo'ddîn Kaykaw*s having died, without leaving any sons old enough to take the government upon them, the army went to the castle of *Menshâr*, which stands on the *Euphrates*, near *Malatîyah*, where his brother *Kaykobâd*, surnamed *Alao'ddîn*, was imprisoned; and, bringing him forth, proclaimed him king.^{Tenth Soltân, Kaykobâd. Hej. 616. A. D. 1219.}

e AFTER the destruction of the *Karazmian* empire by *Jenghîz Khân*, and his *Mogols*, Soltân *Jalalo'ddîn*, surnamed *Mankberni*, eldest son and successor of *Mobammed*, for some time made head against them, with surprising bravery: but, being at length obliged to give way to numbers, he retired westward into *Armenia*,; where, intending to reduce it under his power, he, in the beginning of the year 627, sat down before *Kbelat* (or *Akblât*, capital of that country), wherein were two brothers of *Al Malek al Ashraf* (A). Having closely besieged the city all winter, and battered it with twenty rams, on the side towards the sea (B), the inhabitants, who were reduced to eat dog's flesh, delivered it up to him, with the castle.^{Defeats Jalalo'ddîn; A. D. 1229.}

f ON this news *Al Malek al Ashraf* and *Alao'ddîn Kaykobâd* marching with their forces, met near *Abolostayn* (C), and thence proceeded to *Akshabr*, where the *Karazmian* met them with 40,000 men; and coming to a battle, which lasted near two days, was at length put to flight, with great slaughter of his men. Those who fled escaped to the mountains of *Trapezond*, where 1500 lost their lives. *Jalalo'ddîn* escaped alone to *Kbartabert* (D), and thence to *Khoway* (or *Koy*). After this, he sent one of *Malek al Ashraf*'s brothers in chains to the Khalîfah at *Baghdad*; and put one of his slaves *Azzo'ddîn Ibek* to death: but hearing of the approach of the *Mogols* against him, under the command of *Furmagûn Nowain*, he sent ambassadors from *Tabriz* (or *Tauris*), inviting both *Ashraf* and *Alao'ddîn* to aid him with their forces to

^a ABUL'F. hist. dynast. p. 289.

^b D'HERB. p. 237. art. Caikaus Ezzodin.

^c ABUL'F. hist.

(A) Lord of *Roha* or *Orfa*, *Harrân*, and *Kbelât* or *Kbalât*.

(B) Or the lake of *Van*, to the north of which it stands, at some distance.

(C) Or *Ablasta*.

(D) Also *Harebâret*: by some travellers called *Kar-purt*.

repel the storm; which, if it passed him, he said, would fall on them. But they paid no regard a to his intreaties^d.

Embassy to
Oktay.
A. D. 1232.

IN 630, Soltân *Alao'ddîn* sent ambassadors to *Oktay Khân*, offering obedience to him. *Oktay*, commending his prudence, told them, that if their master would come to his court, he would receive him with honour, and give him one of the chief employments there, without taking away his revenues. Which haughty answer the ambassadors wondered at.

Restores the
Seljûks

THE same year *Alao'ddîn* breaking with *Al Malek al Afhrâf*, took from him *Kbelât* and *Sarmânray* (E). Two years after he likewise forced *Roba* from him; in which, for three days, the *Rûms* slew both *Christians* and *Mohammedans*. The remainder they stripped of all; not sparing the churches. Hereupon *Harrân* surrendered to him. After this he took *Rakkab* and *Bir*. But as soon as his forces were withdrawn, *Al Malek al Kamel* (lord of *Egypt*) came b and besieged *Roba*; which he took at the end of four months, and sent all the *Rûms* whom he found there into *Egypt*, in chains, upon camels. *D'Herbelot* says, that, being pressed on one side by the *Mogols*, and on the other by the princes of the house of *Ayub* (F), he was obliged to withdraw his troops out of their dominions, in order to preserve his own.

same and
empire.

THIS prince returned home, loaded with plunder and glory; having extended his name and conquests very far eastward^e. In short, he restored the great reputation of the *Seljûkians*, which the children of *Kilij Arslân* had somewhat impaired by their divisions; enlarged the empire to its former limits; and re-established order in the state.

His death,
A. D. 1236.

IN 635, Soltân *Alao'ddîn Kaykobâd* died suddenly: for at a feast which he made for his chief lords and officers, just as he was boasting of the extent of his dominions, he felt a disorder in his bowels; and, being taken at the same time with a flux, discharged such a quantity of bloody excrements, that he died two days after, having reigned eighteen years^f.

D'HERBELOT has given the history of this prince wholly from *Abû'l-faraj*, only adding one or two particulars from *Kondamîr*; who, in those points, differs from him. That author says, *Alao'ddîn* was poisoned by order of his son *Kay Khosraw*, whom he had declared his heir. He likewise begins his reign in 610, and puts his death in 636. which makes its duration twenty-six years; whereas *Ebn Shohnab* agrees exactly with *Abû'l-faraj*^g.

and character.

THIS prince was peudent, temperate, and strong. He kept a very strict eye over his nobles and dependants. He was endued with great firmness of mind, magnanimity, and profound gravity: nor could any sovereign govern better. As all the world submitted to him, d says our author, he was justly stiled (G), *king of the world*^h. He must therefore have been not a little mortified by the message, above-mentioned, sent him by *Oktay Khân*.

THIS is the famous *Aladin* I. known to the *European* writers; who acquired most reputation of all the Soltâns of his race, and passed for one of the greatest princes of his time. He generally gained some advantage in all the wars wherein he was engaged: but was obliged at last to acknowledge the *Mogols* for his mastersⁱ.

Rise of Oth-
mân.

IT was under this Soltân that both *Ortogrol* and *Othmân*, or *Ozmân* his son, founder of the present *Othmân* race and empire, served, with their followers, and laid the foundation of their future greatness^k.

^d ABU'LF. hist. dynast. p. 306, & seq.

^f Ibid. p. 311, & seq.

ⁱ D'HERB. p. 83, art. Alaeddin ben Caikhosrau.

^e D'HERB. p. 239, & seq. art. Caikobad.

^h ABU'LF. p. 290 & 312.

^k Ibid. p. 240, art. Caikobad.

(E) Or *Surmatay*.

(F) Or *Jyûb*; that is, *Job* (as we write the word after the Germans); from whom *Salabo'ddîn* was descended.

(G) He assumed the title of *Shâh Jeshân*; which signifies *king of the world*.

S E C T. IX.

The reigns of Soltân Gayatho'ddîn Kay Khosraw, and Azzo'ddîn.

Eleventh Sol-
tân, Kay
Khosraw.
Hej. 634.
A. D. 1236.

AL A O ' D D I N being dead, the princes took the oath of fidelity to his son *Gayatho'ddîn* a *Kay Khosraw*; who presently after seized *Gayer Khân*, prince of the *Karazmians*. The rest of them fled, with their chiefs, by *Malatîyah*, *Kakbtîn*, and *Kbartabert*; where they did great mischief: then, wasting the country of *Semafat* (H), they passed on to *Sowayda*. But *Al Malek al Nasser*, lord of *Halep*, assigning over to them *Roba*, *Harrân*, and other places beyond the *Euphrates*, they desisted from farther ravages.

A. D. 1239.

IN 637, the *Mogols* advanced, with a design to invade the *Rûmean* territories; but, on *Gayatho'ddîn's* sending forces into *Armenia*, they thought fit to forbear.

(H) Or *Sezeyfat*, the same with *Samofat*, on the *Euphrates*, to the north of *Al Bir*.

a NEXT year a *Turkmân* prophet, called *Baba*, appeared at *Amasia*, who drew after him multitudes of people, by the strange tricks which he performed, in order to deceive them. He sent one *If-bâk* (or *Isaak*), a disciple, in a doctor's gown, through the other parts of the country of *Rûm*, to draw in the *Turkmâns*; who succeeded so well, that, at *Somayfat*, he had gathered no fewer than 6000 horse, besides foot, chiefly of those people. Thus strengthened, they began to propagate their imposture by force, making war upon all who would not say, *there is no God but God Bâba* (A); *is the apostle of God*. So that they slew a great number of the inhabitants, both *Moslems* and *Christians*, of *Hesno'Imansîr*, *Kakbtîn*, *Gargar*, and *Somayfat*, who refused to follow them: they likewise put to flight all the troops which opposed them in their way to *Amasia*.

b HEREUPON *Gayatho'ddîn* sent an army against them, in which was a body of *Franks*, who were in his pay. But the *Moslems* giving way, through fear, the *Franks* set themselves in the front of the battle; and, making a vigorous attack, puts the rebels to flight, and killed every man of them. The two doctors, *Baba* and *If-bâk*, were taken alive, and put to death.

IN 639, *Jormagîn Nowayn* (B), advancing into *Armenia*, as far as *Arzen al Rûm*, took it by force, killed *Senan*, its sub-bashâ, with a great number of the inhabitants; and, carrying away their children captives, spread desolation wherever he came. Hereupon, next year, Soltân *Gayatho'ddîn* marched towards the *Mogols*, with a great multitude of men, and military stores, such as had not been known before. Besides his own troops, he was assisted by *Greeks*, *Franks*, *Georgians*, *Armenians*, and *Arabs*. The two armies met in a place called *Kusadag*, belonging to *Arzenjân*: but, on the first attack, all the auxiliary forces turned their backs and fled. The Soltân, astonished at this event, fled likewise to *Cæsarea*: whence carrying his wives and children to *Ankûra* (or *Ancyra*), he there fortified himself.

THE *Mogols*, no less surprized at the flight of the enemy, kept themselves still all that day, not daring to pursue, suspecting it was only an artifice to draw them into ambuscades: because they could perceive no reason that such a numerous army had to fly. But, as soon as they came to know the truth of the matter, they penetrated into the country of *Rûm*, and sat down before *Siwâs*; which having surrendered to them, they spared the lives of the inhabitants; but took away all their effects, burnt all the warlike engines they found there, and demolished the city walls. From hence proceeding to *Kaysariyah* (or *Cæsarea*), the citizens opposed them for a few days: but at length the *Mogols*, taking the place by force, put the principal inhabitants to the sword, torturing them, to discover their riches.

AFTER this they returned, carrying the women and children along with them, without entering any farther into the Soltân's dominions. This news coming to *Malatîyah*, where our author *Abû'l-faraj* and his father then were, *Rashîdo'ddîn*, its prince, and many of the inhabitants, fled, for fear of the *Mogols*; who in their passage slew several of them, near the town of *Bajûza*, ten *Persian* leagues distant; but without coming nearer the city, held on their way to *Arzenjân*, which they took by assault, and served in the same manner as they had done *Kaysariyah*. The Soltân finding himself in no condition to oppose the enemy, sent ambassadors to desire peace; which was granted him, on condition that he should annually pay a large tribute in money, horses, vests, and other things of value.

IN 642, *Gayatho'ddîn* sent a great army to besiege *Tarsus*: but, as they were on the point of taking it, news arrived of his death; upon which they retired from before the city, in autumn, when there fell very heavy rains.

THIS prince was given to wine, and speaking idly. He led a life very unbecoming his dignity, indulging himself in pernicious desires. He married the daughter of the king of the *Georgians*; whom he loved to such a degree, that he had her image stamped upon his coin. The reverse of some was a lion, with the sun over its head. The astrologers told him, that in case he had the figures engraved, which represented his horoscope, he should succeed in all his designs.

f HE left three sons, *Azzo'ddîn*, *Rokno'ddîn*, and *Alao'ddîn*. The two first by *Rûmean* women; the last by a *Georgian*. He declared the eldest for his successor, appointing for his tutor and Atabek *Jalalo'ddîn Kortây*, a person of great integrity and rigid chastity.

THE article of *Gayatho'ddîn*, given by *D'Herbelot*, seems to be taken intirely from *Abû'l-faraj*, whom he quotes twice; yet, at the end, puts the name of *Kondamîr*, as if the whole was extracted from that author.

THE *Byzantine* historians mention this Soltân, whom they call *Jathbatines*: but say, he was the son of *Azatines*, who succeeded his uncle *Jathbatines*. For all this false genealogy, which

^a ABU'LF. p. 312, & seq. *Gaiathoddin Caikhofrau*.

^b ABU'LF. hist. dynasty, p. 319.

^c D'HERB. p. 356, art.

(A) This is the *Mohammedan* confession of faith; and *Newian*. 'Tis a military title, signifying the same only the name *Baba* is inserted instead of *Mohammed*. as *Amîr*, or commander.

(B) Written also by our authors *Nowîan*, *Nowian*,

is common with the *Greek* writers, 'tis evident, from their own account, that he is the Soltân in question ; not only as they make him contemporary with *John Dukas*, surnamed *Vatazes*, second emperor of *Nice*, who began his reign in the year 1222 ; but they give him just such a character, as we find in *Abû'l-faraj* ; viz. that of a slothful prince, who delighted in drunken and debauched company. What goes still farther to decide the point, they say, his father excelled, in military affairs, all his predecessors : which character can be applicable only to *Alao'ddin*.

Tatar inva-
sion,

WITH regard to the transactions of his reign, those historians inform us : that the *Tankbâri* (C), a nation of *Tartars*, having invaded his dominions, and defeated his army, he sent to *Vatazes*, desiring assistance, as well by his advice as forces. In this, he said, both of them would find their advantage ; since, in case the enemy subdued the *Moslems*, they would next invade the *Romans*. *Vatazes*, judging this to be a right measure, entered into a league with the Soltân, and had an interview with him at *Tripolis*, on the *Meander* ; which river *Gayatho'ddin* (D) passed over a bridge, made in haste, with rafts or floats of timber joined together. The two princes not only gave their hands to each other, but to all their followers of distinction. After this they agreed, in the strongest terms, to join their forces against the enemy : but the *Tankbâri*, for a while, suspended the war against the Soltân, that they might go and attack the *Khalîfah* of *Babylon* ^a.

according to
them.

Tartar Sol-
tan, Azzo'd-
din,

AZZO'DDIN (E) having succeeded by his father's appointment, the great officers and nobles took the oath of fidelity, and he was prayed for in the pulpits.

Hejrah 613.
A. D. 1215.
sent for by the
Khân.

NEXT year ambassadors came from the Great Khân *Oktay*, requiring the Soltân to come and pay him homage : but he excused himself ; alleging, that, as both the *Greek* and *Armenian* kings were his enemies, they would seize his dominions in his absence. Mean time, he obliged the ambassadors with gifts ; and, at length, sent his brother *Rokno'ddin* (F), under the care of *Bahao'ddin*, the interpreter, whom he made his Atabek (or tutor). He also appointed for his own Wazîr *Shams'o'ddin*, a learned native of *Isfâhan* ; whose credit was so great, that he married the Soltân's mother : which, however, the grandees were much offended at. This year the Great Khân died ; and, the next, a *Kuriltay*, or grand assembly, was called ; at which, besides the *Mogol* princes, there were present many foreign potentates ; and, among the rest, Soltân *Rokno'ddin*, from the country of *Rûm*. In this grand council *Kayûk*, eldest son of the late emperor, was chosen to succeed him.

deposed by him.
Hej. 655.
A. D. 1247.

IN 545, *Kayûk*, the Great Khân, sent lieutenants into several parts of his empire ; appointing *Iljiktay Nowayn* for the countries of *Rûm*, *Musol*, *Syria*, and *Gorj* (G). At the same time he granted the government of *Rûm* to Soltân *Rokno'ddin*, and ordered Soltân *Azzo'ddin* to be removed. Next year *Rokno'ddin*, and the interpreter *Bahao'ddin*, arriving with 2000 *Mogol* horse, to put this decree in execution, Soltân *Azzo'ddin* was advised by his Wazîr *Shams'o'ddin* to oppose it, and withdraw to some castle near the sea. When *Kortay* heard this, he seized the Wazîr, and sent him to *Bahao'ddin* ; who immediately dispatched some of the *Mogol* chiefs to *Koniyah*, to make him discover where his treasures were ; which, having done, they put him to death. After this the interpreter and *Kortay* meeting, agreed to divide the dominions between the two brothers. *Azzo'ddin* was to have *Koniyah*, *Aksera*, *Ankûra*, (or *Ancyra*), *Anatolia* (H), and the rest of the western provinces : *Rokno'ddin*, *Kasariyah*, *Siwâs*, *Malatiah*, *Arzengan*, *Arzen al Rûm*, and the provinces to the east. They likewise appointed *Alao'ddin*, the youngest, a proper portion for his maintenance ; and had money coined in all their names, with this inscription, *the great kings Azz. Rokn. and Ala* ^c.

Sent for again.
Hejrah 652.
A. D. 1254.

IN 652, there came several ambassadors, one after the other, to Soltân *Azzo'ddin*, lord of *Rûm* ; requiring him to go and pay homage to *Munkaka Khân* (I). He accordingly set out : but hearing, at *Siwâs*, that the *Omera* (K) were inclined to place *Rokno'ddin* in his throne, he returned in haste to *Koniyah*, and sent *Alao'ddin* in his room, with letters, setting forth ; that he had sent his brother, who was no less king than himself ; but that he could not come, because his Atabek *Kortay* was dead, and his enemies to the west (L) were at war with him : ^f

^a GEORG. ACROP. NICEPH. GREGOR.

^c ABU'LF. dynasty, p. 319, & seq.

(C) Called by *Ayton*, or *Haython*, the *Armenian*, *Tangori*.

(D) Some authors pretend this was the Soltân to whom *Mikael Paleologus* fled ; whereas it was to *Azzo'ddin*, his successor.

(E) *Azzo'ddin* is only the surname of this Soltân, whose name seems to have been *Kaykaus*.

(F) His proper name, according to others, was *Soleyman* ; *Rokno'ddin* being his surname.

(G) Or *Korj* ; that is, *Georgia*.

(H) In another copy, *Antakiyal*, or *Antiokbia*, in *Asia minor*.

(I) Called also *Mongo* and *Mangu Khân*. He was the fourth, and succeeded *Kayûk*, in 648 of the *Hejrah*, of Christ 1250.

(K) *Omera* is the plural of *Amîr*, and signifies the princes, chiefs, great commanders, or generals. A title denoting both great lords and officers.

(L) By these must be meant the *Greeks*.

a however, that when he was delivered from the fears of them, he would wait on the Khân himself. *Alao'ddîn* accordingly set out ; but died on the way, before he reached the *Orda* (M).

Azzo'ddîn, conceiving that he should never be safe while his brother *Rokno'ddîn* lived, resolved to put him to death. This design taking wind, the *Omera* contrived his escape. They dressed him in the clothes of a cook's boy ; and putting a bowl, with meat in it, on his head, sent him out of the palace and castle (N), along with certain boys who carried victuals to a neighbouring house : then, setting him on horseback, they conducted him to *Kaysariyah* ; where a great number of *Omeras* repairing to him, they got together an army, and marched towards *Koniyah* against *Azzo'ddîn* : but the Soltân, marching out with what troops he had about him, put them to flight ; and *Rokno'ddîn*, being taken prisoner, was cast, fettered, into

b the castle of *Dawalu*.

THE year following, *Bayeju Nowayn*, being obliged to remove from the plain of *Mugân* (O), where he used to winter, in order to give place to *Hûlakû* (P), sent a messenger to Soltân *Azzo'ddîn*, requiring some place to winter in with his troops : but the Soltân, instead of complying, pretended that he had deserted from his prince ; and, collecting forces, gave him battle at *Khano'l Soltân*, between *Koniyah* and *Aksera*. However, *Azzo'ddîn* happening to be defeated (Q), *Bayeju* took his brother out of prison, and put him in possession of all the *Rûmean* dominions¹.

It was, doubtless, in the above-mentioned battle that *Mikhael Paleologus* was present, as we are told by the *Greek* historians ; whom we must now follow for a while. These historians inform us, that, in the year 1255, *Paleologus* (R), who had been imprisoned, on suspicion of some dangerous designs, escaped, and fled to the *Turks*. It happened, that, while he was at the Soltân's court, the *Tatars* (S), after having ravaged the greatest part of his dominions, came and besieged the city of *Axara* (T). Hereupon the *Turks* marched out against them, giving to *Paleologus* the command of the *Greek* forces. The *Tatars*, being repulsed at the first onset by *Paleologus*, or, as others say, dismayed at the sight of such numerous forces, were upon the point of flying, when one of the *Turkish* generals went over to them, with the troops under his command ; which changed the fortune of the field. The *Tatars* encouraged, returned to the charge, and defeating the *Turks* in their turn, made a great slaughter with their arrows, pursuing them a considerable way. *Paleologus*, upon this, joined *Peklarpek* (U) with his troops ; and they two retired, for several days together, with the enemy at their heels, till they got to *Kastamona* (X), near which that officer resided.

THE *Tatars* now over-ran the country, and the *Turkish* forces being dispersed, the Soltân flies to the emperor ; who received him kindly ; but could spare him only 400 men, under the command of *Isaac Ducas*, surnamed *Murtzuflus* (Y). The Soltân, in requital, gave him the city of *Laodicea* : which, however, soon returned to the *Turks* ; because the *Romans* could not defend it. After all, the Soltân not being able to oppose the *Tatars*, he obtained peace, by becoming tributary. Mean time the emperor wrote to *Paleologus*, inviting him to return home ; his reconciliation having been made by means of the bishop of *Kogni* (or *Koniyah*) : and, soon after his return the emperor died, in 1258².

In the foregoing account, from the *Greek* historians, we find no mention of the dispute between *Azzo'ddîn* and his brother *Rokno'ddîn* ; which was, in a great measure, the cause of this *Tatar* war : but *Pakhamire*, in one place of his history, occasionally introduces it. He there tells us in general, that Soltân *Azatines* (so he calls *Azzo'ddîn*) had great contests with his brother *Rukratin* (that is *Rokno'ddîn*), after the death of their father *Jathatines* (or *Gaya-tho'ddîn*) : that *Rukratin*, having taken arms, and obtained considerable forces from the *Tatars*, became strong enough to oppress his brother : that *Azatines* upon this retired to the court of the emperor *Theodorus Laskaris* ; who received him civilly : but let him know, that he could not shelter him in his dominions, for fear of drawing on himself the resentment of the

¹ *ABU'LF.* hist. dynasty, p. 329, & seq.

² *PAKHAMIR*, l. i. c. 9. *NICEPH. GREGORAS*, and others.

(M) The court or place where the Khân was encamped.

(N) By this it appears, that *Rokno'ddîn* was but a youth himself. And he seems to have resided at *Ikonium* ; although he had one half of the empire.

(O) Or *Mekân*, a spacious plain in the north part of *Adherbijân*, towards the mouth of the river *Kûr*, and the *Caspian* sea.

(P) Who afterwards reigned in *Perfia*, by grant from his brother *Kublay Khân*, in the year 656 of the *Hejrah*, of *Christ* 1258 ; founding a dynasty of *Mogols*, or *Tatars*, as they are commonly called.

(Q) This, doubtless, is the battle which *Hayton* says was gained by the *Tatars*, under *Baydo*, over the Soltân (whom he does not name) of *Turky* (1) ; so that author calls the dominions of the *Seljukians* of *Rûm*.

(R) He had married the emperor's niece ; was constable, and commanded the *French* troops. 1 *Pach.* c. 7.

(S) They are called by some the *Tankhari Tatars*.

(T) *Aksera*, not *Aksaray* ; or the white palace.

(U) Or *Beglerbeg* ; that is, lord of lords, the governors of great provinces.

(X) *Kastamona*.

(Y) Because his family had thick eye-brows, and joined together.

Tatars (Z) : that *Azatines* accordingly withdrew ; yet received such considerable succours from *Laskaris*, that he overcame his brother, and recovered the throne ^a. From this passage, and several others, occurring in *Pakhamire*, and the rest of the *Byzantine* historians, which are brought in abruptly, and out of place, there appears reason to believe, that the *Greeks* had particular histories or memoirs of the Soltâns ; of which they have only given us pieces occasionally in the reigns of their emperors, as they related to their own affairs, and that, for the general, without either the proper elucidations or connections. But to return to our subject.

Azzo'ddîn
opposes

Hejrah 655.
A. D. 1257.

As *Abu'l-faraj* does not mention what became of *Azzo'ddîn*, after he was removed from the throne by *Bayejû*, the *Mogol* general ; neither does he tell us how he recovered it again : but, proceeding as if no such revolution had happened, informs us, that, in 655, this Soltân sent an ambassador to *Hûlâkû*, to testify his submission, and intreat him to drive *Bayejû Nowayn* out of his kingdom, *Hûlâkû*, in answer, ordered that he should divide the *Rûmean* territories with his brother. Hereupon *Azzo'ddîn* returned to *Koniyab*, and *Rokno'ddîn* went with *Bayejû* to the camp. *Azzo'ddîn* being still afraid of this *Mogol*, sent into the parts about *Malatîyah* and *Khartabert*, to raise an army of *Kûrds*, *Turkmâns*, and *Arabs*. The officer sent him two commanders of the *Kûrds*, *Abmed ebn Belâs* and *Mohammed ebn ol Skeykh Adi* ; to whom the Soltân assigned the said cities.

the Mogols
in vain.

EBN SKEYKH ADI, being met on the way to *Khartabert* by *Angûrk Nowayn*, was slain, with his followers ; and the people of *Malatîyah*, having taken an oath to *Rokno'ddîn*, refused to receive *Ebn Belâs* ; who thereupon treating them ill, they killed 300 of his men. With the rest he fled by *Klaudiya* (A) towards *Amed* (B) ; where he was slain by the lord of *Mayaferkîn*. *Azzo'ddîn* appointed in his room one *Ali Babâdr* ; who, being a bold man, the citizens, thro' fear, admitted him. And he did them great service : for he cleared the country of the *Al Jâzi*, a tribe of *Turkmâns*, who used in their incursions to kill the inhabitants, and carry off their children. These he defeated, and took their commander *Jutabeg* prisoner.

MEAN while *Bayejû Nowayn*, advancing with his forces, obliged all the castles, which had been delivered up, to submit to *Rokno'ddîn*. Then going to the city of *Abolostayn* (C), he slew about 6000 of the inhabitants, and made captives of the women and children.

Malatîyah
submits.

On his approach to *Malatîyah*, *Ali Babâdr* fled to *Kâkhtab* ; and the citizens, going to meet him with presents, submitted to *Rokno'ddîn* ; who set over them one of his slaves, named *Fakro'ddîn Ayyaz*. But as soon as *Bayejû* had gotten beyond the borders of *Rûm*, in his way to *Irâk*, *Ali Babâdr* returned : and, being denied admittance, besieged the city. At length, provisions growing very scarce, some of the common people opened a gate, by which *Ali* entered and his *Turkmâns*. Having thus recovered the possession of *Malatîyah*, he cast Soltân *Rokno'ddîn's* governor into prison, and put a few of the leading men, who opposed him, to death.

Dreadful
famine there.

AT the same time the famine was so great in the district of this city, that cats, dogs, and leather, were eaten, for want of food. A friend of the author's saw in a certain village a company of women in a house cutting pieces of flesh out of a corpse which lay before them, and broiling them to eat. Likewise another, who baked her dead child ; imagining, that his flesh would agree better with her than that of vermin. In short, *Ali Babâdr*, though he subdued the town, could not withstand the calamity ; but retired to Soltân *Azzo'ddîn*.

Empire divid-
ed.
Hej. 657.
A. D. 1259.

IN 657, *Hûlâkû* sent for *Azzo'ddîn*, Soltân of the *Rûms*, and his brother *Rokno'ddîn* ; who obeying his summons, he went out to meet them, expressing great satisfaction at their coming. Then he appointed *Azzo'ddîn* to reign over the country from *Kaysariyah* to the borders of *Greater Armenia* ; and *Rokno'ddîn* to command from *Aksera* to the sea-coast bounding the territories of the *Franks*. After this he began his march for *Syria* ; and, when he drew near the *Euphrates*, the two brothers, taking their leave, returned with joy to their own dominions ¹.

WE find no farther account in *Abu'l-faraj* of these two Soltâns (who reigned together, or interchangeably) ; although that author is more particular in relating their transactions than those of any of the former : but the defect is, in some measure, supplied by the *Greek* historians, who happen to begin, as it were, just where he leaves off.

Azzo'ddîn
retires.

A. D. 1259.

ALTHOUGH we left the two Soltâns going home in good harmony ; yet, according to the *Greek* historians, they did not long continue so. They tell you, that, after the death of *Theodorus Laskaris*, *Mikhael Paleologus*, being made the associate in the empire with his son *John*, after strengthening the frontier places with garrisons, sent an embassy to the *Turks*, to notify his advancement ; and that, not long after, setting out with the young emperor on a new

^a PAKH. I. xiii. c. 22.

¹ ABU'LF. p. 332, & seq.

(Z) Yet, on his coming to the crown, he renewed the ancient league with the Soltân.

(A) The antient *Claudiopolis*, on the *Euphrates*, below *Malatîyah*.

(B) The antient *Amida*, now *Diyarbekr*.

(C) Or *Ablostayn* ; in the *Geogr. Nubiensis*, *Ablaſta*.

a progress, he received, at *Nymphæum*, an embassy, with presents, from the Soltân; whose affairs were in a very bad condition: for, being threatned with an invasion from the *Tatars* (or *Mogols*), every person, instead of saving the state, thought only of saving his family, and the governors every-where revolted.

PALEOLOGUS, upon intimation of this, gave the Soltân an invitation to come and reside at *Mikhael* his court, promising to let him return when his affairs were settled. The cause of the Soltân's fear was, the news which he received of the arrival of *Malek* (D), with a formidable army. This *Malek* had fled, it seems, to the emperor before; and *Azzo'ddîn* was afraid he might escape, and cross the design he had of re-establishing his affairs^k. In another place the same author informs us, that the reason of *Azzo'ddîn*'s applying to the emperor was, because *Rukratin* had gathered new forces^l (E). However that be, the Soltân accepted of the offer; and, relying on the friendship of *Paleologus*, retired, with his wife, children, his mother (who was a Christian), and his sister, to *Constantinople*^m.

SOME authors tell us, that, after the former defeat of *Azatin*, the *Tatars*, instead of penetrating farther into his dominions, went and conquered *Syria*: but that, returning next year, they crossed the river a second time, marched into *Kappadocia*, and took *Ikonium*; from whence *Azatin* fled, with his brother *Malek*, and his family, to the emperor *Mikhael Paleologus*; who, not long before, had retired for shelter to his courtⁿ. *Nicephorus Gregoras* relates, that *Azatin*, taking occasion from the invasion of the *Tatars*, shook off the *Persian* (he means the *Turkish*) yoke, and subdued several provinces belonging to the eastern emperors: but that he was obliged at length, with his son *Moloko*, to retire to *Mikhael Paleologus*, after having been routed by the *Tatars*, in the year 1261^o. Here we find several *Maleks*, who possibly might all have been the same person, considering the inaccuracy of the *Greek* authors; and that *Malek* simply is no other than a title, signifying king, which was given to the prince of the *Seljuk* blood.

BUT to return to *Azzo'ddîn*. *Paleologus* received him with great shew of friendship, and promised in time to furnish him with troops, to recover his kingdom. Mean while he suffered the Soltân to live intirely at liberty, to sit in his presence, to have his guards, and wear the purple buskins. In July 1261, *Constantinople* being recovered out of the hands of the *Latins*, he returned from *Nice*, with his colleague *John*. Next year he sent ambassadors to *Khalau* (or *Hûlâkû*), prince of the *Tatars*, in *Persia*, and another to the Soltân of *Ethiopia* (rather *Egypt*). As for *Azatin*, he was at *Constantinople*; where, strolling about to view the streets and public places, which were almost quite unpeopled, he led a debauched life, with his followers, expecting the performance of the emperor's promise: but all *Mikhael*'s fair outside was only dissimulation; for, being very intent on making an alliance with the *Tatars*, he sent the Soltân's wife and children to *Nice*, under pretence of greater security; at the same time he actually promised *Mary* (F), his natural daughter, to *Khalau*, who yet died before she arrived at his court. After this he concluded an alliance with *Apagan* (G).

THE Soltân, after a tedious stay at *Constantinople*, having discovered that the emperor was treating with his enemies, wrote to an uncle of his, who dwelt towards the *Euxine* sea, on the north side; intreating him to work his deliverance, by exciting *Constantine*, king of *Bulgaria*, and *Nogas*, Khân of the *Tatars* (H), against *Paleologus*: in which case, he said, he would endeavour to deliver that prince into their hands. The Soltân's uncle having agreed to this proposal, *Azatines*, pursuant to leave obtained, repaired to the emperor, who was then in the west, under pretence of seeing that part of his dominions. In their return back, within a day's march of mount *Hemus*, *Paleologus*, to his great astonishment, understood that the *Bulgarians* and *Tatars* had passed the straits, spoiling and killing where-ever they came. The emperor, who had not forces to oppose them, left the Soltân, with his baggage, in the night, and, getting to the sea-side, passed in a bark to his capital. *Azatines*, with those who had care of the baggage, retired to the fort of *Ainé* (I). Presently the enemy came, and, besieging the place, it was at length agreed, that the Soltân, and his attendants, should be delivered to them; on condition that they withdrew, and suffered the rest to retire, with the baggage, to the port; which they did: and the next day came some succours by sea; with whom they

^k PAKH. l. ii. c. 7, 10, 24.

^l Ibid. l. xiii. c. 22.

^m Ibid. l. ii. c. 24.

ⁿ AUGUST. CURIO.

^o NICEPH. GREGOR. l. iv. c. i.

(D) Who this *Malek* was, we are quite at a loss to know, the author having said no more about him. Perhaps he was the Soltân's brother, mentioned a little lower down.

(E) Sure *Rukratin* and *Malek* cannot be the same person: for no author speaks of *Rokno'ddîn*'s flying for shelter to the emperor. *Pakhmire* aims more at accuracy in style than history, or order of time in ranging his facts; is very verbose, yet deficient in matter.

(F) Hence she is called afterwards queen of the *Mulguls*, though not married to *Hûlâkû*.

(G) *Abaga*, or *Abaka Khân*, son and successor of *Hûlâkû*.

(H) To the north of the *Caspian* sea, and the *Danube*. He afterwards married *Euphrosyne*, the emperor's natural daughter.

(I) *Aynum*, or *Oenum*.

returned to *Constantinople*. The emperor, enraged at their conduct, punished the chief of them; and, imprisoning the wife, mother, daughter, and sister, of the Soltân, with their children, confiscated all their effects^p. The *Greek* historians say, that *Azatines* never returned into his own dominions; but died, soon after his escape, in the country to the north of the *Caspian* sea,

Historians
disagree

in several
respects,

Hej. 664.
A. D. 1265.

with regard to

these two Sol-
tâns.

Instances
thereof.

Anatolia
over-run by

the fugitive
'Turks.

Thirteenth
Soltan, Kay
Khosraw III.

HISTORIANS, both eastern and western, disagree so much with regard to this Soltân, that an author, for want of farther helps, must be at a great nonplus how to reconcile them. The *Greeks* and *Abû'lfaraj* agree to make *Azzo'ddin* Soltân of *Koniya*; and, from all circumstances of the history, he must have been so, at least for a term of years. But *D'Herbelot*, after the *Persian* historians, makes *Rokno'ddin* the Soltân: possibly, because he was supported by the *Mogols*, and continued to reign after *Azzo'ddin* was expelled: yet he recites from them only two transactions of his reign. He informs us, that *Rokno'ddin Soleyman*, having sent his brother *Alao'ddin Kaykobâd* to the court of the Great Khân of the *Mogols*, to transact the affairs of the *Seljûkians*, that prince gained the favour of the Khân by his address; and returned with such ample powers, that *Soleyman* finding himself almost wholly deprived of his authority by *Kaykobâd*, bribed one of his domestics to poison him: that *Abâka Khân*, being informed of this ill office which *Soleyman* had done his brother, ordered him to be served in the same manner (*), in the year 664, after he had reigned twenty years. He left for his successor his son *Kay Khosraw*, who had his confirmation from the same Khân^q.

It is evident, from the testimony of *Abû'lfaraj*, a subject of the *Seljûkian* empire, backed by that of the *Greek* writers, that *Azzo'ddin* immediately succeeded his father *Gayatho'ddin*. It appears also, that soon after *Rokno'ddin's* being set up by the *Mogols*, and the monarchy divided between them, they both reigned at the same for several years, each in his respective territories; that, at length, *Azzo'ddin*, being expelled by the *Mogols* or *Tatars*, *Rokno'ddin* reigned alone (†) over the whole. It seems therefore but just, that *Azzo'ddin* should be reckoned among the Soltâns, as well as *Rokno'ddin*; and the rather as we find him named first on the coin mentioned by *Abû'lfaraj*. But whether we divide the reigns of the two brothers, ending that of *Azzo'ddin* with his last abdication, or make but one reign of both, it must be observed, that *Kondamir* (or whatever author *D'Herbelot* took these few particulars from, for he recites no one), disagrees with *Abû'lfaraj* in two or three very essential points: 1. According to him, there were no more than two brothers, *Rokno'ddin* and *Alao'ddin*; whereas *Abû'lfaraj* affirms there were three; of whom *Azzo'ddin* was the eldest. 2. He says, that *Alao'ddin* was sent to the Khân by *Rokno'ddin*. *Abû'lfaraj* says, *Azzo'ddin* sent both him and *Rokno'ddin* on that embassy. 3. He affirms, that *Alao'ddin* returned into *Rûm*, and was there poisoned by *Rokno'ddin*. *Abû'lfaraj* affirms, on the contrary, that *Alao'ddin* died on the road into *Taiary*.

WITH regard to this *Alao'ddin*, which-ever death he died, he may have been one of the *Alao'ddins* mentioned in the *Turkish* history, under whom the father of *Othmân* served; for he was a King or Soltân in the share of the *Seljûkian* dominions, which was given him, as appears by the above-mentioned coin.

IN the reigns of these two Soltâns, the *Roman* empire, which, ever since the death of *Gayatho'ddin Kay Khosraw*, slain by *Theodorus Laskaris*, in 1210, seems to have been free from the depredations of the *Turks*, began to be invaded by them with greater fury than ever it had been before: not so much from inclination, which governed their former invasions, as necessity, which obliged them to it in their own defence. For as the dissensions between the two brothers gave encouragement to the governors towards the borders of the *Seljûkian* dominions to set up for themselves; so, on the invasion of the *Mogols*, the *Turks*, to avoid them, retired westward, in great multitudes, under different commanders: who, the better to secure themselves against those formidable enemies, and gain new possessions in the place of those they had abandoned, fell, with all their force at once, on every side of the *Roman* territories in *Asia*, which then were in a most defenceless state; and, in the compass of a few years, subdued the whole, as will be shewn more at large in the next reign.

KAY KHOSRAW III. son of *Rokno'ddin Soleyman*, being but an infant when he ascended the throne in 664, *Abâka Khân*, who married his mother, appointed *Pervaneh Kashi* (‡) for his tutor (or Atabek). This Soltân reigned eighteen years; at the end of which, in 682, he

^p PAKH. l. ii. c. 24. l. iii. c. 3, 25. l. xiii. c. 22.

^q D'HERB. p. 822, art. Soliman ben Caikhosrou.

(*) *Abû'lfeda* says, that *Mayno'ddin al Berwâna*, the *Tatar* general, hereafter-mentioned, being offended with *Rokno'ddin*, slew him. *Excerpta ad fin. vitæ Salaho'ddin. per Bahadin. edit. Schyltenf. p. 59.*

(†) *Abû'lfeda*, in the same place, says, they reigned together for a time, and then *Rokno'ddin* alone.

(‡) *Pervaneh* is the softer *Persian* pronunciation of *Berwanah*, who, *Abû'lfeda* says, having killed his father, enthroned him in his stead.

a was killed, by order of *Abmed Khân* (K), who succeeded *Abaka Khân*; and *Massîd*, son of *Kaykaws*, was afterwards appointed his successor by *Argûn Khân*, who succeeded *Abmed*.

THIS is all which *D'Herbelot* furnishes from the oriental authors, relating to this prince, whom he reckons the twelfth Soltân; nor does *Abû'lfaraj* mention any of the Soltâns after *Azzo'ddin*, uncle to *Kay Khosraw*. However, we meet with a passage in him, which we shall cite, as it relates to *Perwaneh*, the Soltân's tutor, and the affairs of his kingdom.

THAT author informs us, that, in the year 675, *Bendokdâr*, Soltân of *Egypt*, excited by some fugitives, resolved to invade the territories of *Rûm*; which king *Leân*, son of the king of *Armenia* (*Hatem*), being informed of, sent notice to the *Mogol* commanders who were in that country. But this advice being represented to them as false, by *Berwânab* (L), who wished well to

Soltân of Egypt
Hej. 675.
A. D. 1275.

b *Bendokdâr*, and hated the *Armenian* king, they paid no regard to it. So that the *Egyptians* invaded *Rûm*: came upon them at a time when they were so overcome with liquor that they could not mount their horses: and as, by their *Yasa* (M), or laws, they are obliged not to fly till they have faced the enemy, they gave them battle; in which all the great *Mogul* officers were slain, besides most of their men, and 2000 out of 3000 *Gorj* (N), who were with them. The *Egyptians* likewise lost a vast number on their side. *Berwânab*, on this news, fled to a castle for security. *Bendokdâr*, after his victory, encamped in a place called *Kaykobâd*, near *Kasariyab*, where he remained fifteen days, without doing the least hurt, or taking any thing without paying for it. Nor did he enter that city more than once; saying, that he came not to lay waste the country, but to deliver its lord from slavery.

c As soon as *Abâka Khân* (O) was informed of this misfortune, he gathered forces, and marched into the country of the *Rûms*: but *Bendokdâr*, knowing himself unable to withstand him, had retired into *Syria* before he arrived. *Berwânab* went to meet the Khân, who received him without any shew of resentment, and took him with him in his return to the *Tâk* (P); under pretence of consulting what number of forces would be sufficient to guard the country of *Rûm* against the *Egyptians*. Being arrived in the camp, the Khân made a magnificent feast, wherein he took care to ply *Berwânab* with mare's milk (Q), for he drank no wine. At length, the latter going out to draw water, *Abâka* gave the sign to some in waiting, who followed, and cut him in pieces (R). This was the end of a traitor: nor did *Bendokdâr* long survive him; for he died at *Hems* (in *Syria*), in his return to *Egypt*. Some say of a wound received by an arrow, d in the engagement with the *Mogols*; others by poison, infused by one of his domestics in the mare's milk, which he called for (S) to drink.

HAVING nothing farther to say from the east, let us turn westward, and view the miserable condition of the *Greeks*; unable to resist the power of the *Turks*, who, like an inundation, suddenly overwhelmed them. As we have already mentioned the defenceless state of the empire at this juncture, it will be proper to set forth by what means it came to be reduced to such a weak condition. To do this the more effectually, it may be necessary to take the matter a little higher. Although, on the accession of *Theodorus Laskaris* to the throne, the empire of *Nice* was confined to the narrow bounds of only three cities, *Nice*, *Prusa*, and *Philadelphia*; yet affairs were managed with such prudence, that the state was secure against all its enemies. The better to oppose the *Franks*, who had taken *Constantinople*, and were masters of the sea, the ministers made peace with the *Turks*; paying them yearly a large sum, and then turned all their forces against the former. After they had done with them, they applied themselves to fortify the mountains, in spite of all the endeavours of the *Turks* to hinder them.

Miserable state of the Greeks in Asia;

* D'HERB. p. 239 & 127, art. Caikhofru troisieme, & Argoun Khan. * ABU'LF. p. 358, et seq.

(K) Surnamed *Nikudar Oglan*; he succeeded *Abaka Khân*, in 681.

(L) *Berwânab* is the *Arab* pronunciation; *Perwaneh* (or *Parwana*, as *Hayton* the *Armenian* writes) is the *Persian*. The same *Hayton* says, he was commander of the *Tatars* in *Turkey* (1); so he calls the *Seljukian* dominions in *Asia minor*: but he must be understood of a civil, not a military, officer.

(M) Or *Yasa*, laws military and civil, made by *Jenghîz Khân*, but said to have been framed first by *Ogûz Khân*, and only revived by the other.

(N) Or *Korj*; called by us *Georgians*, instead of *Gorjans*.

(O) *Il Khân* is a title, or surname, given to, or assumed by, *Hulakû*, whose descendants are thence called *Ilkhanians*. He seems to have assumed it in imitation of *Tumena Ilkhan* (2), who first introduced it; and to shew he was descended from that hero. This title differs

from that of *Ilak* or *Ilek Khân*, assumed by *Turkish* princes, who possessed the country of *Ilak*; washed on the south by the river *Sikûn* or *Sir*, and whose capital was *Tonkât*, or, as others say, *Nobakht*. *D'Herb. bibl. orient. p. 488. art. Ilak.*

(P) *Al Tâk* is the place of encamping, or where he encamped.

(Q) The chief liquor used by the people of *Tatary*; it is called *Kumis*, and is strong and pleasant.

(R) *Hayton* says, he was cut in two by the middle, according to the custom of the *Tatars*; and that the Khân ordered his flesh to be mixed with the victuals which were served at his table; and that he and all his officers ate of it. *Ibid.* This is one of *Haton's* romances.

(S) He was fourth Soltân of the *Babriyan Mamlûks*, who were slaves from *Tatary*. He was called also *Bibars al Salehi*, famous for his victories.

(1) *Hayt. de Tataris, cap. 34.*

(2) See before, p. 135.

They built forts, committing the care of them to the natives of the country ; and thus secured the empire on that side. a

As the people who inhabited those mountains were inclinable to change sides, and did not care to run any risk by resisting the enemy ; the emperors attached them to their interest, by exempting them from certain taxes, and bestowing considerable bounties on the principal persons among them, who, by that means, became very rich. Their zeal for their country increased with their wealth : so that they made it their business to surprize the enemy in the night, carrying off much plunder ; and chose rather to prevent their coming, than wait for them. The care which was taken of the fortresses had this happy effect ; and that those who guarded them might not be tempted to desert them, there were troops in the neighbourhood, ready to support them †.

to what
owing.

A. D. 1260.

By these good regulations, the affairs of the *Greeks* were so greatly advanced in the east, that when *Mikbael Paleologus* returned from *Nice* to *Constantinople*, upon its being taken from the *Latins* in 1260, *Asia minor*, *Paphlagonia* (T), *Bitbynia the Greater*, and *Capatian Phrygias*, with *Karia*, were under the obedience of the *Romans* (U), and paid them tribute †.

BUT after *Mikbael* had removed the seat of his empire, and the inhabitants, especially those who had been in command, were returned, the people who possessed the mountains were exceedingly weakened ; and, no longer receiving any succours, were themselves obliged to sustain the weight of the war. To make the matter still worse, the affairs of the empire (in *Europe*), falling afterwards into a bad state, *Mikbael Paleologus*, by the advice of *Kadenus*, governor of *Constantinople*, stripped those people, who were rich, of their effects ; and allowing each forty crowns pension, ordered the rest of the revenues arising from the lands, and which amounted to considerable sums, to be brought to the treasury : which ill treatment diminished their strength and took away their courage. c

Turks forced
westward.

THE emperor, in all likelihood, was the more easily induced to do this, as he apprehended no danger from the side of the *Turks* ; whom he kept at peace by continual treaties, and who were too much employed by the *Tatars* to give him any disturbance. But that which seemed to promise most security, proved most pernicious to his interest : for shortly after, by an unforeseen event, the *Turks* crouding westward, to avoid the army of the enemy, and being too many for the country to make themselves room, began to invade the *Roman* empire ; or, to speak in the words of our author, the most valiant among the *Turks*, finding, after being vanquished by the *Tatars*, that they had no other recourse but their arms, retired into the mountains, and committed robberies. With this view, they assembled in great numbers, and attacked the *Romans* ; who, being weak, were obliged to yield to them. d

Seize the
mountains.

THEY would have suffered themselves to be quite driven out of the country, if the pensions which they still received had not withheld them. The desire of preserving that little which was left them made them defend the places, and desire the aid of *Roman* troops, when they were hard pressed : but then they never exposed themselves to make sallies, or fight in the open field ; and as soon as those salaries were retrenched, some of the soldiers went over to the enemy, and the rest retired whither they thought fit.

THE *Turks*, having thus become masters of those parts, made incursions through the country, plundering it at pleasure ; and extremely incommoded the *Roman* forces, who were continually harassed between them in the east, and the *Franks* in the west †. e

The country
defenceless :

A. D. 1266.

As the emperor had not forces enough to divide them, and thought it of most importance to preserve that part of his dominion which lay in *Europe*, he employed them chiefly against the last enemy who threatened *Constantinople* itself. By this means the east came to be neglected ; and, being destitute of troops, as well as garrisons, was exposed to the ravages of the *Turks* : so that about the time that *Soltân Azzo'ddin* made his escape from *Ainum*, the affairs of the country were in dreadful confusion ; especially about the river *Meander*, where the *Turks* had seized many towns and monasteries : but *John the Despot* repairing thither in time, saved the chief of them, and secured *Tralles*, *Karyster*, and other advanced places. He likewise prevented the loss of the *Magedonians*, those expert archers, who were in danger of being subdued, for want of the forces which had been called away to the defence of the west. The *Turks*, intimidated by the vigour with which the *Despot* proceeded, sent to offer him their prisoners, and demand a peace, which was granted. f

pressed by
taxes ;

BUT while the emperor by his arms saved towns on one side, he lost whole nations and provinces on the other, by his exactions ; for he laid such heavy taxes on the *Mariandines*, *Bucellarians*, and *Paphlagonians*, either to pay his foreign troops, or keep these people in subjec-

† PAKH. I. i. c. 2, 3.

‡ DUKAS, c. 2.

* PAKH. I. i. c. 5, 6.

(T) *Fulgaria* is added here.

(U) The *Turks*, who a little before had taken *Likao-nia*, were then masters of *Kappadocia*, *Galatia*, *Pamphy-*

lia, *Armenia*, *Helenopont*, *Pyfidia*, *Lycia*, and other provinces. *Cælosyria* is added, perhaps by mistake.

a tion, causing them, at the same time, to be raised with so much rigour, that he quite ruined the country, and obliged the inhabitants to deliver up the fortresses, and put themselves under the dominion of the *Turks*, in hopes of better usage¹.

THE affairs of the *Franks* likewise requiring the presence of the *Despot* in *Europe*, the coun- A. D. 1267.
try about the *Meander*, as well as the rest of the east, became exposed afresh to the depredations of the *Turks*. The mountain, defended by the forts of *Abala*, *Kaasta*, and *Magedon*, the once famous province of *Karia*, also lay open to their incursions. *Trakhium*, *Stadia*, *Strabilon*, and is over-run
the lands lying opposite to the island of *Rhodes*, which, but a little while before, had been reduced under the power of the *Romans*, were become the retreat of the enemy, from whence they made their inroads. The people inhabiting the northern coasts of *Asia minor* (not to men- by the *Turks*.
tion those within land), the *Mariandines*, *Molinians*, and the generous *Enetes*, were ruined to a deplorable degree: the fortresses of *Kromitus*, *Amastris*, and *Tios*, which are near the sea, had nothing left of their ancient splendor; and must have been destroyed, but for the advantage of their situation, which made it easy to relieve them. In short, *Anatolia*, was so over-run by the enemy, that the *Sangarius* served as the frontier, and there was no possibility of getting to *Heraklea* by land. This bad state of the east was owing to the treachery of the men in command; who, that they might have the better opportunity to enrich themselves, made the emperor believe the losses which happened in those parts were so inconsiderable, that it was not worth his while to cross the sea to repair them: which false report, as *Mikhael* said himself, was what contributed most of all to its ruin².

c HOWEVER, no steps were taken, for several years after, to put a stop to the progress made Tralles
by the *Turks*, till *Mikhael*, reflecting on the ruin of *Karia*, *Antiokh*, and the neighbouring rebuilt.
country; and on the necessity there was of sending succours to *Kaystro*, *Priene*, *Milesus*, and A. D. 1280.
Magedon, sent *Andronicus*, his son, and associate in the empire, with a considerable army, accompanied by a great many persons of distinction. In his march along the *Meander*, he beheld the ruins of *Tralles* (X), formerly a famous city; and, being charmed with the beauty of its situation, resolved to rebuild it, and give it the name either of *Andronicopolis* or *Paleologopolis*. As the masons were at work, they found an oracle cut on a piece of marble, declaring; that, in time to come, a prince should raise this city out of its ruins, and build it with greater magnificence than ever.

d ANDRONICUS, applying the oracle to himself, in hopes of the long life which was promised A false oracle.
to its restorer, undertook to rebuild it, and set about the business with great earnestness. But this oracle was no other than an illusion, which proved the death of an infinite number of people. When the walls were finished along the *Meander*, no fewer than 35,000 came to inhabit the place. However, they were scarce warm in their houses, when they found themselves of a sudden besieged by an army of *Turks*, commanded by *Mantakbia*, surnamed *Salpace*; which, in their language, says our author, signifies a strong man. As the soil afforded no springs, and there were neither fountains, cisterns, nor wells, in the place, *Libadarius*, the grand Cartulary, who commanded there, knew not what to do. The inhabitants would have been content, though reduced to eat vermin, and even dead bodies, could they only have found drink
e with such bad food. Many died for thirst (Y); and others, to avoid that death, went to beg relief from the enemy, who drove them back, or killed them.

THOSE within relying on the oracle, and the hopes of succour, the *Turks* resolved to make The city is
a last effort; and, approaching the wall, under cover of their bucklers, sapped it. When they quickly de-
had fixed the shorings, they once more summoned the besieged to surrender; and, on their refusal, stroyed.
set fire to the wood: a breach being thus made, they took the city by storm, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. Before this, they took *Nissa*; which, in like manner, fell into their hands, for want of forces to relieve it. What is most strange, the young emperor was at *Nymphæum* all the while they were performing those two exploits: after which they ravaged and plundered *Anatolia* without controul.

f THE *Turks*, encouraged by these successes, crossed the river *Sangarius*, and laid waste the Bithynia
country to the west of it. On this news, the emperor *Mikhael*, raising all the forces he could, laid waste.
in haste set forward to stop their inroads. When he beheld the dreadful desolation which they had A. D. 1281.
made, he was struck with the deepest anguish. On this occasion he told the patriarch of *Alexandria*, that the attempts of certain persons to stir up his subjects against him, by condemning his conduct, had obliged him to neglect the care of the provinces, in order to look to his own safety: and that the governors, to whom he had intrusted those distant parts of his dominions, had concealed from him the distress they were in, either because they had been gained over by presents, or thro' fear of being punished for their neglect.

¹ ПАХ. l. iii. c. 21, 22, 23.

² Ibid. l. iv. c. 27.

(X) By this, *Tralles* must have been lately ruined by the *Turks*; yet the author has not taken notice of so remarkable an event.

(Y) Could not the *Meander* have supplied them with drink? or the stream which Dr. *Pocock* says ran through the city? Vol. ii. part. 2. p. 67.

The frontiers
strengthened.

THEY found so great a quantity of fruit under the trees, that it served to subsist one half a of the army. The *Turks* retired as fast as the emperor advanced: who wanting the necessary conveniencies for pursuing them in the hilly countries, whither they had retreated; he was content to secure the frontiers, by repairing the old forts, and building new ones in those places where the *Sangarius* was most narrow and fordable. He likewise gave orders to fortify the river, for a certain space, with trees; whose branches were so thick, and well intermixed, that a snake could not make his way thro' them ^a.

Fourteenth Sol-
tân, Massûd.

MASSUD, surnamed *Gayatho'ddin*, was the son of *Azzo'ddin Kaykaws*, son of *Gayatho'ddin* the dominions which his predecessor had conquered in *Asia minor*, and the greater *Armenia*: b for, in effect, those countries were entirely subject to *Argûn Khân*, from whom he received the investiture of them ^b. *D'Herbelot*, who gives this short account of him, at the end of an article relative to a different prince, mentions the time neither when he began nor ended his reign: but in the table or list of the Soltâns of *Rûm* ^c, his death is put in 687. It must be observed, that there was an interregnum of one year, at least of some months, from the death of *Kay Khosraw*, to the death of *Abmed*; and it does not appear when *Argûn Khân* invested *Massûd*: but supposing it to have been in his first year, or 683, then *Massûd* must have reigned but four or five years at most.

Hej. 687.
A. D. 1288.

His story im-
perfect.

THIS is all the information which has yet come to our hands, from the oriental historians, concerning this prince: as for the *Greek* writers, their memoirs are so confused and imperfect, c that we can deliver nothing with certainty from them. We find no more relating to *Rukratin*, or *Rokno'ddin*, than what has been already taken notice of, altho' he must have reigned several years after his brother's expulsion; nor any mention of *Kay Khosraw*, who reigned after him for the space of eighteen years. They tell you, indeed, that the son of *Azetines*, or *Azzo'ddin*, who retired to *Constantinople*, and whom they call *Malek*, did, a long time after his retreat from thence with his father, recover his dominions. We cannot positively say that this *Malek* is the *Massûd* of the oriental authors, although there are circumstances in his story which favour that opinion.

Obtains the
kingdom.

THE historian who gives the best account of this matter, is *Pakhamîr*. We have already related, from the same author, that *Malek*, whom he likewise calls *Malek Masur* (Z), fled, along d with his father *Azatines*, from the castle of *Aine* into the country beyond the *Euxine* sea. There they wandered together, for some years: till after the death of *Azatines* (A), he crossed the sea into *Asia minor*; and, arriving at *Thymenum*, gained the favour of *Argûn*, Khân of the *Tatars*. By this means he became master of the country, as his proper inheritance; and reduced to his obedience the principal *Turkish* commanders. But *Amur* (B), father of *Ali*, having gathered a considerable army of *Tatars*, fell upon *Malek*, and reduced him to such an extremity, that he resolved to go with his wife and children, and submit himself to the emperor. He repaired first to *Heraklea* of *Pontus*, and then to *Constantinople* ^a. The story thus far is related some- e what differently by the same author, in another place. He there says, that *Malek* a long time after his father's death, crossing the *Euxine* sea, stopped at *Kastamona*; where, having gained the good-will of the *Tatars*, he made an attempt to recover his father's kingdom: but having been defeated by *Amur* (C), he retired to *Heraklea*, and thence to *Constantinople* ^c.

Driven out.

Recovers it
again.

THE emperor *Andronicus*, who succeeded *Mikhael*, being then at *Nympheum*, *Malek* left his wife at *Constantinople*, and crossed over into *Asia*. But when he was near *Endromit* (D), he began to suspect the emperor's friendship; and observing that his conductor had too watchful an eye over him, complained openly of it, and quitted him; declaring, that if any body offered to stop him, he would repulse him vigorously. He retired to the *Turks*; and having, in a short time, acquired a more illustrious reputation, and more considerable forces than he had before, *Amur* became so much afraid of him, that he came with his seven sons, and humbly submitted to him. But while he lay prostrate at *Malek's* feet, to implore his clemency, that f prince reproached him with his former treachery; and having taken a glass of wine, as if to drink, extended his hands: on which signal those in waiting drew their swords, and slew *Amur*, with his sons.

Slays Omer.

HOWEVER, one escaped, named *Ali*, who resolved to perish, rather than not revenge the death of his father and brothers. With this view he gathered a considerable number of *Turks*; and ranging the country after the manner of robbers, it was *Malek's* ill fortune at length to fall

^a PAKH. l. vi. c. 20, 21, 29. p. 800.

^b D'HERB. p. 562, art. Massoud, fils de Mohammed, sub. fin.

^c Ibid. l. xiii. c. 22.

^d Ibid.

(Z) A mistake probably, for *Masûr*, or *Massûd*.
(A) Elsewhere it is said, a long time after his father's death; which must have been the case.

(B) Called by others *Homur*, and *Omer*.
(C) Who was settled thereabout.
(D) Or *Adromitium*.

a in his way : for as his horse ran full speed, he fell, and threw his rider, who at the same instant was run through by his enemy.

Is slain by Ali.

ALI was so puffed up with this success, that, gathering some troops, he began to ravage the Roman territories ; into which the river *Sangarius*, by an unforeseen accident (E), gave him admittance. At the head of this account we are told, that *Ali*, and *Nasratius*, his brother, had been a long time with the *Romans* as hostages : and that, having gained the affections of the *Turks*, who dwelt about *Kastamona*, they committed divers acts of hostility against the people who inhabited towards the *Euxine* sea, and the river *Sangarius*, without daring to advance farther ; but that his insolence increased, after he had slain *Malek Masur* (F) (rather *Masut*), the son of *Soltân Azatines* ^f.

b THERE is nothing in this account of the *Greeks* inconsistent with that of the orientals. On the contrary, it seems confirmed by two circumstances : one is the name of *Masur*, which is doubtless a mistake for *Masut*, as the *Greeks* write *Masûd* ; the other, that he was advanced by the favour of *Argûn Khân*, as it appears *Masûd* was.

WE must not forget to mention that *Malek*, a considerable time after his retreat from *Endromit*, sent for his wife, who, by the emperor's consent, went to him : but his daughter remained in hostage (G), as well as *Constantine Malek* (H), another son of *Azatines*, who had been baptized, and lived after the manner of the *Greeks* ^g. It is not mentioned at what time he sent for the Soltâna : but it must have been before he obtained the kingdom, in regard the emperor *Mikbael* died the year before that event ; namely, in the year 1283.

c MASSUD was succeeded by his nephew *Kaykobad*.

KAYKOBAD, the last Soltân of *Rûm*, was the son of *Faramorz*, son of *Kaykaws* ; and succeeded his uncle *Masûd*, under the authority of *Gazân Khân*, who confirmed or invested him in the dominions of his ancestors, in the year 687 (I) : but having revolted against that prince some years after, the *Mogols* took from him all his dominions : then seizing his person, put him to death ; and, at the same time, an end to this last branch and dynasty of the *Seljukians* ^h.

Fifteenth Soltân Kaykobad: A. D. 1288.

THIS happened, according to the table of the *Seljukian* princes given by *D'Herbelot*, in the year 700 of the *Hejrah*, or of *Christ* 1300. The *Greek* historians make no mention of this Soltân, with whom they had no affairs : the *Turks*, whom they were at that time engaged in war with, having been the *Seljuk* commanders ; who, taking advantage of the distractions caused by the *Mogol* invasion, threw off their dependence on the Soltân, and set up for themselves.

d IN order to repress their progress in the *Roman* territories, the emperor *Andronicus* made *Alexis*, surnamed *Philantropenus* (who was his cup-bearer, and second son of *Tarkoniatos*, the protovestiary), governor of *Asia minor* and *Lydia*. *Philantropenus*, having then under his command the troops of *Kandia*, and at length all the armies of the east, displayed so much valour, and gained so many victories, that, during his government, which continued a long time, he restored the affairs of the empire in the east ; and at the same time, by his great liberality and address, gained the affection both of the *Romans* and their enemies. In all his expeditions he acquired much wealth, yet gave most away in presents and rewards. Of this we shall give an instance. Near *Meladun* there was a fort, called the *Fort of the two little hills* (which our author thinks was the ancient *Didymion* of the *Milesians*), where the principal wife of *Salam-paces* before-mentioned, who was lately deceased, had retired with inestimable treasures. As it was not possible to take the place by force, *Philantropenus*, making use of art to gain his ends, thought to deceive that lady by secret promises of marriage. After she had rejected his proposal, perceiving that there were posts driven into a little lake which washed the walls of the fort, he ordered planks to be fastened to them, with ropes, and built towers on them ; at the same time

Philantropenus rebels:

^f PAKH. l. x. c. 25.

^g Ibid. l. xiii. c. 22.

^h D'HERB. p. 240, art. Caikobad.

(E) The accident which gave *Ali* a passage over the *Sangarius*, was this. In the month of *March*, that river, deserting its fortifications, made by the emperor *Mikbael Paleologus*, resumed its ancient bed, where the emperor *Jusianian* had built a bridge ; and although the river *Melan* took its place, yet it had not water sufficient to fill its chanel. Afterwards the *Sangarius*, being greatly swelled with the rains, changed its course a second time, carrying with it such a vast quantity of gravel, mud, and earth, that it might be crossed on foot. Those who garrisoned the said fortifications, seeing themselves exposed by this alteration to the inroads of the enemy, withdrew. A month after, the river took its usual chanel ; as if it had left it only to disperse the garrisons, and favour the incursions of the enemy (1).

(F) Some render it, *After Malec Masur had slain the son of Soltân Azatines* : but that is to say, after the son of *Azatines* had slain the son of *Azatines*, which is absurd. Besides, *Ali*, in slaying *Malek*, slew the son of *Azatines* ; and from thence it was that he grew so elated or insolent, as to ravage the *Roman* territories.

(G) She was given in marriage to *Ishak Malek*, as the reader will find hereafter.

(H) Other authors mention but one son. *Gregoras* calls him *Malek Shâh* ; who is more likely to be this *Constantine* than *Masûd*.

(I) *D'Herbelot*, in another place, p. 363, art. *Gazan Khân*, puts it in 702 ; which is two years after the end of his reign, and of the *Seljukian* dynasty.

(1) Pakhamir. l. xiii. c. 22.

covering the rest of the lake with vessels filled with soldiers, and engines proper for taking cities, he quickly became master of the place, and all the riches, which he distributed among his followers. These persuaded him to revolt : but *Libadarius*, governor of *Neokastium*, *Lydia*, and *Sardes*, marching against him at *Nympheum*, he was betrayed by the *Kandiots* : who seizing him at the head of his army, delivered him into the hands of that commander, who immediately ordered his eyes to be put out. His forces, which were very numerous, consisting of *Turks* as well as *Romans*, fled ; while *Libadarius*, with his small forces, made a great slaughter of them.

defeated by Libadarius.
A. D. 1296.
Greek affairs mind.
THE *Turks*, some time after, to revenge the shame of this defeat, assembling in great numbers, laid waste the whole country, from the *Euxine* sea to that of *Rhodes*. To put a stop to these disorders, the emperor sent over *John Tarkoniates* with money and troops, although he was an obstinate abettor of the schism which then prevailed in the church. This he did, upon a persuasion that a dissenter from the established religion might love his country ; and that to defeat the enemies of a state, depended more on the military skill, than orthodoxy of its generals. In effect, *Tarkoniates*, by his conduct, proved the emperor's sentiments to be just. He brought the soldiery to a proper regulation, by preferring poor men of merit to rich cowards ; and obliging those to do duty, who, presuming on their wealth, despised the orders of their commanders. By this means, in a short time, he raised a numerous army, and equipped a powerful fleet, with which he had such good success, both by land and sea, that he soon restored the affairs of the east. But they were ruined again, by the negligence and bad conduct of those who succeeded him : for the money, appointed for payment of the soldiers, being misapplied, the troops dwindled away by degrees, and laid the country open anew to the incursions of the enemy¹.

Relapse anew.
Rise of Othmân.
AMONG the commanders who headed different armies of *Turks*, and invaded the empire in different parts at the same time, *Othmân* was one ; who, from a small beginning, in a few years laid the foundation of a mighty empire, which rose out of the ruins of the *Seljûkian*. With regard to this latter it may be observed, that the empire of the *Seljûks* ended properly with *Gayatho'ddin Kay Khosraw*, the eleventh Soltân, who, after his defeat and losses, in *Hejrab* 641, became their tributary. This is noted by *Abu'lfeda*², who marks *Hejrab* 551 (*A. D.* 1156), for the first year of *Kilij Arslân II* which gives him a reign of only thirty-seven years, instead of forty, as we have assigned him in our table of Soltâns : that remark not having occurred time enough to correct the mistake (K).

¹ PAKH. l. ix. c. 9, 10, 14, 25.

² ABU'LF. excerpt. ad fin. vitæ Saladin. edit. Schultens. p. 57.

(K) It may be proper farther to relate from *Atû'lfeda*, that *Kilij Arslân* had ten sons : that to *Kotbbo'ddin Malek Shâh* he gave *Sivâs* ; and *Casaria*, to *Nurâ'ddin*

Soltân Shâh : that this latter, after taking *Konîyah* from *Malek Shâh*, went to *Aksera* : that there died his father ; and *Malek Shâh* soon after.

B O O K III.

The History of the Moguls and Tartars from the time of Jenghîz Khân.

C H A P. I.

A description of Western Tartary, as divided at present among the three branches of Mungls, or Moguls.

a **G**REAT TARTARY, or *Tartary*, as has been already observed^a, is divided into east and west. The eastern *Tatary* is possessed by several nations; who, being subject to the *Manchews*, at present masters of *China*, go by that general name. The western *Tatary*, which is considerably more extensive than the other, is in like manner occupied by a great number of nations or tribes of people, who are called *Mungls*, or *Mungals*, by themselves, and *Moguls* or *Tatars* indifferently by other nations. *Division of Tatary.*

THESE *Mungls* or *Moguls*, after various revolutions, the most remarkable of which will be related in the following history, became latterly divided into three great bodies, under different sovereigns. One retained the name of *Mungls* simply; the second took that of *Kalkas*; and the third assumed the name of *Aluths*, or *Eluths*: and among these three *Mungl* powers is all the western *Tartary* divided. So that, at present, western *Tartary* may be said to fall under a tripartite division: however, it must be observed, that as the country of the two first of these three *Mogul* branches, as well as that part properly called eastern *Tartary*, are subject to *China*; therefore some authors, particularly the jesuits, who have given us of late the history and description of that empire, divide *Great Tartary* in general into nearly two equal parts, by assigning mount *Altay* for the western limit of eastern *Tartary*. Perhaps it would be better to divide western *Tartary* into two parts: that is, to make mount *Altay* the partition between them, and ascribe the eastern part, comprizing the countries of the *Mongols* and *Kalkas*, to the dominion of *China*. But in this case every historian may do as he thinks best.

^a See before, p. 110.

S E C T. I.

Country of the Mungls properly so called.

a **T**HE country of the *Mungls*, or *Mungals*, called by the *European* geographers *Mongalia* (A), is bounded on the east by eastern *Tartary*; on the south, by the *Chinese* wall; on the west and north-west, by the *Kobi*, or great desert, and country of the *Kalkas*, from which it is divided by the *Karû*, or limits fixed by the late emperor of *China*, *Kang-bi*; and on the north by the *Kalkas*, and part of eastern *Tartary*. This is a very large region, of no less extent than the *Tatary* just mentioned. It is situate between the 124th and 142d degrees of eastern longitude, and between the 38th and 47th degrees of latitude: so that it is in length, from the borders of eastern *Tatary* in the east, to the parts over-against *Ningbysa*, in *China*, to the west, *Country of the Mungls;*

(A) It should rather be called *Mogûlîstân*, or *Munglîstân*; that is, in the *Mungl*, or *Turkish* language, the country of the *Moguls*, or *Mungls*; and so we find part of *Tatary* named by the oriental historians.

about

about 300 leagues; and about 200 in breadth from north to south, although not every-where so broad, as may appear by the maps^a.

famous for
actions.

THE part of *Tatary* within this division, has been the scene of the greatest actions performed both by the eastern and western *Tatars*. Here the great empire of *Jenghiz Khân*, and his successors, had its rise and seat: here the empires of *Kitay* and *Karakitay* were founded; and here the empire of the eastern *Tatars*, or *Manchews* (now in possession of *China*) had its beginning. Here, for several ages, bloody wars subsisted, and many battles were fought, which decided the fate of these monarchies. Here all the riches of the southern *Asia*, at several times, were carried and dissipated. Lastly, in these deserts, for a time, arts and sciences were cultivated, and many populous cities flourished: but, at present, they are all destroyed^b; nor do any signs of wealth remain, which may serve to witness the once opulent condition of the country.

Mountains
and rivers.

THESE territories of the *Mungls* are full of mountains, especially in the south parts adjoining to *China*; and are interspersed with rivers. Among these may be reckoned the *Whangho*; which, passing out of *China*, surrounds the country of *Ortús*, and then enters the empire again in the province of *Shen-si*: the *Shantú*, which enters *Pe-che-li* towards the sea; and the *Sira Muren*, which, rising to the north of the *Shantú*, runs east, and then, turning south, passes thro' *Lyau-tong*, by the name of *Lyau*. There are several lakes in this country, but none remarkable for their magnitude.

Division into
standards.

THE countries of the *Mungls* are divided into several territories, or districts, according to the tribes which possess them. But since they have put themselves under the protection of the emperor of *China*, they have been divided into forty-nine districts called *Shaffats*, that is banners, or standards, under so many princes or chiefs. The situation of these territories may be considered as they respect the four gates in the great wall of *China*; viz. *Hi-fong-kew*, *Ká pe-kew*, *Chang-kyá-kew* (these three in the province of *Pe-che-li*), and *Sha-bew-kew*, in *Shan-si*.

First course.

PASSING north from the gate of *Hi fong-kew* (B) you soon arrive in the countries of *Karchin*, *Tumet*, *Ohán*, *Nayman*, and *Korchin*.

Karchin.

KARCHIN, which begins at the said gate (C), is divided into two districts, called standards; the most remarkable place here is *Chaban-Suberhan-Hotun* (D). It is by far the best belonging to the *Mungls*; for, as the present princes of it are originally *Chinese*, they have drawn thither several of their countrymen, who have built towns, and improved the lands. Here are likewise mines, some of excellent tin; with large forests of fine timber: by which the great ancestor of the present family got immense riches. *Karchin* is 42 great *French* leagues from north to south, but much larger from east to west: and here are the emperor of *China*'s fine houses of pleasure, near which the late *Kang-hi* frequently hunted, and usually spent his summer; especially at *Je-bo*, about forty leagues from *Pe-king*^c.

Korchin.

KORCHIN (E) is divided into ten standards, including the countries of *Turbeda* and *Chaley*, or *Chalayr* (F). The principal residence of the *Korchin Tatars* is along the river *Queyler* (G), and their possessions extend to the *Sira Muren* (H); but they have neither springs for drink, nor wood for fuel; which they supply by wells, and dung of cattle. The principal point of *Turbeda* is *Haytaban Pira* (I): the *Chaley Tatars* dwell by the *Nonni Ula* (K). So that *Korchin*, from north to south, contains almost four degrees, extending six leagues to the north of *Haytaban*; but it does not exceed three degrees four minutes from east to west.

Nayman.

THE country of *Nayman* (L) contains but one banner, or standard, and begins from the south side of *Sira Muren*; its principal north point being *Topin-tala*^d (M).

Ohan.

OHAN is chiefly inhabited along the river *Narkoni Pira*, where some rivulets, as the *Shakakol* (N) fall into it. On this side the latitude of 41 degrees 15 minutes, are seen the ruins of a city called *Orpan*, or *Kurban-Suberhan-Hotun* (O), on the little river *Nácháka*, or *Nuchaka*,

^a DU HALDE descript. China & Tartary, vol. ii. p. 249, 261. Engl. fol. edit. vol. iv. p. 367.

^c DU HALDE, ibid. p. 249, & seq.

^d Ibid. 249, 264.

^b Collect. Trav. 4to.

(B) Latitude 40 deg. 19 min. 30 seconds; longitude 1° 28' 30" west of *Pe-king*; which is 134 east of *Ferro*, 111° 35' east of *London*, and 114° east of *Paris*.

(C) *Karchin* signifies the black tribe.

(D) *Hotun*, in the *Manchew* language, signifies city; and *Suberhan*, a pyramid of several stories. Lat. 41° 33' long. 2° 45' 20" east of *Pe-king*.

(E) That is, the red tribe.

(F) It is written also *Jalayr*, or *Jelayr*.

(G) Lat. 46° 17' long. 4° 22' east of *Pe-king*. Note that the latitudes were observed by the jesuit missionaries, who, in 1709, 10, and 11, by the emperor of *China*'s command, surveyed and made a map of *Chinese Tartary*: the longitudes are the result of their geometrical operations.

(H) Lat. 43° 37' long. 6° 30' east.

(I) Lat. 45° 15' long. 6° 30' east. *Pira* signifies a small river: as *Muren*, or *Muran*, a great one.

(K) *Ula* is the *Manchew* word for great rivers. Lat. 46° 30' long. 7° 45' east.

(L) This country begins on the *Sira Muren*, in lat. 43° 37' by observation, long. 5° east of *Pe-king*. The ancient country of the *Naymans* was from the river *Selinga* to the *Jenisea*, *Ob*, and *Irtish*.

(M) Lat. 43° 15' long. 4° 45' east of *Pe-king*.

(N) Lat. 42° 15' long. 4° east.

(O) Lat. 41° 20' long. 3° 50' east.

which

- a which falls into the *Talin Ho*. *Nayman* and *Oban*, though far less, are yet much better than *Korchin*, being interspersed with shrubby hills, which furnish wood for fuel, and abound with game, especially quails. These three countries, with *Turbeda*, are sandy, and extremely cold.

TUMET is divided between two banneret princes, and inhabited chiefly beyond the river Tumet. *Subarban*, where occur the ruins of *Modun Hotun* (P). This country extends southward to the great wall of *China*; eastward to the palisade inclosing *Lyau-tong* (Q); and northward to *Halba*, or *Hara Paychang*.

2. If you go from the gate *Ku-pe-kew* (R), you enter upon the territories formerly part of *Ker-Second course*, *chin* and *Onhiot*, but now converted to a forest, where the emperor hunts, and has several fine summer-houses. Farther north are the countries of *Onhiot*, *Kechikten*, *Parin*, *Sbarot*, *Uchû*

- b *Muchin*, *Arukorchin*, and *Abuhanar*.

ONHIOT is divided into two standards of two princes, on the river *Inkin* (S).

Onhiot.

PARIN, divided also into two standards, has its principal habitation (T) on the *Hara Muren*, *Parin*, which falls into the *Sira Muren*. This territory is larger than *Onhiot*, but in other respects like it, the soil being but indifferent. The princes of these countries are allied to the imperial family of *China*, and are regulos of the first and second order^c.

KECHIKTEN, or *Kesikten*, is divided into two standards, and has its principal habitation (U) *Kechikten*, on a small river, which runs north-east into the *Sira Muren*.

UCHU MUCHIN, or *Utsi Musin* (X), has two standards along the *Hulakar*, or *Hulgar Pira*; *Uchu Muchin*, its prince is a prime regulo.

- c SHAROT, divided into two standards likewise, is inhabited chiefly towards the confluence of the *Laban Pira* (Y) and *Sira Muren*.

ARUKORCHIN has but one banner, which resides on the river *Arukondulen* (Z).

ABUHANAR has two standards, and is best inhabited about the *Taal Nor* (A), or lake of *Abuhanar*.

WITHIN this second division, going almost due north from *Ku-pe-kew*, one meets with some *Ruins of cities*, towns, and the ruins of several considerable cities, as *Ilan Hotun*, *Poro Hotun*, *Kurtu Palhafsun*, and *Chau Nayman Sume Hotun* (B), all upon the river *Shangtu*, or *Shantu*. The last of these places seems to have been the city of *Shantu*, called by the *Chinese Kay-ping-fu*, whose ruins *Gerbillon* saw in 1691^f. It was built by *Koblay Khân*, the fifth *Mungl* emperor (and

- d grandson of *Jenghiz Khan*), who removed the imperial seat thither, in order to be nearer his new conquests; and served as the summer seat of his successors in *China*, who in winter resided at *Khân-balik*, or *Pe-king*. It belongs to the country of *Karchin*; but the other missionaries, who surveyed and made the map of *Tatary*, take no notice of it, any more than the rest of the ancient cities mentioned by *Marco Polo*, and other early travellers, excepting *Karakoram*; which yet they were intirely at a loss about, as will be seen presently.

3. WHEN you pass out of the gate *Chang-kyakew* (C), you enter on a country which was *Third course*, conquered by the emperor *Kang-hi*, and is his property. These lands, and all the rest along the *Chinese* wall as far as *Hi-fong-kew*, are occupied by farmers belonging to his majesty, the princes, and several *Tatar* lords. Here are *Mungl Tatars* also of different countries, ranged under three standards, and commanded by officers appointed by the emperor, therefore not reckoned among the forty-nine *Mungl* banners.

FARTHER to the north of *Chang-kyakew* are the countries of the *Mungl* princes of *Whachit*, *Sonhiot*, *Sabahay*, and *Twinchûz*.

WHACHIT is divided into two standards near the river *Gbikir* (D), or *Chirin Pira*.

Whachit.

SONHIOT has two standards, and the principal habitation is near a lake (E).

ABAHAY is divided into two standards, which encamp about some lakes or meers, the southernmost whereof is called *Siretu-buchin* (F).

Sonhiot.
Abahay.

TWINCHUZ contains but one banner or standard near the *Orgun Alin* (G), or mountain *Orgun*.

Twinchûz.

- f 4. FROM the gate of *Sba-hû-kew* (H) you enter on the emperor's lands. In this country *Fourth course*.

^c DU HALDE, p. 249. & seq.

^f Ibid. vol. ii. p. 335.

(P) Lat. 41° 28' long. 3° 40' east.

(Q) *Tumet*, *Oban*, *Nayman*, and *Turbeda*, or *Turmeda*, follow each other from west to east, with a sweep northwards, and lie to the north of *Lyau-tong*.

(R) Called by the *Russians Kapki*, lat. 40° 42' 15'' long. west of *Pe-king*, 0° 39' 4''.

(S) Lat. 42° 30' long. 2° east.

(T) Lat. 43° 36' long. 2° 14' east.

(U) Lat. 43° long. 1° 10' east.

(X) Lat. 44° 45' long. 1° 10' east.

(Y) Lat. 43° 30' long. 4° 20' east.

(Z) Lat. 45° 30' long. 0° 28' east.

(A) Lat. 43° 30' long. 0° 28'.

(B) Lat. 42° 25' by observation, long. 0° 11' west of *Pe-king*.

(C) Lat. 40° 51' 3'' long. west of *Pe-king* 1° 32' 48''.

(D) Lat. 44° 0' long. 0° 45' east.

(E) Lat. 42° 29' 7'' by observation, long. 1° 28' west of *Pe-king*.

(F) Lat. 44° long. 1° 31' west.

(G) Lat. 41° 41' long. 4° 20' west.

(H) In *Shan-fi*, lat. 40° 27' long. west of *Pe-king* 4° 12'.

*Khúkhú Hotun*ⁿ. *Húhú Hotun*, or *Khúkhú Hotun* (I), is most remarkable. Here inhabit the chiefs of two *Tatar* banners, called also *Tumet*, who are appointed by the emperor. *Húhú Hotun* is the capital of all the country of the proper *Mungls*, where the emperor's governor, and the *kútúktú*, or high-priest of those people, reside.

BEYOND the territory of *Húhú Hotun* lie the countries of the *Mungl* princes of *Kalka-Targar*, *Maumingan*, *Urat*, and *Ortos*.

Kalka-Targar. *KALKA-TARGAR* (K) is watered by the little river *Aypaba Múren*, and contains but one banner.

Maumingan. *MAUMINGAN* (L) has but one banner.

Urat. *URAT* (or *Virat*) is divided into three standards, and is mostly inhabited along the river (M) *Kondolen*^s, or *Quendolen*.

Ortus. THE *Mungls* called *Ortos*, or *Ortus* (N), are bounded on the south by the great wall; which in that part, and indeed throughout *Shen-si*, is only of earth, and fifteen foot high. On the three other sides they are hemmed in by the *Whang-ho*, or yellow river: which passing out of *China*, near the fine city of *Ninghya*, makes a great sweep, and enters the empire again near *Pau-te-chew*. These *Mungls* are governed by several petty princes under six standards, and pride themselves in the number and largeness of their tents, as well as multitude of their flocks. They had beyond the great wall, on the *Whang-ho*, a city called *Toto*, which seems by the ruins to have been pretty large; though at present they have no skill in building, nor take any delight that way^h.

Limits settled. ALTHOUGH the several tribes or branches of the *Mungls* lead a roving life, yet they have their respective limits fixed by custom, beyond which they must not pass to settle; for this is reckoned an act of hostility among them.

^s DU HALDE, vol. ii. p. 264.

^h Ibid. p. 253, 265.

(I) Lat. 40° 49' long. 4° 48'

(K) Lat. 41° 44' long. 5° 55'

(L) Lat. 41° 15' long. 6° 4'

(M) Lat. 49° 55' by observation, long. 6° 30'.

(N) The chief point of this country is in lat. 39° 30' long. 7° 30'.

C H A P. III.

The country of the Kalka Mungls.

Country of the Kalkas. OF all the *Mungl* nations depending on *China*, the most numerous and famous are the *Kalkas*, who take their name from the river *Kalka*, written also *Kbalkba*, and *Halba*. They possess above 200 leagues of the country from east to west, and the banks of the finest rivers in this part of *Tatary*. They dwell beyond the *Mungls* northward, and have the *Aluths*, or *Eluths*, on the west. Their country, according to *Gerbillon* the jesuit, extends from mount *Altay*^a in the west, to the province of *Solon* in the east; and from the 51st degree of latitude (A) to the southern extremity of the great *Kobi*, or desert, which is reckoned to belong to them: for they encamp there during the winter, when they stand in less need of water; which is rarely to be met with in their territories, and generally bad.

Great Kobi, or desert. THE desert above-mentioned, called *Kobi*, or *Gobi*, by the *Mungls*, and *Sba-mo*, by the *Chinese*, bends about *China*; and is larger and more frightful towards the west (B). *Gerbillon* passed it in four different parts. From its eastern extremity to the mountains north of the great wall, it is about one hundred leagues, not including the country beyond the *Kerlon*; which, though thinly inhabited, especially the western part, abounds with water and pasturage. The *Kobi* is much larger from north to south, and above 100 leagues over. In some parts it is quite bare, without trees, grass, or water, excepting certain ponds and marshes made by the rains, with here and there a well of water, far from being good.

Kalkas origin. THE *Kalkas* are the descendants of the *Mungls*; who, about the year 1368, were expelled *China* by *Hóng-vú*, founder of the *Ming* family (which the *Manchews* succeeded); and, retreating northward beyond the great desert, settled chiefly along the rivers *Selinga*, *Orkhon*, *Tula*, and *Kerlon*: where, after being long accustomed to the delicacies of *China*, they returned to the roving and fordid life of their ancestors^b.

The Kalka Pira. THE *Kalka Pira* is not much frequented by the *Kalkas*, although they take their name from

^a See before, p. 118, & seq. for *Altay*.

^b DU HALDE *China*, vol. ii. p. 259.

(A) It is said, p. 265 of *Du Halde's History of China*, vol. ii. that they extend from east to west 22 degrees, and but 5 degrees and half from north to south.

(B) This is the great desert of which *Marco Polo* has given us such frightful ideas; and of which, till lately, our geographers had but very imperfect notions.

thence.

a thence. It flows (C) from a famous mountain called *Suelki*, or *Siulki*, 84 leagues from *Parin* to the north-north-east, and 64 from *Tsitfikar*, the capital of eastern *Tatary*, to the west. After passing through a lake called *Puïr*, it changes its name to *Urson*, and runs due north into a larger called *Kulon Nor*.

b THE *Kerlon*, *Tula*, *Twi*, and *Selinga*, though less famous for their origin among these *The Kerlon.* people, are yet of more account for their clear and wholesome waters, abounding with trout, and other good fish; as well as for the fruitful, large, and populous plains they glide through. The *Kerlon*, or *Kerulon*, running from west to east, falls also into the (D) lake *Kulon Nor*; which discharges itself into the *Saghalian Ula* by the river *Ergona*, or *Argun*, the boundary of the *Manchew* empire on that side. The *Kerlon*, which is about sixty feet broad, and not deep, washes the richest pastures in all *Tatary*.

THE river *Tula*, or *Tola* (E), runs from east to west, and in most places is larger, deeper, *The Tula.* and more rapid, than the *Kerlon*, has finer meadows, and more woods: the mountains also on the north-side are covered with large fir. This river, having joined itself to the *Organ*, *Orkhon*, or *Urkon*, which comes from the south-west, runs towards the north; and, after being increased with several others, as the *Selingba Pira*, at length falls into the greatest lake in all *Tatary*, called *Baykal*, or *Paykal*, in that part of *Siberia* belonging to the *Russians*.

THE *Twi Pira*, whose waters resemble those of the *Kerlon*, makes its way through fertile plains; and, after a pretty long course, loses itself in the ground near a little lake, without appearing any more.

c THE river *Selingba* has several sources; the chief of which, called *Wersb Selingba*, issues *The Selinga.* from a lake, named by the *Mungls* *Kosogol* (F). Its course is nearly in a line from south to north through very fertile plains; and, after receiving many other rivers, falls into the lake *Baykal*. Its waters are good, but do not afford plenty of fish. Both its banks, from its springs till within one day of *Selingbinskoy* (a city of the *Russians* built on its south side), are in the hands of the *Mungls*; but the neighbouring country, from that city to the lake, belongs to the *Russians*.

THE *Orkhon* above-mentioned, formerly called *Kalassui*, runs (G) north-north-west into *The Orkhon.* the *Selingba*; and on its banks the Khân of the *Kalka Mungls*, and their *Khutûktû*, (or high-priest) usually make their abode.

d THE river *Altay*, at present called *Siba*, has its spring towards the frontiers of the *Kalmûks*, *Altay, or Siba.* or *Elutbs*, in the mountains called *Ufskun-lug-tugra*, to the south of the springs of the river *Jeni-sea*; and, running from thence east-north-east, loses itself to the north of the *Kobi*, or desert, and south-south-east of the springs of the *Orkhon*. A petty Khân of the *Mungls* usually resides about the *Siba*.

THE *Tsan*, or *Jan Mûren*, has its source in the mountains which cross the *Kobi*; and, running south-south-east, falls into the *Whang-ho*, on the frontiers of *Tibet*. Two petty Khâns *Jan Mûren.* dwell on its banks.

e THE river *Argun* (or *Ergona*) rises in the country of the *Mungls* (H), from a lake called *The Argun.* *Argun Dalay*, or *Kulon Nor*. Its course is nearly east-north-east; and, having run about 100 leagues, falls into the great river *Amur*^d, as the *Russians* call the *Saghalian Ula*.

THE princes of the *Kalka Mungls* usually inhabit the banks of the rivers already described, with those of *Hara*, or *Kara Pira*, *Iben Pira* (I), which falls into the *Orkhon*, *Karaujir*, *Ira Pira*, *Patarik Pira*, and the *Tegurik Pira* (K), towards the source of the *Irtish*, and city of *Hami*, or *Khamil*, in *Little Bukharia*^c.

THERE were formerly several cities in this part of *Tatary* possessed by the *Kalkas*. The *Ruins of cities* missionaries who surveyed *Chinese Tatary*, by order of the emperor *Kang-bi*, met with the ruins of a large square city, two leagues in circuit, named *Para Hotun* (L), that is the *Tiger's City*, from the cry of that animal, which was thought a good omen. Not far from thence is a place called *Kara Uffon*, with a small lake and fine spring, in a fertile plain abounding with deer,

^c DU HALDE, vol. ii. p. 250, & seq.

^d BENTINK ap. Abu'lghazi Khân, hist. Turk. &c. p. 515, & seq.

^e DU HALDE, ubi supr. vol. ii. p. 265.

(C) The most south part is in lat. 47° 28' 48" observed, long. 3°; the most north part in lat. 48° 5' long 1° 48" east of *Pe-king*.

(D) Mouth of the *Kerlon*, lat. observed 48° 50' 24" long. 0° 45' east of *Peking*. Head of it in about lat. 48° long. 7° 30' west.

(E) The *Tola*, or *Tula*, called formerly *Koll-an-naar*. As soon as the karawâns from *Siberia* pass this river, they enter the territories depending on *China*. *Bentink*, apud *Abu'lghazi Khân hist. Turks, &c.* p. 515, & seq. The source of this river is about lat. 48° 10' long. 8° 30' west.

(F) Or *Kosokol*, called also *Kutuktu nor*. *Kol*, or *Gol*, and *Nor*, signify a lake, in the *Mungl* or *Turkish* languages, which are in effect the same. Its source is in lat. about 49° 40' long. 15° 20'.

(G) Source about lat. 47° long. 15° west.

(H) About lat. 49° long. 1° 30' east.

(I) Residence of the *Khutûktû* of the *Kalkas* on this river; lat. observed 49° 26' 47" long. 10° 59'.

(K) Lat. observed 42° 53' long. 22° 23' 20".

(L) Lat. 48° 4' 48" long. 2° 49' 30".

mules, &c. all wild. There may be other monuments in these quarters of the early times of a *Mungls* under *Jenghiz Khân*, and his four immediate successors: but there do not appear to be any footsteps of *Karakoram*, the capital of the whole empire during that time; at least those missionaries were wholly at a loss about it, supposing it to be *Kara Uffon* above-mentioned, although the situation no-ways agrees with that which authors have given of *Karakoram*.

Karakoram
city,

HOWEVER, *Gaubil*, a jesuit who settled at *Pe-king* some time after his brethren returned from *Tatary*, by consulting the *Chinese* historians and astronomers, found out the situation of that city, which they call *Ho-lin* (M). It was in being before the time of *Jenghiz Khân*, having been the residence of the Khân of the *Kara-its*, the famous *Van Khân*, or *Ung Khân*: but when *Jenghiz Khân* took it from that prince, it was a very inconsiderable place. The conqueror much improved it, and his son *Oktay Khân* rebuilt and made it a famous city^f. With this account the *Chinese* history agrees^g. So that when *Abû'lfaraj*, who says it is same with *Ordubâlik*, affirms that it was built by *Oktay*^h, it is to be understood of the improvements of that prince, who made of it a new city, and built a magnificent palace there, in the year 1225ⁱ. Yet *Rubruquis*, the minorite friar, who was at *Karakoram* in 1253, says it had then only a mud wall; and that the place itself, and the Khân's palace, compared with the *European*, were but poor buildings: however, he allows it to have been very populous, and to contain a great many palaces, temples, &c.^k

now ruined,

KARAKORAM stood to the north of the great *Kobi*, or sandy desert, and near the lake *Kuraban Ulen* (N), marked by the Jesuits in their map of *Tatary*, although they looked for it at *Para Hotun*, 420 miles distant to the north-east. It was the imperial seat of the Khâns, till *Kublay* removed it to *Sbang-tu* already mentioned; which continued to be the place of their summer residence as long as the *Mungls* were in possession of *China*: but after their expulsion, about the year 1368, it is probable *Karakoram* became again the seat of the Khâns; although, according to *De la Croix*, they resided ever since the time of *Oktay* (*Jenghiz Khân*'s immediate successor) at *Ulug Yurt* (O), a city not far distant^l, if it be not the same place. Here *Alebi Timûr*, the thirteenth from *Kublay*, ascended the throne in 1405; and we find it subsisting in the time of *Aday*, the fifteenth successor: but after that we are told no more is heard of *Ulug Yurt* in the oriental authors^m. Yet neither the time nor occasion of the destruction of that city, or of *Karakoram*, is mentioned by any historian yet known to us.

Store of game.

TATARY, according to *Regis*, the jesuit, abounds with all sorts of game, even of the kinds common in *Europe*; as hares, pheasants, deer, and the like: the yellow goats are seldom seen in the plains, except in large herds. They are of the shape and size of common goats, only their hair is yellow, and not so smooth: they are likewise extremely fleet, which makes it difficult to catch them. The wild mules go in small herds, but are not like the tame ones, nor can be brought to carry burthens. Their flesh is of an agreeable taste; and, in the opinion of the *Tatars*, as nourishing and wholesome as the wild boar's (P). This last animal frequents the woods and plains beyond the river *Tula*, and is traced by the earth it turns up to come at the roots on which it feeds.

Horses and
dromedaries.

THE wild horse, and dromedary, which is a native of this region, are like the tame. These are found chiefly in the western parts of *Tatary*, although sometimes they are met with in the territories of the *Kalkas*, bordering on *Khamil* in *Little Bukharia*. The wild horses go in large droves; and when they meet with tame ones, surround and force them away: they are so very fleet, that the swiftest hunters can seldom reach them with their arrows.

The haute-
ban.

THE hauteban is an animal which resembles an elk: the missionaries saw some, which, when killed, were bigger than the largest ox. They are found only in particular districts about mount *Suelki*, in boggy grounds, where they delight to resort; and are very easily killed, their great weight preventing their flight.

The chelison.

THE chulon, or chelison, is about the size of a wolf, and seemed to *Regis* a sort of lynx. It has long, soft, and thick hair, of a greyish colour; and their furs are valued at the courts both of *China* and *Russia*; which last abounds with them.

^f DE LA CROIX hist. Gengh. Can. p. 27, 362.
dynast. p. 310. 320.
pilgrim. vol. iii. p. 39.

^g Ap. SOUCIET. observ. mathemat. &c. p. 186.

^h SOUCIET. ibid. p. 192. Abû'lghâzi Khân hist. Turk. &c. p. 354, 513.

ⁱ Hist. Genghis Can. p. 386,

^m Ibid. p. 401.

^k PURCH.

(M) Latitude observed by the *Tatars* 44° 11' long. 10° 11' by computation. *Souciét. observ. mathem. &c.* p. 185.

(N) That city, by the latitude, as well as this lake, stood rather in the midst of the *Kobi*, on the river *Oughin* (which runs south-east into the said lake), and about 50 miles north-east of a chain of mountains which cross the *Kobi* from north-west to south-east.

(O) *Ulg Yurt* signifies the great city.

(P) *Gerbillon*, in his second journey into *Tatary*, saw a young wild mule, of a kind which propagates. This was a female, had large ears, a long head, slender body, and long legs; its hair was ash-colour, and its hoofs and feet uncloven, like those of other mules. *Collect. voyag. & trav. quart. vol. iv. p. 686.*

a TATARY is infested with tigers and leopards. The tigers found eastwards are surprizingly large and nimble. Their skins are commonly of a fallow red, striped with black lists; some are white, with black and grey lists. The skins of the leopards are whitish, spotted with red and black. Although they have the head and eyes of tigers, they are not so large, and have a different cry.

THE deer, which multiply exceedingly in the deserts and forests, differ in colour, bigness, *Deer hunting.* and shape of their horns, according to the different quarters of this vast region; and some are like the deer of *Europe*. One way of hunting them, termed the stag-call, is thus: the hunters, carrying some stags-heads, counterfeit the cry of the hind; which brings the largest stags towards the place from whence they hear the cry: they then stop, and look about; till, b perceiving the stags heads, they tear up the ground with their horns, and immediately run forward, but are shot by some who lie in ambush. The emperor *Kang-hi* took great delight in this diversion. The intrepidity of *Tatarian* horses in encountering tigers is surprizing; and *Horses.* yet it is owing wholly to use: for they are as fearful of them at first as other horses. The *Mungls* are very expert in taming and breaking, as well as catching them running, with the slip-knot of a cord. They understand their distempers, but use such remedies as would no more agree with the horses of *Europe*, than their foods. They are of a middle size, yet some are large as well as small; but the *Tatars* wisely prefer strength and hardiness to either largeness or beauty.

c THE *Kalkas* are not rich in fable skins, but have plenty of squirrels, foxes, and a creature *The tael-pe.* as small as an ermine, called tael-pe; of whose skins at *Pe-king* they make mantles to keep out cold. These animals are a kind of land rats, and dig in the earth a range of as many little holes as there are males in the company; one of whom always keep watch above, but flies underground at any body's approach. When the hunters discover their nest, they surround it; and, opening the earth in two or three places, throw in flaming straw to frighten them out. Thus they take great numbers, which makes their skins cheap.

THE rivers in the country of the *Mungls* do not afford any great variety or plenty of fish, *The fish.* like those of eastern *Tatary*. The sturgeon, which they sometimes find in the *Tula*, comes from the lake *Baykal*; and the *Urson*, falling into the *Saghalian Ula*, or *Amur*, receives from thence the fish which are found in the eastern rivers. In the same river you meet with an d amphibious animal called *Tarbegba*, resembling an otter; but the flesh is tender, and almost as delicious as that of the roe-buckⁿ.

As to uncommon birds, there are bred vast quantities of an extraordinary beauty in the plains *Shonkar bird.* of *Great Tatary*. That mentioned by *Abûlghazi Khân*^o seems to be a kind of heron, which is found in the country of the *Mungls* towards the frontiers of *China*. It is all over white, except the beak, wings, and tail (Q); which are of a very fine red. The flesh is very delicious, and tastes somewhat like that of a wood-hen. However, as the bird which that author speaks of is very rare, *Bentink* thinks it may be the stork, which is very scarce all over *Russia*, *Siberia*, and *Great Tatary*: yet some are found in the *Mungls* country near *China*, which are for the general all over white^p. As *Abûlghazi Khân* says, this bird is called shungar in the c *Turkish* language (and kratzshet by the *Russians*), it is doubtless the same with the shonkar, which was presented to *Jenghîz Khân* by the ambassadors of *Kipchâk*. On this occasion we are told, that the shonkar is a bird of prey, presented to kings, adorned with precious stones, as a mark of homage; and that the *Russians*, as well as *Krim Tatars*, are obliged by their last treaties with the *Othmân Turks*, to send one every year to *Constantinople*, adorned with a certain number of diamonds^q.

ⁿ DU HALDE'S *China*, & vol. ii. p. 255.

^o Hist. *Turks*, &c. p. 37, & 85.

^p Ibid. p. 500, & seq.

^q DE LA CROIX Hist. *Timur Bek*, vol. i. p. 350.

(Q) *Abûlghazi Khân* says, in his history, p. 37, that the feet, eyes, and bill are red; and p. 86, that the head, feet, bill, and eyes are red.

C H A P. III.

The countries belonging to the Eluths, or Eluth Mungls.

a THE countries belonging to the *Aluths*, or *Eluths*, nicknamed *Kalmûks*, are to be considered, as that nation is at present divided into three branches; viz. the *Dsongari*, or *Jongari*, the *Koshoti*, and the *Torgaûti*.

1. THE *Eluths Jongari*, who are the most considerable branch of the three, possess the larger *Eluth Jonga-* half of what *Europeans* call the western *Tatary*: extending from the *Caspian* sea and river *Jaïk*, *ri's country.* in 72 degrees of longitude, from *Ferro*, to mount *Altay*, in 110 degrees; and from the 40th *MOD. HIST. VOL. II.* S f f to

to the 52d degree of latitude. Whence it may be computed about 1930 miles in length, a from west to east; and in length, at most, from south to north, 650 miles. It is bounded on the north by *Russia* and *Siberia*, from which it is separated by a chain of mountains; on the east by mount *Altay*; on the south by the countries of *Karazm* and the two *Bukhârias* (A); from which also it is separated partly by another chain of mountains, and some rivers, particularly the *Sîr*; and on the west by the river *Jaïk* and the *Caspian* sea; or rather by *Turkeştân*, which lies between.

Mountains.
Tubratu-
busluk.

THERE are, in the country of the *Eluths* or *Kalmûks*, three considerable chains of mountains; viz. the *Tubra Tubusluk*, the *Uskunluk Tugra*, and the *Altay*. The first, which makes its northern frontier, and is called also *Ulugtâg*, or *the great mountain*, begins at the eastern bank of the *Irtish*, to the north of the lake *Saysan*, through which that river passes, and runs b due east, as far as the *Selinga*, which it coasts northward, to the lake *Baykal*: then turning east, it proceeds to the *Amur*, or *Saghalian Ula*, about *Nerchinskoy*; and follows the course of that river, on the north side, to the eastern ocean.

Uskunluk
Tugra.

THE second branch, called *Uskunluk Tugra*, bears also the name of *Kichik-tag*, or *the little mountain*: it commences in the confines of *Turkeştân* and *Great Bukhâria*, to the south of the river *Sîr*; and running nearly east, makes the bounds between *Great Bukhâria* and the country of the *Eluths*. It continues its course on the same line, till, arriving to the south of the springs of the *Jenisea*, it strikes off to the south-east; and falls in with the frontiers of *China*, as far as the province of *Lyau-tong*. There making an elbow to the north-east, it separates that province, and *Korea*, from the country of the *Mungls*; and ends at last on the shore of the sea c of *Japan*, about the 42d degree of latitude.

Mount Altay.

THE mountain *Altay* (by some called *Kaltay*, and in *Abû'lghazi Khân's* history *Kut*) is a branch of the *Uskunluk Tugra*, taking its rise to the west of the spring of the *Jenisea*. It runs almost in a strait line from south to north; constantly marching along the western bank of that great river, at a distance of one or two days journey, till it joins the *Tugra Tubusluk*, in about 50 degrees of latitude.

Rivers.

The Tekis and
Ili.

FOR all this region of the *Eluths* is bounded by mountains, yet it is watered by very few rivers which descend from them. The most considerable known to us are the *Tekis*, and *Ili* (B), the *Chui*, and *Talas*. According to the Jesuits map, the *Tekis* rises in the mountain bounding *Little Bukhâria* on the north (C); and having run about 70 miles north-east, falls, by d several mouths, into the *Ili*, which has its source in the same hills, and runs north-west about 150 miles: then, shaping its course north 150 miles farther, falls into the lake *Palkati* (D), in about 48 degrees of latitude. On this river the Khân of the *Eluths* has his chief residence or camp, which is called *Harkas*, or, as others spell it, *Urga*.

Chui and
Talas.

THE *Chui* and *Talas*, according to the same map, descend from the above-mentioned mountain; and running north-west about 180 leagues each, fall into different lakes, the *Chui* into *Kalkol*, and the *Talas* into *Sikirlik Nor*.*

BESIDES the rivers already described, we meet with none of any great note, except the *Irtish*; nor does more than a part of it run through this country.

The Irtish.

THIS river, which is the most considerable in the north of *Asia*, hath its rise (E) from two e lakes, thirty miles asunder; in about 45 degrees 15 minutes of latitude, and 113 of longitude, on the west side of mount *Altay*, and to the north of the province of *Kbamil*, or *Hami*, in *Little Bukhâria*, inclining to the east. The rivers formed by them run westward. The northern stream is called *Khar Irtish*; the southern *Khor Irtish*: and, about 30 miles distance from their sources uniting, form the river called *Irtish*, *Irtis*, or *Erchis*, as the *Eluths* pronounce it. This river, having run west about 50 leagues, makes the lake *Saysan* (†), that is, of the nobility, 40 miles long, and 20 broad. Passing out of the lake it turns northward, as far as *Urkamen*, the first *Russian* fort and settlement on this river, in the borders of the *Eluths* country on that side. The rest of the *Irtish* belongs to *Siberia*; where, after passing by the capital of *Tobolskoy*, it joins the *Obi*, a little above *Samara*.

The Obi.

STRAHLENBERG places the sources of the *Obi*, or *Ubi* (F), also in the country of the *Eluths*. f It is formed, like the *Irtish*, by the confluence of two rivers, the *Khatun* and *Ba*, from which last it derives its name. The *Ba*, or *Bi*, takes its beginning in a lake, to which that author gives the names *Altun Nor*, *Altun Kurke*, *Altin*, and *Telezkoy*; perhaps the same called in the

* Hist. Turks, &c. p. 522, 524, 526.

(A) *Little Bukhâria*, though out of the bounds of *Tatary*, is yet under the dominion of the Khân of the *Eluths*.

(B) *Bentink* makes them the *Iffikul* and *Tallasb*, mentioned in *Abû'lghazi Khân's* hist. of the *Turks*, &c. p. 33. But the missionaries map makes the *Tallasb* descend from the other two.

(C) Which seems to be the *Uskunluk Tugra*.

(D) In *Strahlenberg's* map named *Chui*.

(E) In about lat. 46° 4' long. 21° 30' west of *Pe-king*.

(†) Also *Korzana*, by the *Russians*.

(F) Source in about lat. 49° 30' long. 18° 30' west.

a Jesuits map *Kirkir*. But both maps seem to have been made, in this part, from very uncertain reports.

THE vast region of *Tatary*, being situated under the finest climate in the world, is everywhere of an extraordinary goodness and fertility. But though almost all the great rivers of *Asia* have their springs in the mountains of this country, yet the land being perhaps the highest anywhere on earth, it is, in several parts, destitute of water; so that it is inhabitable only near the rivers and lakes. *Verbiest*, the Jesuit, in the country of the *Mungls*, about 80 leagues to the north of the great wall, towards the spring of the river *Karga*, found the ground to be 3000 geometrical paces, or three miles, higher than the sea-coast nearest *Peking*. Hence it is that *Great Tatory* appears so much colder than other countries in the same latitude. Our author was even assured, by persons of credit, who had travelled there, that in *Midsummer* the north-east wind is so piercing, that one must cover himself well in the night; and often in *August* one night produces ice the thickness of a crown-piece, and sometimes of two. Nay, dig where you will, in summer, in the country of the *Mungls*, four or five feet deep, and you find clods of earth quite congealed, and even intire heaps of ice; which *Verbiest* ascribes to the salt-petre with which the soil is impregnated. Soil and produce.

THE same extraordinary elevation of the earth is also the reason why there are so many desarts in *Grand Tatory*: but these desarts are not altogether so frightful as *Europeans* fancy them. For setting aside the vast *Kobi*, or *Gobi*, before-mentioned, and a few other small sandy desarts, all the rest afford excellent pasture; producing grass in abundance, as high as one's middle, which would grow to the height of a man, if it was not for want of water: but, through that defect, most of it decays presently at the root; and as withered grass quite choaks up the young, the inhabitants, in spring, set fire to the old herbage, which sometimes spreads above 100 leagues round. In less than fifteen days after, the new grass shoots up every-where to the height of a span; which proves the great fertility of the soil: and so much of this vast country, as is supplied with water, is sufficient for the support of four times the number of its present inhabitants, if it was but well cultivated. But then none, besides the *Mohammedan Tatars*, till their lands (G); while the *Eluths*, and most part of the *Mungls*, have not the use of agriculture, subsisting intirely upon their cattle (H): this is the reason why they can have no fixed habitations, being obliged to change their quarters, according as the seasons change. Yet, for all the soil is so luxuriant, *Great Tatory* does not produce a single wood of tall trees, of any kind whatever, excepting in some few places towards the frontiers. All the wood, that is found in the heart of the country, consists of shrubs, which never exceed the height of a pike; and these are very rare ^b. Great fertility.

THE Khân of the *Eluths* dwells continually under tents, although he possesses *Little Bukharia*, with its dependencies, wherein there are a good many towns; only when his affairs call him thither, he resides at *Yarkien*, or *Yarkân*, the capital of that country. He has continued about the river *Ila* and *Tekîs* for some years past; that he might be near at hand to watch the motions of his cousin *Ayuki Khân*, as well as the *Mohammedan Tatars* and *Mungls*, between whom the *Eluths* are situated. His camp is a great curiosity: it is distributed into several quarters, squares, and streets, just like a town; is a good league in compass; and able, at a minute's warning, to send into the field 15,000 horse. The quarter where the Khân resides, is in the middle of the camp. His tent is made of *Kitayka*, a strong sort of callico; which, being raised very high, and of all sorts of lively colours, exceedingly delights the eye at a distance. In winter the tent is covered with felt, which makes it impenetrable by the weather. His wives are lodged in little wooden houses, which may be taken down in an instant, and set on waggons, when they are going to decamp ^c. The Khân's residence.

ALTHOUGH, according to the account of the missionaries who surveyed *Chinese Tatory*, there are no plants to be met with in that region; yet we are assured, by a certain curious author, that, in the parts about the rivers *Orkhon* and *Selinghâ*, towards *Selinghinskoy*, rhubarb grows in great abundance; and that all which *Russia* furnishes foreign countries with, comes from about this city; the district of which yields such plenty, that the treasury of *Siberia* sells 25,000 lb. weight of it at a time ^d. Plenty of rhubarb.

THE animals in this division of western *Tatary* are much the same with those to be found in the two former parts; unless we may except one, called, by *Bentink*, the *glutton*, which abounds in the country of the *Eluths*. It is a carnivorous beast, not quite so tall as a wolf, and The glutton animal.

^b Hist. Turks, p. 381, & seq. Also Collect. Trav. 4to, vol. iv. p. 393. ^c Arb'lc. hist. Turks, &c. p. 543, & seq. ^d Ibid. p. 501.

(G) The missionaries say, that the lands of *Tatary*, from the country of the *Manchews*, or eastern *Tatary*, westward, as far as the *Caspian* sea, are, for the generality, unfit for tillage; and those of *Korthin*, *Oban*, and *Nayman*, in the country of the *Mungls*, worst of all. *Du Halde China*, vol. ii. p. 249.

(H) There are no plants to be found in their country. When the missionaries asked them why they would not at least cultivate some little herb-garden; they replied, *herbs are for the beasts of the field, and the beasts for men.* *Du Halde China*, vol. ii. p. 254.

peculiar to the mountains of northern *Asia*: the hair, which is strong and long, is of a very fine dark brown all over its back. This beast is exceeding mischievous: for it climbs the trees, and watching the game, which passes underneath, leaps down on its back, where it fastens with its paws, and makes a great hole: while the poor creature, quite spent with anguish and struggling to get rid of his enemy, at length falls on the ground, and becomes his prey. It requires three stout dogs to attack this beast, small as it is; and very often they come off strangely mauled. The *Russians* make great account of its skin, which they use for mens muffs, and borders of bonnets*. We leave our readers to judge whether this be the *cbulon* found in the country of the *Mungls*; as well as the same with the *arkbora*, mentioned by *Abul'ghazi Khân*; since the *glutton* leaves such narrow paths in the hills and forests as are made by that animal^f.

Eluths
Koshoti.

2. THE *Eluths Koshoti* possess all the kingdom of *Tangut*, and are subject to the Dalay Lama, or great pontiff of *Tibet*, who governs them by two *Khâns*; of whom one has the government of *Tibet*, the other of *Koko Nor*^g. These latter are called, by the *Manchews* and *Chinese*, *Tatars of Koko Nor*.

Koko Nor
country.

THE country of *Koko Nor*, or *Kokonol*, is so called by these *Eluths*, from a lake of the same name, termed by the *Chinese* *Si-bay*, that is, *the western sea*. It is one of the largest in all *Tatary*, being above twenty great *French* leagues in length, and more than ten in breadth; situated between the 36th and 37th degrees of latitude, and between the 16th and 17th of longitude, west of *Peking*^h.

Extent and
site.

THIS country lies between *Tibet* on the west, and *China* on the east, bordering on the provinces of *Shen-si* and *Sechwen*. It is pretty large, extending from north to south above seven degrees. It is separated from *China* by mountains, so high and steep, that they serve almost every-where instead of the great wall. Those to the south, which separate it from the kingdoms of *Pegu* and *Ava*, are frightful and inaccessible, inhabited by a savage people. They also make so strong a barrier to *China*, by their great length and breadth, that the entrances on that side are left unfortifiedⁱ.

Eluths Tor-
gaüti.

THE *Eluths Torgaüti* are the least considerable of the three branches. They dwelt heretofore towards *Turkestan*, and were subject to *Kontaisb*: but about the beginning of the present century, *Ayûka*, or *Ayûki*, one of his cousins, flying from his court, under pretence that he was in fear of his life, passed the river *Jaik*, with the tribe of the *Torgaüti*, and put himself under the protection of *Russia*. In winter *Ayûka Khân* usually encamped with his *Ordas* in the sandy ground about *Astrakhan*, to the east of the river *Volga*, between it and the *Jaik*; and in summer he often went to reside on the banks on this river, about *Saratof* and *Zaritzza* (I). Altho^d the *Koshoti* and *Torgaüti Eluths* have their own *Khâns*, yet *Kontaisb* preserves a kind of sovereignty over, and draws considerable aid from them, when he is at war with his neighbours the *Mungls*, *Chinese*, or *Mohammedan Tatars*^k.

* BENT. ap. Abu'lg. hist. Turks, p. 528.
China, vol. ii. p. 265.

^f Ibid. p. 26.

^g Ibid. p. 538.

^h DU HALDE'S

ⁱ Ibid. vol. i. p. 29, & vol. ii. p. 258.

^k BENTINK, ap. Abu'lghazi's hist.

(I) These *Eluths* still have, or had, considerable territories to the east of *Jaik*, and bordering westward on the *Jongari Eluths*.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Mungls, or Moguls, and their several branches.

SECT. I.

Their name, persons, manners, customs, way of living, habitations, language.

Name
Mungls.

THE *Moguls*, or rather *Mungls*, derive their name from *Mungl Khân*, one of their ancient emperors; and one branch of them still retain it, called, by our authors, *Mungals*, or *Mongals*, of which the word *Moguls*, commonly used by the *Asiatics*, as well as *Europeans*, is a corruption. These people are frequently confounded with the *Tatars*, which may be owing to the following causes: First, the people of the north of *Asia* having been known, for many ages, by the name of *Tatars*, to the inhabitants of the southern countries, particularly the *Chinese*

a *Chinese and Persians*; these latter, seeing the *Mungls* come from the same quarters, and no way different as to features, language, and manners, from the *Tatars*, considered both as the same people, under different names (A). Secondly, there were, in the army of *Jenghiz Khân*, ^{and Tatars,} when he invaded those countries, tribes of *Tatars* as well as *Mungls*; which made those nations, ^{whence:} who were acquainted with the *Tatars* before, give both names, indifferently, to the followers of that conqueror. Lastly, the *Tatars*, having been very serviceable to *Jenghiz Khân* in the battle against *Vang Khân*, or *Ung Khân*, which put him in possession of the sovereignty, he, to reward them, joined their name ^a with that of the *Mungls*, in the title which he thereupon assumed, styling himself *Grand Khân of the Mungls and Tatars*.

b WHATEVER was the cause of introducing this custom, it is certain that it obtained, and still ^{Used indifferently.} continues in force. This is what gives a sanction to the liberty taken by most authors, who, by *Mungls* and *Tatars*, mean the same people (†). This we mention, to prevent our readers from falling into any mistake on this head, in the course of their history. It must be confessed, it would be much better to lay aside a practice which tends to breed great confusion, and at least to confine the name of *Tatars* to those commonly called *Mohammedan Tatars*, to whom another custom has in effect appropriated it. After all, those names should be applied only for distinction sake, neither of them being strictly due to the people who enjoy it. For as the name of *Tatars* is given to many tribes who are not *Tatars*; so that of *Moguls* extends to many who are not *Moguls*: the name of the conquering, or most powerful tribes, having passed to the conquered, or less powerful tribes.

c THE *Moguls* or *Mungls* are, at present, divided into three great branches; the *Mungls*, ^{Three Mogul branches.} properly so called, the *Kalkbas*, and the *Aluths*, or *Eluths*. The first branch retains the ancient name of the nation, which has been already accounted for. The *Kalkas*, which may also be written *Khalkba*, and *Hálba*, as the first letter is a deep guttural, derive their name from the river *Kalka*, already described, which runs in their country. Whence the *Eluths* (B), *Aluths*, or *Aluts*, derive their name, it is not so easy to determine. These are the people commonly known by the name of *Kalmák*, or *Kalmúk*, whose etymology is also unknown to us. All which we are certain of is, that it is a nick-name given to them by the *Mohammedan Tatars*, in hatred of their idolatrous religion (C); or for some other cause. The *Russians* took it from those *Tatars*, and from the *Russians* it came in use among *Europeans*; while the name of *Eluth* d was unknown to them. They take it as an affront to be called *Kalmúks*, and say, they have a better title to the name of *Mungls* than their neighbours, who at present enjoy it; as these latter are sprung from that part of the *Mungls* and *Tatars* who were expelled *China*, by *Hong-vú*, the founder of the *Ming* family, in 1368 ^b.

THIS shews, that although the two last branches have, for distinction sake, or some other *Mungls* in reason, assumed different names from the first, yet they still retain the name of *Mungls*, which ^{general.} they highly honour; as the *Jews* did that of *Israelites*, to denote their origin and descent. Whether the numerous tribes, into which each of the three branches is divided, be derived from the same stock, is a question which we have discussed elsewhere ^c. But let that be as it may, as they have all the same customs, language, religion, and form of government, with e little or no variation, what may be said of one branch, will serve for the other two. For this reason we shall connect together, under the general name of *Mungls*, what materials the best travellers, and other authors, afford us, concerning the aforesaid three branches; only distinguishing such things as may be peculiar to each of them.

f THE *Mungls*, in general, are of a middle size, but exceeding robust, and well-set: they ^{Their shape:} have big and broad heads, flat faces, and complexions of a dark olive colour, pretty near that of *American* copper; very black and sparkling eyes, but too far asunder, and opening but a little, although they are very long; the bridge of their nose is quite flat, and almost level with the face, so that there is nothing of a nose to be seen but the end, which is very flat also, with two great holes, which form the nostrils (D): their ears are very large, though without the rims; their beards very thin; hair black, and strong, like horse-hair; but they shave all off,

^a DE LA CROIX, hist. Gengh. p. 63. ^b ABU'LG. hist. Turks, &c. p. 259, & seq. ^c See before, p. 140, & seq.

(A) The *Chinese* say *Kalka Tatars* and *Eluth Tatars*, as well as *Kolka Mungls* and *Eluth Mungls*.

(†) And after all, they are, in effect, the same people: as being the descendants of the *Huns*, or *Turks*. See before, p. 134.

(B) We are told by *Strahlenberg*, that they call themselves *Derbon Oirét*, or *Orieth*, that is, the four *Oirétion* tribes: and, by the *English* translator of him, that they are called *Eluth*, and corruptly *luth*. See *Strahl. desc. of Tartary*, introd. p. 83 & 89. The *Oiréts* seem to be the *Firats* of *Alâ'ud-dîn Khân*.

(C) *Math. a Nicoso de Sarmatia Asiana*, cap. 3. and

Herbrestein in rerum Muscov. comment. in the article *de Tartaris*, towards the end, say, that they are called *Kalmúks*, because they are the only Tartar nations who let their hair grow. But this seems very trifling; since the hair they wear is no more than a lock on the crown of their heads.

(D) Although this description doubtless belongs equally to the proper *Mungls* and *Kalkas*, as well as the *Eluths*, yet our author, speaking of the *Moguls*, with regard to their eyes and noses, says only, that their noses are flat, but their eyes black and full. *Bentink op. d'Alph. hist. Turks, &c.* p. 502.

excepting a lock on the crown of their heads, which falls down their backs, and is let grow to its natural length. To make amends for all this homeliness, they have very pretty mouths, with small teeth, as white as ivory, and are perfectly well limbed. Their women have much the same features, only not so large; but then they are commonly of a very clever size, and well-shaped^d.

their manners, GERBILLON, the jesuit, says they are quite rude and unpolished in their manners; yet honest and good-natured; the *Elutbs*, in particular, do ill to nobody, if not first provoked: and although extremely brave, yet they do not live by robbery, like their neighbours the *Mohammedan Tartars*, with whom they are continually at war. The proper *Mungls* and *Kalkas* are nasty and slovenly in their tents and clothes, living amidst the dung of their beasts; which serves them for fuel, for they have no wood (E). They excel in horsemanship and hunting; and are dextrous archers, either on foot, or on horseback. In general they lead a wretched life; and being averse to labour, they prefer grazing to architecture^e.

their humors, REGIS, another of the missionaries, observes, that the utmost ambition of the *Mungls* is to preserve the rank of their families. They value things only for their use; having no regard to their rarity or beauty: are naturally of an easy cheerful temper, always disposed to laugh, and never disturbed with melancholy. Indeed, they find little occasion for care; having generally neither neighbours to manage, enemies to fear, nor lords to please. Perplexed with no difficult affairs, nor business of constraint, they divert themselves wholly with hunting, fishing, and other bodily exercises. However, these people are capable not only of the sciences, but the greatest undertakings; witness their subduing *China*, in 1264; which they governed, even in the opinion of the *Chinese*, with great judgment and address^f.

and genius: As to their dress, according to *Bentink*, they wear very large shirts, and callico drawers: their habits are commonly made of callico, called *kitayka*, or some other slight stuff, which they line with sheep-skin: and sometimes they wear entire garments of sheep-skin (F). They fasten their garments, which reach to the ancles, with leather-straps about the waist. Their boots are exceeding large, and usually made of *Russia* leather; their bonnets small and round, with a fur of four fingers breadth. The women's dress is nearly the same, excepting that their garments are longer, their boots generally red, and their bonnets flat, with some little ornaments^g. *Regis* says, they know how to dress and whiten those skins, as well as the skins of stags, deer, wild-goats, &c. which serve the rich for under-garments in the spring: yet, for all their care, you smell them as soon as they come near you; whence the *Chinese* have given them the name of *Tsau-ta-tse* (G), that is, *stinking Tartars*^h.

their dress, THE *Elutbs* wear much the same kind of clothes with the proper *Mungls* and *Kalkas*. In the southern provinces they use no shirts in summer, contenting themselves with a kind of sheep-skin doublet, without sleeves; which they put on next their skin, with the woolly side out, tucking their shirt within their breeches; so that all the arm is left bare up to the shoulder. In winter they wear a sheep-skin over their doublet, which reaches to the calf of the leg, and turn the woollen side inward. These upper skins have sleeves so long, that they are obliged to turn them up, when going about any work. Their bonnet is red, and commonly set off with a tuft of silk or hair, of a bright red. Their women go habited much after the same manner; their callico shift making all their clothing in summer, and a long sheep-skin gown, with a bonnet, the same with their husbands, sufficing them in winterⁱ.

winter and summer. RED is the colour in greatest esteem with the *Tartars*; and how ill clothed soever their princes may be, in other respects, they never fail to have a scarlet robe for state occasions. Their chiefs would rather be without a shirt, than a scarlet coat; and the women of quality do not think themselves well dressed, if the scarlet gown be wanting. The very meanest people affect to wear red clothes, altho' the cloth be ever so ordinary. This humour has spread even among the inhabitants of *Siberia*. In short, all over the north of *Asia*, a man may do more with a piece of red cloth, than four times its value in silver^k.

Colour red esteemed. THE arms of the *Mungls* consist in the bow and arrows, the pike and sabre, which they wear after the *Chinese* manner. And they always go to war on horseback.

Mungl arms. THESE people live entirely on their cattle; which consist of horses, dromedaries, oxen, cows, and sheep. Their horses are very good and mettlesome; their oxen larger than those of the *Ukrain*, and the tallest in the world. Their dromedaries are large and strong. Their sheep are

Their cattle.

^d BENT. ap. Abu'lg. hist. Turks, &c. p. 533, & seq. p. 253. ^e BENT. ap. Abu'lg. hist. Turks, &c. p. 505. hist. ubi supr. p. 533. & seq. ^k Ibid. p. 409.

^c DU HALDE's China, p. 256.

^h DU HALDE, ubi supr. p. 254.

^f Ibid. ⁱ ABU'LGH.

(E) Hence their tents have a rankish smell, hardly tolerable, says *Regis*. *Du Halde*, ubi supr. p. 254.

(F) According to *Regis*, the usual cloathing of the *Mungls* and *Kalkas* is sheep and lamb skins, the wool next the body.

(G) The *Tsudatfes* of *Nicuboff* are doubtless a corruption of *Tsau-ta-tse*. See *Ogilb. China*, p. 114.

- a very large also, but have very short tails; which are buried in a case of fat, weighing several pounds, and hanging perpendiculatly; the wool of them is very long and coarse; they have a bunch or rising on the nose, like the camels, and hanging ears, like hounds¹. This is to be understood properly of the *Elutbs*; for although the *Mungls* and *Kalkas* have the same sort of cattle with them, yet they are far inferior, both for goodness and appearance, except the sheep; whose tails are about two spans long, and near as much in compass, weighing commonly betwen ten and eleven pounds: it is almost one entire piece of very rank fat. They, above *Their diet.* eat nothing but horse-flesh and mutton; not esteeming that of bullocks or cows so good. They are also fonder of mare's than cow's milk, being much better and richer. Indeed, the cows, after b their calves are taken from them, will suffer none to draw their teats: they likewise quickly lose their milk; so that necessity has introduced the use of mare's milk².

GERBILLON says, that, in summer, the *Mungls* feed on milk meats; using indifferently that of cows, mares, ewes, goats, and camels. Their drink is water, boiled with the worst sort of *Chinese* tea, in which they put cream, butter, or milk. They make a spirituous liquor *Drink spirituous liquors.* from four milk, which is distilled after fermentation. The rich lay mutton to ferment with their four milk. This liquor is strong and nourishing, and they delight to get drunk with it. They also smoke a great deal of tobacco³: *Bentink* informs us, that the *Kalmîks* have a way of making the milk sour in two nights time; after which, pouring it into an earthen pot, they stop it very close, and putting a funnel to it, set it on the fire. This spirit is as good and clear c as that which in *Europe* is distilled from grain: but to make it so, it must be set twice over the fire. They call it *arak*, in imitation of the *Indians* their neighbours, who give all their strong liquors that name⁴.

RUBRUQUIS tells us, that, in the time of *Mangu Khân*, the *Mungls*, besides wines which *Kosmos, or Kimis.* came from foreign countries, made excellent drink of rice, millet, and honey; being well-flavoured, and high-coloured, like wine: but that their chief liquors were the *kosmos* (H) and *karakosmos*; which, according to that author, are made in the following manner. For the *kosmos*, they fill a great skin-bag with mare's-milk, and beat upon it with a club, which has a knob at the end, as big as a man's head, but hollow. As soon as they beat, the milk begins to boil (or ferment) like new wine, and turn sour: they continue this labour till the d butter comes: then tasting the whey, if it be pretty sharp, it is fit to drink; for it pricks the tongue like rape-wine, and leaves a flavour like that of almond-milk. It intoxicates weak heads; is very pleasant, and diuretic.

KARAKOSMOS, or black *kosmos*, is the drink of great lords, and made thus: they beat the milk, till the grosser part subsiding, like white-wine lees, the purer remains at top, like new whey. The settlings are given to servants, who sleep very sound after it. This, says our author, is a very pleasant and wholesome liquor⁵.

THE inhabitants of *Great Tatar*y, in general, are fond of strong liquors; for when they get any, they never let it rest, while they are able to stand. When they have a mind to make merry, each brings what liquor he can procure; and then they set themselves to drink night e and day, never stirring till every drop is out. They are no less fond of smoking; which customs prevail most, in proportion as they live more notherly⁶.

THESE people, having no manufactures, exchange their cattle with the *Russians*, *Bakbârs*, and *Their traffick.* other neighbours, for what they want: nor is it possible commerce could flourish there as it did in the time of *Jenghîz Khân*, so long as the vast regions they inhabit remain divided among several princes; some of whom will always oppose the designs of others. Besides; the rapines of the *Mohammedan Tatars*, who rob the karawans, keep off the merchants of the west. However, on the side of *Siberia*, *China*, and the *Indies*; they may arrive in full safety. Those from *China* resort in great numbers to the *Mungls*, bringing them rice, bohea-tea, which they call karachay, tobacco, cotton cloth, and other ordinary stuffs; besides several sorts of household f utensils, and other necessaries⁷.

As the heathen *Tatars* lead a very harmless life, they are not so earnest to procure slaves for their service as the *Mohammedan Tatars*. Besides, having no need of more than their own families to guard their cattle, which are all their riches, they do not care to burden themselves with useless mouths. Hence it is, that none, except the *Khâns* and the *Tayk*, are to have slaves. When they take any from their enemies, all, except those whom they keep, are distributed among their subjects, in order to augment their number; which, at the same time, increases their revenue. On the contrary, the *Mohammedan Tatars* often make war with their neighbours, on no other score but to get slaves; selling those they do not keep. Which humour

¹ ABU'LGH. ubi supr. p. 536.

² Ibid. p. 525.

³ Ibid. p. 503, 536.

⁴ DU HALDE, ubi

supr. p. 256.

⁵ ABU'LGH. ubi supr. p. 403, 536.

⁶ See PUKCH. pilgr. vol. iii. p. 5, & seq.

⁷ ABU'LGH. ubi supr. p. 403, 536.

⁸ Ibid. p. 412, 505, & 536

(H) By other authors called *Kumis*, or *Kimis*.

prevails so much with the *Chirkassian*, *Daghestán*, and *Nogay Tartars*, that, when they can't a meet with grown-up people, they steal children to sell; and, if they can't get other people's, do not scruple to sell their own: especially their daughters, if beautiful; as they do their wives, on the slightest disgust. In short, the trade of slaves being all their wealth, they spare neither friends nor foes, when they meet with a fair opportunity of carrying them off^t.

Polygamy.

THE *Eluths* take as many wives as they will (I), besides concubines, whom they chuse out of their slaves: and whereas the *Mohammedan Tartars* must not contract within certain degrees, the *Pagan* may marry any of their kindred, except their natural mothers. In this our author supposes they are restrained, rather by the age of their female parents, than by any law; because it is not unusual, among the *Eluths* and *Mungls*, for the father to take his daughter to wife: and they give over lying with their wives when they draw near forty; considering them thence- b forth as no other than servants, to whom they give victuals, for taking care of the house, and tending the young wives who succeed in their places.

Inheritance.

THE children born of concubines are equally legitimate, and capable of inheriting: only if the father has been *Khân*, or chief of some tribe, the issue of the wives succeed before those born of the concubines. The offspring of common prostitutes are looked on with a sort of contempt by every body; and very rarely succeed their fathers, especially if people of distinction: because there is no knowing if the person such a creature lays the child to, be the real father. Polygamy is not so inconvenient to the inhabitants of *Tatary*, as it is to the rest of the *Asiatics*; their wives being of great use, and little expence, to them. For the old ones manage the housewifery, take care of the cattle, and, in short, provide entirely for the subsistence of the family; so that the husband has nothing to do but sleep, and follow his diversions. c

Great filial respect.

NOTHING equals the respect paid by children, of all ages and conditions, to their fathers, who are considered as kings of their families: but they make little account of their mothers, unless under some particular obligations to them. They must lament a father for many days, and deny themselves of all sorts of pleasure during the whole time. The sons must even abstain from the company of their wives for several months. Nothing must be spared to render his funeral honourable; and at least once a year they must pay their devotions at his tomb, calling to mind the infinite obligations which they owe to him: but the *Mohammedan Tartars* are not so exact as to their duties paid the dead^u.

Burials and graves.

THE *Mungls* burn their dead, and interr their ashes on some eminence; where, raising a d heap of stones, they place thereon little banners*. The greater part of the *Pagan Tartars* bury along with the deceased his best horse and moveables, such as wooden porringers, for his use in the other world. In many parts, towards the borders of *Siberia*, there are to be seen little hills, under which are found skeletons of men, accompanied with horse-bones, and many sorts of small vessels, besides jewels of gold and silver. Likewise the skeletons of women, with gold-rings on their fingers. As this does not agree with the condition of the present inhabitants, they are doubtless the graves of the old *Mungls*, who died after their return with the plunder of the southern countries of *Asia*, into those deserts, where they buried vessels of gold and silver, with other riches, so long as they had any left. The *Swedish* prisoners in *Siberia*, as well as the *Russians*, used to go in great troops to search these tombs, which lie far within e the lands of the *Eluths*: but a good number of them having been slain by those people, all farther expeditions were forbidden, under severe penalties. This behaviour of the *Eluths*, otherwise so very peaceable, shews, that they considered them as the tombs of their ancestors; for which all the *Pagan Tartars* have an extraordinary veneration^y.

Antient sepulchres.

ON this occasion it may be proper to mention what frier *Rubruquis*, who, in 1255, was at the court of *Mangu Khân*, writes, concerning the sepulchres of the *Romanians*, or people of *Kipchák*. They build a large tomb over their dead, and set his image upon it, with its face towards the east, and holding a drinking-cup before his belly. On the monuments of rich men they erect pyramids, or little conic houses. In some places the author met with vast brick towers; in others, stone pyramids; although there are no stones found in the neighbourhood. f Near the grave they generally leave one of the defunct's horses. At one he saw sixteen horse-hides hung up on high posts, four towards each cardinal point; with kosmos (or kimis), set for the deceased to drink, and flesh to eat: but could never learn that they buried treasures with the corpse. He observed other kinds of sepulchres towards the east: namely, large stone floors, or pavements, some round, others square: with four tall stones erected at the sides, facing the cardinal points^z.

Their tents;

THE *Mungls* dwell either in tents, or little moveable huts. *Regis*, speaking of the *Mungl* tents, that they are round, and covered with a thick grey or white felt, upheld within by

^t ABU'LGH. ubi sup. p. 412, 505, & 536.
China, &c. p. 256.

^u Ibid. ubi sup. p. 406, & seq.

^x DU HALDE's

^y ABU'LGH. ubi sup. p. 556, & seq.

^z PURCH. pilg. vol. iii. p. 6, 7, 8.

(I) *Gerbillon* says, that although polygamy is not forbidden among the *Mungls*, yet they have generally but one wife. *Du Halde's China*, &c. vol. ii. p. 256.

a poles, with one end tied round a hoop. They thus form the superficies of a broken cone ; with a round hole at top, to let out the smoke, which ascends from the hearth, placed in the middle underneath. While the fire lasts they are warm enough, and then grow cold again ; and in winter, would, without care, freeze in their beds. To avoid this, as well as other inconveniences, they have their tent-door very narrow, and so low that they cannot enter without stooping. They have also the art to join these loose pieces so nicely, as to keep out the piercing blasts of the north wind ^a.

THE *Elutbs*, according to *Bentink*, have, in summer, great tents of ketayka, a sort of cal-
lico ; and, in winter, sheds made of boards, and covered with felt ; which they can set up <sup>moveable
houses ;</sup> and take down in less than an hour's time. The huts, or houses, used both by them and the *Mungls*, are made round, with great poles of light wood, joined together with leather thongs (K), for the more easily fitting up and removing them. They cover them on the outside with a thick felt, for defence against the cold and bad weather. In the middle of the roof, which is conical, they leave an opening, which serves both for a window and chimney : the fire-place
b being directly underneath, and the sleeping places round the hut against the wall. The chiefs, and persons of distinction, have huts larger and more convenient ^b.

THESE moveable habitations (in their removals) are carried on waggons, with four wheels, <sup>carried on
waggons.</sup> These carriages have two shafts, made of a very pliable light wood, and fastened to the axle-tree of the fore-wheels, by means of one of their ends, which is turned back. They put them between the body of the waggon and the wheels, tying a cord a span distance from the fore-
c most end of the shafts. This cord goes into the end of the axle-tree, which passes through the nave of the wheel : so that the wheels, which are pretty small, play on both sides of the waggon, between the shafts and the cord. The horse marches between the shafts ; and over his back there goes an exceeding pliable piece of wood, in form of a semicircle, which is fastened on both sides to the harness, and the shafts to its two ends. They pretend, that in this manner the beast is much eased ; and indeed one horse will draw a waggon, well loaded, above a hundred leagues : but it must be observed, that these machines are not very large. When they put more horses, they either place them before the first, or fasten them to the hindmost axle-tree. The *Russians* and *Kossacks* make use of much the same sort of carriages ^c.

THE houses, in the time of *Rubruquis*, were thirty feet in diameter, stretching on each side <sup>Antient
houses</sup> five feet beyond the wheels. Over the felt they laid mortar, marle, or bone-ashes, to make it shine white ; adorning the roof with beautiful pictures, and hanging before the door a felt painted with birds, trees, and beasts. That traveller counted twenty-two oxen drawing one cart, eleven on a side. The axle-tree was as big as the mast of a ship, and the driver stood at the door of the house. Their household stuff and treasure were kept in square wicker chests, rounded at top, and covered with felt, greased over, to keep out rain. They were adorned with paintings, or feathers, and fixed on carts, carried by camels, for crossing rivers ; but never taken down like the houses.

THESE houses, when set on the ground, are placed, as all their habitations are, with the door ^{how placed :} facing the south, to avoid the north winds, which are very piercing all over *Great Tatory*.
e Then they range the chest-carts at a little distance, on each side, as it were two walls. One rich *Mungl* had one or two hundred such carts with chests ; so that such a great man's court looked like a great village ^d.

THE fixed habitations of the *Elutbs*, which are but few, excepting the roof, which is in the <sup>Fixed habita-
tions.</sup> form of a dome, are built in all respects like the moveable huts ; without either chambers, windows, or garrets : the whole consisting of one single room, about twelve feet high. But these houses are not near so large and convenient as those of the *Manchews*, who build them square ^e.

IN the year 1721, some persons, sent by the emperor of *Russia*, *Peter I.* to discover plants, ^{Needles, or} near the river *Tzulim* (or *Chulim*), to the west of the town of *Krasnoyar* ; found erected, about ^{spires.}
f the middle of the great step or desert, a kind of needle, or spire, cut out of one white stone, about sixteen feet high ; surrounded by some hundred small ones, four or five feet high. There is an inscription on one side of the great needle, and several characters on the lesser ones ; which time has already defaced in many places. They seem to have no resemblance of any used in the north parts of *Asia*. As there are no stones within an hundred leagues of these monuments, and such works do not agree with the genius of the present inhabitants of *Tatory*, *Bentink* seems to think, that they could not have been executed either by them or their ancestors. But this conclusion will not hold good, if we consider what has been

^a DU HALDE, ubi supra. p. 254.
ubi supra, p. 3, & seq.

^b ABU'LGH. hist. Turks, &c. p. 409.
^c ABU'LGH. ubi supra, p. 410.

^e Ibid.

^d PURCH.

(K) In the time of *Rubruquis*, they were interwoven with wickers ; and the foundation (or floor) of the same materials.

already quoted from *Rubruquis*, who found tombs in that form (L) in his journey through the same parts of *Tatary*.

A deserted town.

IN that part of the country between the *Jaik* and *Sir*, which is inhabited by the *Eluths*, towards the borders of the *Kassatcha Orda*, who possess the other part, the *Russians*, about 1714, discovered a town, quite deserted; in the midst of vast sandy grounds, eleven days journey to the south-west (M) of *Yamisha*, and eight to the west of *Sempalat* (N). It is about half a league in compass, with walls five feet thick, and sixteen high: the foundation freestone, and superstructure brick, flanked with towers in several places. The houses were all built with sun-burnt bricks, and side-posts of wood, much after the common fashion in *Poland*. The better fort had several chambers. There were likewise great brick buildings, with each a tower; which, in all likelihood, served for temples. These buildings were in pretty good condition, without the least appearance of violence having been used to them.

Writings found there,

relating to devotion.

IN most of the houses was found a great quantity of writings done up in rolls. One fort was in *China* ink, and silk paper, white and thick. The leaves were two feet long, and nine inches broad, written on both sides; and the lines ran from the right to left across the same. The writing was bounded with two black lines, which left a two-inch margin. The second fort was engrossed upon fine blue silk paper, in gold and silver, with a line round each, in one or the other. The lines were written length-ways, from right to left; and varnished over to preserve them. The first fort were found to be in the *Mungl* language: the second in that of *Tangut* (or *Tibet*); both treating of religious matters. Since then, two other towns were discovered, deserted in the same manner by the *Eluths*; probably on account of their wars with the *Mungls*. Much of the same kind was the discovery made in 1721. Some rustics, sent from *Tobolskoy*, by the governor of *Siberia*, privately to look for ruins and ancient sepulchres, found certain images of gold, silver, and brass, in all the tombs. And, having advanced 120 *German* miles towards the *Caspian* sea, met with the ruins of splendid buildings: among which were some chambers under-ground, whose floors and sides consisted of most shining stone. They saw here and there black ebony chests; which, instead of treasure, contained writings or books. Of these they carried away only five leaves: one whereof, being tolerably well preserved, was made public (O). The learned of *Europe*, to whom the emperor *Peter* I. also communicated these writings, were much puzzled about them; but they were known at once by messieurs *Freret* and *Fourmont*, of the academy of inscriptions at *Paris* (P) to be the language and character of *Tibet*. They found it to be a funeral sermon, with a moral on the other life, well handled^f.

Language.

THE language spoken by the numerous tribes of *Mungls* is simply called the *Mungl* tongue. They have indeed several dialects (Q); but understand each other very well^g. The characters found on the antient monuments are the same with those in present use; but different from the *Manchews*, which are no older than the family now reigning. They have not the least resemblance of the *Chinese* letters, and are no more difficult than the *Roman*. They are written on tables with an iron pencil; for which reason a book is a great rarity among the *Mungls*. The emperor *Kang-hi*, to please them, had some of their authors translated, and printed at *Pe-king*. But the chief book among them is the *Kalendar*, published by the mathematical tribunal in that capital, and graven in *Mungl* characters^h.

Learning.

THE *Mungls*, in the flourishing times of their empire, cultivated arts and sciences; which they learned from the southern nations of *Asia*, whom they conquered. Among the rest, astronomy, geography, and other parts of the mathematics, are much indebted to the labours of their countrymen. But, with their dominion out of *Tatary*, they lost their love for learning; and, at present, are involved in their antient ignorance. However, as they are studious to preserve the knowledge of their genealogies, tribes, and other matters appertaining to their own history, they still retain a method peculiar to themselves of computing time, and settling the dates of events. This is a cycle of twelve lunar years, which we meet with in a work ascribed to one of their emperors, who reigned in *Persia* and *Great Bukharia*, with each its name, taken from some animal, in the following order: 1. *Kesku*, or the mouse. 2. *Out*, the ox. 3. *Pârs*, the

Cycle of twelve years.

^f ABU'LGH. hist. Turks, &c. p. 556, & seq. p. 253.

^g DU HALDE, ubi supra, p. 256, & seq.

^h Ibid.

(L) *Paul Lucas*, in his second voyage to the *Levant*, tom. i. p. 126, saw a surprizing number of pyramids, no fewer than 20,000, within two days journey of *Casarea*, in *Asia minor*; with doors, stairs, rooms, and windows: and in the upper part of each a corpse. Which, from their uniformity with those in *Tatary*, may be presumed to have been built by the *Tatars*, in one of their expeditions on that side.

(M) It should be south-east, according to *Strahlenberg's* map, which places this town in the neighbourhood of *Sempalat*, and *Abluket*, both on the *Irtish*.

(N) *Sempalat*, or *Sedempalat*; that is, the seven palaces, is a *Russian* settlement on the *Irtish*.

(O) In the *Acta Eruditorum*, vol. xvi. p. 375, July 1722, and in the literary news of *Leipsick*, the 25th of June, the same year, p. 414.

(P) In the history of that academy, for the year 1725, there is a full account of these writings.

(Q) According to *Bentink*, the *Eluths* are the only people of *Grand Tatary* who preserve the ancient *Mungl* or *Turkish* language in all its purity. *Abū lghazi* hist. Turks, &c. p. 399, & seq. Among them *Abū lghazi Khān* learned the *Turkish* language, in which he wrote his history, *ibid.* p. 31.

a leopard. 4. *Tâshkân*, the hare. 5. *Luî*, the crocodile. 6. *Yulân*, the serpent. 7. *Tunad*, the horie. 8. *Kui*, or *Koy*, the sheep. 9. *Pichân*, the ape. 10. *Dakûk*, the hen. 11. *Eyt*, the dog. 12. *Tongîz*, the hareⁱ. The *Mungls* took this cycle from the *Igûrs*, *Oygûrs*, or *Vigûrs*^k, the only people in all *Tatary* who had either learning or letters before the time of *Jenghîz Khân*. And from the *Mungls* the *Japanese* took their *Jetta*, or twelve signs^l.

ⁱ Ulug. Beigh Epoch. celebr. p. 6.^k HYDE rel. vet. Pers. p. 225.^l KEMPF. hist. Japan. p. 156.

S E C T. II.

Religion of the Mungls.

- b **T**HE *Mungls*, before the time of *Jenghîz Khân*, were, in all probability, strict deists; ^{Mungl religion:} since that conqueror, at the head of his *Yassa*, or laws, ordained the belief of One God, the Creator of heaven and earth. But, in the reigns of his successors, the *Lamas* of *Tibet* found admission into *Tatary*; and, by degrees, so infected the inhabitants, that, at present, all but the *Mohammedan Tatars* profess the religion of *Fo*, called in their language *Fo-shaki*: which, besides the doctrine of the transmigration of souls (A), teaches the belief of a future state, purgatory, invocation of saints, worship of images, confession, pardons, absolution, and other doctrines, so very conformable to those of the *Romish* religion, that it seems the counter-part of it, as well in essentials as ceremonies, even to crossing, the beads, and holy water. They have not, indeed, any thing so absurd as transubstantiation; but they have an article of faith
- c equivalent to it: for they believe, that the God *Fo*, whom they call God incarnate, not only assumes a human form, and actually resides in *Tibet*, where he is worshipped as the true ^{that of Tibet:} Deity, or Sovereign both of heaven and earth; but that he communicates his divinity to his chosen servants, who officiate, in the several parts of his spiritual dominions, in his stead. These are the vicars, or deputies, of the *Tibetian* god, and are called, in the *Mungl* language, *Khûtûktû*. There are several of them in *Great Tatary*. The *Mungls* have one, who resides among and presides over them. The *Khalkas* another. The *Khûtûktû*, or vicar of the *Mungls*, has his abode at *Khûkbû Hotûn*, mentioned before in the geography of their country; where he lives in great state, and receives the adorations of the *Mungls*, who make pilgrimages thither, to visit him, with as much devotion as the *Romanists* do to *Rome*.
- d GERBILLON the jesuit, who was at *Khûkbû Hotûn* in 1688, with the emperor *Kang-hi*, saw ^{The Khû-} the *Khûtûktû*, who was then about twenty-five years old. For although they believe he ^{tûktû} never dies, yet they say he from time to time disappears; in which interval, his soul, being separated from his body, immediately enters that of some child, who is discovered by the *Lamas*, or priests. Hence they are called *Fûsheki*, or the Living *Fo* (B); and worshipped as God on earth. He was flat-faced, and very long visaged; sat in an alcove, at the end of the temple, on two large cushions, one brocade, the other yellow satin. There were several lamps on each hand; but only one lighted. He was covered all over with a gown or mantle of yellow damask, so that nothing could be seen but his head, which was quite bare. His hair was curled, and his mantle edged with a parti-coloured galoon, four or five inches broad, like a ^{of the Mungls;} priest's scope; which that vestment nearly resembled. All the civility he shewed the emperor's ambassadors was, to receive standing their compliments, or rather adorations: for when they were advanced within six paces of him, they cast their caps on the ground, and prostrated themselves thrice, knocking the earth with their foreheads. After this, kneeling by turns at his feet, he put his hand on their heads, and made them touch his chaplet, or beads. The ambassadors then paid a second adoration, and, the pretended immortal being first seated, took their places in alcoves, one on each side. Some of their retinue also, after paying their adorations, received the imposition of hands, and touch of the beads. Then an entertainment was set; and while the coun- ^{his behaviour:} terfeit god reached a cup of *Tatarian* tea, served in plate, our author observed, that his arms were bare up to the shoulders; and that he had no other clothes underneath but red and yellow scarfs, wrapped about his body. The collation being over, and the tables removed, they conversed for some time. During which the living idol kept his gravity very well: he spoke no more than five or six words, and those very softly, in answer to the ambassadors questions; but was continually rolling his eyes, looking earnestly, now at one, then at another; and some-

(A) *Regis* says, they do not hold the transmigration of the soul, at least into brutes: for that they eat the flesh of beasts; but more of wild than tame animals. *Du Halde's China*, vol. ii. &c. p. 257.

(B) The *Chinese* is *Ho-Fo*. In *Tibet* he is called *Lama Konju*; and by the *Chinese* and *Tatars*, God the Father,

according to the Jesuit *Grueber*. See *Collect. voyages and travels*, in quarto, vol. iv. p. 653. He is called also *Lama Lamalu*; that is, the *Lama* of *Lamas*; and *Dalay Lama*, or the *Great Lama*; being the pope of those countries.

times vouchsafed to smile. In this temple were no images, as in other temples; but pictures of their deities, painted on the walls. In a chamber they saw a child, of seven or eight years old, with a lamp burning beside him, dressed and seated like the Khûtûktû, and seemed designed for his successor. When the ambassadors took their leave of this mock deity, he neither stirred from his seat, nor paid them the least civility ^a.

Khûtûktû of
the Kalkas;

THE Khûtûktû of the *Kalkas* is not subject to the Dalay Lama of *Tibet*, though originally a deputy from him to them and the *Elutbs*: but, having tasted the sweets of spiritual command, he made bold (towards the year 1680) to set up for himself. This he performed with so much address, that there is scarce any mention made at present of the Dalay Lama among the *Kalkas*; who believe their living *Fo* to be no less divine and immortal than him of *Tibet*. The court of *China* had a great hand in this new apotheosis, in order to divide the *Kalkas* from the *Elutbs*; which they saw could not well be done so long as both nations continued attached to the same head of religion; who would, at all times, in case of difference, endeavour, for his own sake, to reconcile them ^b. With this view the emperor *Kang-hi*, at the intreaty of the Khûtûktû, assisted the *Kalkas* against *Kaldan Pojuntu*, Khân of the *Elutbs*, in 1688. But before the *Chinese* forces arrived, *Kaldan* had made great ravages in the country of the *Kalkas*; and, among the rest, destroyed the magnificent temple, which the Khûtûktû had built near the river *Tula*, with yellow varnished bricks.

his residence:

THIS living *Fo*, who was the chief occasion of the war, by his cruelty and injustice, was named *Chemitzun Tamba Khûtûktû*; and brother to the Khân of the *Kalkas*, called *Tushetu Khân*. After his temple was destroyed, and *Kaldan* was repulsed by the help of the imperial troops, he went and dwelt in tents, on the banks of the *Iben Pira*, a little river, which falls into the *Selinga*. As the veneration which the *Kalkas* had for him drew crowds of people thither, the place, in a little time, might be called a large city of tents; the hurry being much greater there than any-where else in that part of *Tatary*: for it is resorted to by the *Russians*, and other nations, for the sake of trade, as well as by the priests of all ranks, from *Hindostân*, *Pegu*, *Tibet*, and *China* ^c. *Gerbillion* saw this Khûtûktû, in 1691, at an audience of the emperor *Kang-hi*; who obliged that pretended god to pay him homage. He was a corpulent man, and the only fat *Kalka* our author had ever seen; of a middle stature; and, though upwards of fifty, had a very ruddy complexion. He was dressed in a long gown of yellow fatten, with a border of rich fur, and collar of the same. Over his shoulder he wore a great linen scarf, of a dark red. His head and beard were shaved. His bonnet was a kind of mitre, of yellow fatten (C), with four red corners turned up, and faced with extreme fine black sable. He had on red boots, peaked at the toes, a narrow galloon running along the seams. He was followed by two servants, and conducted by the president of the tribunal of the *Mungls*. After this, being sent for by the emperor, he, for all his pride, put on the habit of ceremony appointed him by his *Chinese* majesty, and received a present of about 330 pounds ^d.

person and
manners.

Lamas, or
priests;

their charac-
ters.

THESE Khûtûktûs are attended by Lamas, or priests, who have a great ascendant over the people, and are held in great veneration by them: although the jesuits tell us, if they may be credited, that they are commonly not only ignorant (D), (being accounted learned, if they can but read their sacred books in the *Tibetian* language); but also great libertines; debauching women, with impunity. They sing their prayers, which they scarce understand, with a solemn yet harmonious air: and this makes almost the whole of their religious worship. They make no sacrifice, or offering; but they give absolution to the people who demand it, bare-headed, on their knees: and are so bigotted to them, that the missionaries say, there are very little hopes of converting them to the *Romish* faith. It is generally believed, that they can call down hail and rain. This was testified to the jesuits by several Mandarins, as eye-witnesses: and they were told at *Pe-king*, that the Lamas practised sorcery (E). They pretend also to physic; which they practise. Their dress is like that in which the apostles are painted; and they wear a mitre and cap, like bishops. They do not live in community in *Tatary*: but, in some places have a kind of prebends; being the lands and flocks of those whom they succeed; of whom they are generally the disciples or companions. They go from tent to tent, and repeat certain prayers; for which they have a salary ^e.

^a DU HALDE'S *China*, &c. vol. ii. p. 279.
ubi supra, p. 252.

^b Ibid. p. 338, & seq.

^c ABU'LGH. *hist. Turks*, &c. p. 508.

^d DU HALDE, ubi supra, p. 252, & seq. & p. 263.

(C) The colour of yellow denotes being in the interest of the emperor of *China*, whose livery that is.

(D) On the contrary, we are told by *Bentink*, that one of his popish friends, in his way thro' the *Mungls* country, having reproached some Lamas for deceiving the vulgar, in making them believe the divinity of the Dalay Lama, and the Khûtûktû; they so smartly retorted on him the *Romish* doctrines, relating to the pope's supremacy and infallibility, that he had much

ado to bring himself off with honour. *Abu'lgb. hist. Turks*, &c. p. 489. Now, if they are so well acquainted with the religions of other nations, it is not likely they are ignorant of their own.

(E) The antient travellers, as *Rubruquis* and *Marco Polo*, speak much of their sorcery and magic: but no wonder, since that superstition is still believed by the *Romish* clergy.

S E C T. III.

Government of the Mungls.

IN order rightly to understand the nature of government in use among the *Mungls*, it must be observed, that each of the three great branches is divided into Aymaks, or tribes: and although any one of them comes to subdivide into several lesser branches, yet they are always reckoned as belonging to such tribe. Every Aymak is composed of a number of families, who usually encamp together; and never separate, without acquainting their chief, that he may know where to find them. When an Aymak, or tribe, is assembled, whether to go fight their enemies, or for any other particular reason, it is called Orda, or, as *Europeans* term it, an hord.

EVERY tribe, or branch separated from it, has its particular chief, who is called Tayki (or Tayghi): which dignity descends regularly to the eldest son. These are all their nobility: and, riches being equally divided among them, there is no other difference between one head of a tribe and another, but that of merit, or the number of families in his Orda^a. These chiefs of tribes are subject to some Khân, whose vassals they are, as well as by birth his generals and counsellors. Khân, or Hân, is a title given to the sovereign of any state, great or small (A): thus, several petty *Mungl* princes are stiled Khâns, though tributary to the Khân of the *Kalka Mungls*; who is himself under the protection of the emperor of *China*: and this last monarch, originally coming from *Tatary*, is also called Khân; being considered as the Great Khân of the *Manchews*, proper *Mungls*, and *Kalkas*, who are subject to him. It is not permitted to any of the family, excepting the reigning prince alone, to assume the title of Khân^b: that which belongs to the princes of the blood being Tayki^c.

WHEN a Khân dies, all the princes of the reigning family, and heads of tribes, which are under the dominion of that house, meet at the usual residence of the deceased monarch; where they proceed to the election of a new one. They only examine who may be the eldest among those princes, without regard to the seniority of the several branches of the family, or to the children of the deceased; and they never fail to elect him who appears to be oldest, unless some extraordinary personal defect be found in him. It is true, force and usurpation may set this order aside: but this case happens much seldomer among the *Pagan* than *Mohammedan Tatars*^d.

THE *Mungls*, for some considerable time after their dividing into three great branches, continued independent under their respective Khâns: but, at present, only the *Eluths* retain an absolute sovereignty; the *Mungls* and *Kalkas* having become subject to the *Manchews*, now reigning in *China*, on two different occasions.

AFTER the descendants of *Jenghîz Khân*, towards the middle of the fourteenth century, were driven out of *China*, the princes of his house seized on territories, and formed different hords: however, the title of Khân remained to the chief of them, called *Chakar Khân*, descended from *Hubelay*, or *Kublay*. To this prince the other *Mungl* tribes (who had continued in *Tatary*), and even the *Eluths* themselves, were tributary, till about the beginning of the seventeenth century; when his subjects (B), unable to bear his cruelties and riots, called in the founder of the *Manchew* monarchy in *China*; who obliged him to quit the title of Khân for that of Vang, and intirely subdued the *Mungls* about the great wall^e.

THESE new masters, after their conquest of *China*, conferred on the most powerful of them the titles of Vang, Pey-le, Pey-tse, Kong, &c. answering to those of regulo, prince, duke, earl, &c.; divided them into forty-nine standards, and settled a revenue on each chief; fixed the bounds of their lands, and established laws, by which they are governed to this day. There is a grand tribunal at *Pe-king* (called that of the *Mungls*), to which appeals are brought from the judgment of the princes themselves; who are obliged to appear when cited. The *Kalkas*, since their subjection, are under the same regulation^f.

THE several countries or districts of the *Mungls*, even those which are the worst, being dry, sandy, and cold, such as *Korchin*, *Oban*, *Nayman*, and *Turbeda*, maintain a great number of princes. The house of *Korchin* only, at the time when the missionaries passed through it (in 1710), had eight or nine, distinguished by their several titles above-mentioned; the number of which is not fixed; because they depend on the will of the emperor of *China*, who is, with

^a DU HALDE, ubi supra, p. 397 & seq. p. 160, note 3.

^b Ibid. ubi supra, p. 391.

^c SAUVIET. obs. math.

^d Ibid. p. 398.

^e DU HALDE, vol. ii. p. 251.

^f Ibid. vol. ii. p. 261, 264.

(A) In the time of *Jenghîz Khân* every tribe seemed to have its particular Khân; or those chiefs who are now called Tayki were then called Khân, as being independent, till they were subdued by, or submitted to, that conqueror.

(B) By this, *Chakar Khân* must be only a title; since he could not have lived two whole centuries and more.

respect to them, the Grand Khân; and who exalts or degrades them, according to their conduct. When they are without title, or military command, they are called Tayghi (C): nevertheless, they are considered as masters of their territories by the *Mungls*, who are no better than slaves to the heads of their respective families.

THESE princes have a politeness which distinguishes them from their subjects: who, though they stile themselves slaves, are not treated with severity; but have ready access on the slightest occasions: yet, formed by education, this familiarity takes off nothing of their respect.

The Kalka
Mungls

submit to
Khâng-hi.

It does not appear at what time that part of the *Mungls* called *Kalkas* assumed the name. These had at first a Khân, who, as well as the other *Mungls* and *Elutbs*, was tributary to the *Chabar Khân* above-mentioned: but the *Kalkas* increasing vastly in time, and the descendants of *Kublai*, who had only the title of Tayki, growing numerous; the more powerful among them became by degrees independent on each other, and of the Khân himself, to whom they paid only a slight homage. Before the year 1688 they are said to have amounted to 600,000 families, divided into seven standards, under so many chiefs; on three of whom the Dalay Lama of *Tibet* conferred the title of Khân: although the Tayki's allowed them no farther superiority than the first place in their assemblies. But, in the year above-mentioned, *Kaldan Pojoktu*, Khân of the *Elutbs*, having invaded their territories, to revenge himself on the Khâtûktû, both for his usurpation or revolt from the Dalay Lama, and the death of a Khân, which he had concerted; the *Kalka* Khâns, after half their subjects had been destroyed by the enemy, implored the assistance of the emperor of *China*, *Kang-hi*; to whom, after the war, two of them submitted immediately, with their subjects. These he divided into Shaffaks, or standards, like the *Mungls*; conferring new titles on their princes, and appointing them lands for their maintenance.

At present
powerful.

TUSHETU, or *Tushetu*, the most powerful of the Khâns (D), after his defeat by the *Elutbs*, fled; but was not followed by many of his people: most of whom retired into the woods, on the north side of the river *Tula*; and afterwards, submitting to the emperor, were divided into three standards, under so many princes. However, we are told by other authors, that this submission, obtained by the intrigues of the Lamas, was very precarious, and merely nominal: for that his son *Tushidtu Khân*, who, in 1720, had his urga, or camp, on the river *Orkhon*, twelve days journey to the south-east of *Selinghinskoy*, was very powerful; and had several petty Khâns, who dwelt about the springs of the *Jenisea*, and the great *Kobi* or desert, tributary to him. Likewise, instead of paying tribute himself, the emperor of *China* sends him every year magnificent presents; and the complaisance with which he is treated, shews, that he is feared more than any of the neighbouring princes: for, should he ever come to an agreement with the *Elutbs*, the union might endanger the present family reigning in *China*.

Elutbs go-
vernment;

THE *Elutbs*, who at first were tributary to the *Chabar Khân*, as well as the *Kalkas*, at length became independent also; and are, at present, the most numerous of all the great branches into which the *Mungls* are now divided. These people grew very formidable in the last century. After subduing *Little Bukharia*, under the famous *Kaldan Pojoktu*, before-mentioned, they ruined the *Kalkas*; and even threatened to attack *China* itself, with a handful of men: but he was overthrown at last, altho' with much difficulty. Since which time they have kept themselves within their proper bounds, and have not been so troublesome to their neighbours as before.

power and
forces.

THE Khân (called *Kontayki*, or the great lord) is a potent prince, being able to bring into the field above an hundred thousand men. On this occasion it may be proper to observe, that the Taykis are of account to their Khâns only in proportion to the number of families in their respective Aymaks, or tribes; and the Khâns formidable to their neighbours, only in proportion to the number of tribes which are in subjection to them; and in which consist all their riches and grandeur, as well as power.

Arms of the
Elutbs,

THE arms of the *Elutbs* are chiefly great bows, with sizeable arrows; which they draw very true, and with great force: it having been observed, in the difference which the *Russians* had with them in 1715, on account of some settlements on the river *Irtish*, that they pierced men quite through the body with their shafts. They have also great arquebusses, six feet long, with barrels an inch thick; and yet the ball they carry is hardly so much. They fix them on rests, and never miss at six hundred yards distance; firing them off with a match. When they march they carry them across their backs fastened to a strap; and the rest hangs on the right side. As they never go to war but on horse-back (having no infantry), they all use lances, and most of them coats of mail, and iron caps. The commanders, but few else, wear sabres, like the *Chineses*, the handle behind, and the point before, that they may draw backwards, which is the more convenient way. These commanders are usually the heads of Ordas: so that a

how govern
them.

^g DU HALDE, vol. ii. p. 250.
&c. p. 505, & seq.

^h Ibid. p. 251, 259.

^k BENT. ap. Abu'lgh. hist. Turks, &c. p. 543, & seq.

^l BENTINCK ap. Abu'lg. hist. Turks,
^l Ibid. p. 398.

(C) The *Chinese* pronounce it *Tay-ki*, and the *Russians* *Tayshi*, or *Taysha*.

(D) His territories extended along the *Selinga*, *Orkhon*, and *Tula*, as far as mount *Kontay*.

a troop is strong, according as an Orda is more or less numerous. Most of the inhabitants of *Tatary* hang their bow at the left side, in a sort of case, when they take horse: but they carry their quivers at their backs. The left hand is the place of honour with most of the oriental people; particularly the *Mohammedan Tatars*.

THEY shoot their arrows with as much skill flying as advancing: for this reason they chuse *Way of fight*: rather to provoke their enemies at a distance, than come to close fight with them, unless they *ing*: have much the advantage. They have not the method of fighting in lines and ranks: but, upon going to action, divide themselves, without any order, into as many troops as there are Ordas which compose the army; and in this manner each advances, led by its chief, to charge the enemy lance in hand. The *Tatars* have been ever very expert in fighting flying, as *Quintus Curtius*, and other antient authors, relate. In this the swiftness of their horses stands them in great stead: for often, when one concludes them intirely routed, they return, and fall upon their enemy with as much vigour as before; and when their adversaries are eager to pursue them without preserving order, they run terrible risks of being defeated. The *Eluths* are brave beyond what can be imagined, and want nothing but *European* discipline to make them formidable. They have not yet learned the use of cannon; and, indeed, as they consist only of cavalry, it would not be of much service to them ^m.

EACH Aymak has its particular ensign or banner; which is usually a piece of Kitayka, or some other coloured stuff, an ell square, set upon the top of a lance, twelve feet long. The *Eluths* *Ensigns or co.* and *Mungls* exhibit the figure of a dromedary, cow, horse, or other animal, putting under it the name of the tribe: and as all the branches of the same tribe still retain the figure represented in the ensign thereof, adding thereto only the name of the branch for whose use it is designed, these ensigns serve them, in some measure, instead of a genealogical table. When an Aymak is in march, the ensign proceeds at the head, immediately after the chief ⁿ.

THE present inhabitants of *Great Tatary* in general, who have exactly preserved the manner *Hazard all* of living of the antient *Mungls*, carry their whole substance along with them where-ever they go. *at war.* Hence it comes, that when they happen to lose a battle, their wives and children commonly remain a prey to the vanquisher, with their cattle, and generally all they possess in the world. They are, in some measure, necessitated to incumber themselves this way; for otherwise they should leave their families and effects a prey to other *Tatars* their neighbours ^o.

d As there is but little magnificence at present to be found in the court of a Khân, and their *The Khân's* subjects are obliged to follow them to war, on the hopes of spoil, which is their only pay, they *revenue.* have no occasion, or rather pretence, for large revenues; which consist wholly in tythes. The *Tatars* of all denominations pay two tythes annually of all their effects; first to their Khâns, and then to their heads of tribes. The *Eluths* and *Mungls*, not cultivating their lands, give the tenth of their cattle, and the booty which they take in war ^p.

WITH regard to the government of the other two branches of the *Eluths*, the *Torgaïti* and *Eluths Tor-* *Koshoti*; the first, who separated from the *Jongari*, in the beginning of the present century, *gaiti* put themselves under the protection of the *Russians*; and still make use of it, although they possess a considerable extent of country, to the east of the kingdom of *Astrakhân*, and river *Jaik*. In other respects they live under the same form of government with the rest of the *Eluths*, divided into Aymaks, or tribes, with their Taykis, and a Khân over all.

THE *Eluths Koshoti* have been settled in the country of *Koko Nor* ever since the *Mungls* and *Koshoti* were driven out of *China*. They are subject to eight Taykis, or princes, who have their respective *their govern-* territories, but are leagued together for their mutual preservation. They are all of the same family, and dignified by the emperor of *China* with the titles of regulo, or petty king, prince, duke, and earl: they are all vassals to the Khân, who resides at *Tibet*, or rather to the Great Lama; on whom one of the ancestors of that Khân bestowed *Tibet* about the year 1630, after he had conquered it from the lawful prince. But after the defeat of *Kaldan*, Khân of the *Jongari Eluths*, by the troops of the emperor, of *China* in 1691, the emperor *Kang-hi* sent to invite these eight Taykis to become his vassals. The chief in rank among them, accepting the invitation, was made Tsing Vang, or prime regulo. Some of the others submitted to pay him homage by proxy; and the emperor chose to win the rest by presents, and allowing them a trade custom-free ^q.

^m BENT. ap. Abû'lgh. hist. Turks, &c. p. 535. ⁿ Ibid. p. 401. ^o Ibid. p. 537. ^p Ibid. p. 395, 398.
^q DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 29, & seq. and vol. ii. p. 265.

BOOK IV.

History of the Mogul or Mungl empire, founded by Jenghîz Khân.

CHAP. I.

The reign of Temujin, till elected Grand Khân.

Mogul empire,

its vast extent :

its history little known.

Asiatic authors

made use of.

THE empire of the *Moguls*, whose history we are now entering upon, is one of the most surprizing phænomena which has appeared on the theatre of this world ; and what deserves more than any other to attract the reader's admiration, whether he considers its rise, its extent, or the rapidity of its progress. It was thought that the *Arabs* had carried conquest to its utmost stretch ; and that no human power could ever do more than a people, who, in the compass of seventy years, subdued more countries than the *Romans* had done in 500. But the *Moguls* have gone far beyond the *Arabs*, and from as small a beginning acquired a much larger empire in far less time : for *Jengbiz Khân*, in a few years, extended his dominions, from a small territory, to more than 1800 leagues from east to west, and above 1000 from north to south, over the most powerful, as well as wealthy, kingdoms of *Asia*. Hence he is with justice acknowledged to be the greatest prince who ever filled the eastern throne ; and all historians have bestowed on him the highest titles, as well as greatest encomiums, that ever monarch was honoured with. They style him the conqueror of the world, the only king of kings, the master of thrones and crowns : they likewise say, that God never invested any sovereign on earth with so great authority ^a.

BUT for all *Asia* so long refounded with the fame of this hero, his name has been scarce known to *Europeans*, till of late, that his history has been given from the oriental authors : for although some early travellers, as *Rubruquis* and *Marco Polo*, wrote concerning the *Moguls*, and their conquests, yet they have done it in so imperfect and erroneous a manner, as to afford no just idea of them ; whilst the fables, which their relations are mixed with, rendered the whole suspected and despised by men of judgment.

THE short but curious account, which *Abû'lfaraj* (A) has delivered of *Jengbiz Khân*, and his immediate successors, first gave the learned of these parts of *Europe* a desire to know more of their history. In this *D'Herbelot* in good measure gratified them in his *Bibliothèque Orientale* (B). Afterwards M. *Petit de la Croix*, the father, wrote the history of *Jengbiz Khân*, compiled chiefly from the oriental authors, by order of Lewis XIV. king of *France* ; to which his son hath added an abridgment of the history of that monarch's successors in the several parts of his empire (C). Since then a translation has been published of the genealogical history of the *Turks* and *Tatars*, written by *Abû'lghazi Khân* of *Karazm* : wherein is given the history of *Jengbiz Khân*, in some detail from nineteen or twenty oriental authors, of whom *Fadlallah* is the principal, with that of his successors, chiefly in *Great Bukhâria*, and *Kapchak* (D). ^d

^a DE LA CROIX, hist. Gengh. p. 2.

(A) In his *Historia compendiosa Dynastiarum*, published in 1663, by the learned Dr. *Pocock*, with a Latin version, and a supplement of his own.

(B) Published in 1690, in folio.

(C) Published in *French*, in two volumes 8vo, 1722 ; and in *English*, in one volume, 1730.

(D) He brings down the history to the year 1663. It was first procured by the *Swedish* prisoners from a *Bukhâr* merchant, who brought it to *Tobolsky*, capital of *Siberia*.

Strahlenberg got it translated into the *Russian* ; and Mr. *Bentink*, with his approbation and directions, published it in *French*, with curious notes, in 1726, in one volume 12mo ; and, in 1730, it was published in *English*, with additional notes, in two volumes 8vo. The first contains the history ; the second the notes, connected so as to form a regular account of countries, and their present inhabitants.

Lastly,

a Lastly, *Anthony Gaubil*, a Jesuit at *Peking*, obliged the world with a history of *Jenghiz Khân*, and his successors in *China*, till their expulsion; extracted from the *Chinese* annals, and illustrated with very useful notes of his own (E). These are the works of any note, taken immediately from the *Asiatic* writers, which have as yet come to hand; and from them principally have we drawn our materials relating to the *Mogul* affairs.

But here it must be observed, that *Abû'lghazi Khân* and *De la Croix*, or the authors they have made use of, proceed on different plans, or according to different memoirs. The first confines himself to a plain narration of facts, in the order they happened, without enlarging on any thing: the latter improves every thing to the advantage of his hero, in order to make his actions appear with greater lustre. The first leaves him in a state of inactivity, from the death of his father till the fortieth year of his age, that he became in a condition to reduce his revolted subjects, and obtain the empire: the latter fills up that space of time with a great many incidents, and even assigns them their dates, that his reign might not appear with so great a chasm in it. To enhance his future glory the more, he makes him, during that interval, reduced to put himself under the protection of *Vang Khân*, sovereign of many nations; whereas *Abû'lghazi Khân* represents him as quite independent all the while. Lastly, *De la Croix* places *Temujin's* birth ten years earlier than the other; which makes a great difference in the chronology, from thence to the time he became Grand Khân.

WHENCE this great disagreement arises it is not easy to determine: since *Abû'lghazi Khân*, tho' he made use of twenty authors, never quotes, or even mentions, any, excepting *Fadlallah*; and that only to give some account of his work, as being his principal authority: on the other hand, *De la Croix* commonly cites his authors in the margin, but not distinctly enough to know what belongs to each. However, from thence we are able to discover, that he took not only the date of *Temujin's* birth, but also his history, especially for the beginning of his reign, chiefly from *Mirkbond*, *Kondamir*, and other oriental authors, rather than *Fadlallah*, whom he seldom quotes on the occasion. Now as this is the principal historian made use of by *Abû'lghazi Khân*, who also had recourse to several *Mogul* writers, it is probable he follows them in those particulars: and hence may arise the difference between him and *De la Croix*.

POSSIBLY *Fadlallah* relates no more concerning the first years of *Temujin's* reign than what we meet with in *Abû'lghazi Khân*; and that the latter historians have swelled it with incidents, and even enlarged the term of his life, for the reason before-mentioned. However that be, it is certain *Abû'lghazi Khân* took his memoirs, so far at least, from other authors than those whom *De la Croix* has made use of; and his authority, we think, ought to be preferred; not only because, as being a *Mogul* himself, he was better able to judge what writers were most to be depended on; but also because the account he gives is correspondent with the *Chinese* history, whose authority ought to take place, had all the *Persian* historians, and even *Fadlallah* himself, contradicted it. For although the Wâzir *Fadlallah* wrote his curious work in the year 1294, at the command of *Gazân*, or *Kazân Khân* (sixth successor of *Hûlâkû*, *Jenghiz Khân's* grandson, in *Persia*), from the memoirs of *Pulâd*, a *Mogul*, sent by that monarch into *Tatary* to collect them; yet *Kublai Khân*, *Hûlâkû's* brother, who reigned in the eastern part of *Tatary* and *China*, had ordered the history of his predecessors to be written several years before^b. So that, supposing oral traditions, rather than written memoirs, were the chief basis of both histories^c; yet that set on foot by *Kublai Khân* may be presumed to be more complete and accurate than the other composed by *Kazân Khân's* order: as not one person only, but many, doubtless, were employed to collect materials; and being written on the spot, recourse might be easily had, from time to time, to proper persons for information and solving difficulties. Not to mention the advantages it must have received from the *Chinese* historians, who have been always careful to record, by way of annals, the affairs of their neighbours, especially such as they had any transactions with; so that whatever defects occurred in the *Mogul* traditions, with respect to dates, or otherwise, might have been supplied from thence. It is for these reasons that, in the following history of *Jenghiz Khân*, and the *Moguls*, we have preferred *Abû'lghazi Khân's* history to that of *De la Croix*; and that given us by *Gaubil* from the *Chinese* historians, to both the others: who yet, with regard to the affairs of the *Moguls* in the western parts, for the same reasons, are preferable to him.

WE have already given an account of the *Mogul* tribes, their ancient history, and Khâns, to the time of *Jenghiz Khân*; with remarks on the same^d: we shall therefore in this place only touch on such matters preceding the time of that conqueror, as more immediately relate to him, and may be necessary to complete his history.

^b See DE LA CROIX hist. Gengh. p. 424. before, p. 123, & 130, & seq.

^c SOUCIET observ. mathemat. &c. p. 202.

^d See

(E) This learned and judicious Jesuit transmitted two tracts to E. Souciet, of the same society; who published them first in his *Observ. math. astr. géogr. &c.* in 4to, 1719. It is intitled, A brief history of the first

five *Mogul* emperors. The second appeared by itself, in 1739, under the title of The history of *Ghentchiscan*, and all his successors, who reigned in *China*.

Jenghiz
Khân's de-
scend.

ACCORDING to the tradition of the *Moguls*, *Jenghiz Khân* was of divine descent, since his family can be traced no farther back than *Alankû*, or *Alankawa*; who, being got with child by a spirit, brought forth three sons, who from thence obtained the surname of *Niron* (F), which their posterity enjoyed: those of her former children being called *Dirlighin*, to denote that they had no miraculous original. As *Jenghiz Khân* descended in a right line from *Buzenjir* (G), the third of *Alankû*'s celestial offspring, and his predecessor in the ninth degree, some authors call him the Son of the Sun (H). According to *Fadlallah* (I), who wrote his life, his descent from *Alankû* is as follows: 1. *Buzenjir Khân*. 2. *Bûka Khân*. 3. *Tutumiten Khân*. 4. *Kaydu Khân*. 5. *Bayfankar Khân*. 6. *Tumena Khân*. 7. *Kabal Khân*. 8. *Purtan Khân*. 9. *Tesukay* (K) *Behadr*. 10. *Jenghiz Khân* (L).

His ancestors.

AMONG these princes three or four were particularly famous; *Buzenjir*, surnamed the just, was Khân of *Kotan*. *Bayfankar* (or *Bassikar*, as *Abûlghazi Khân* calls him) was a prince of great conduct, and conquered many provinces. *Kabal*, or *Kabul Khân*, made himself the admiration of all *Asia* by his courage (M): he had six sons, in whom the name of *Kayat*, which had been lost for 3000 years, was revived (N). *Bisukay* (or *Tesuki*) *Behadr*, the father of *Jenghiz Khân*, was remarkable for having brought under his command the greater part of the chiefs of the *Mogul* nations, with the kings of *Karakatay*, or *Karakitay* (O), who troubled his quiet. He vanquished them, though they were frequently assisted by the king of *Katay*, which comprised the northern provinces of *China*.

Their con-
quests.

AFTER this, having received an affront from the tribe of *Su Moguls* (P), or *Tatars*, he entered their country, which he pillaged; and, being met by *Temujin Khân*, lord of several tribes, who came to drive him thence, he put him to flight, after a bloody battle, and returned with honour to his country-seat, where he commonly resided, called *Dilon Ildak* (Q), in *Teka Mogulistan*. To commemorate this victory, he gave the name of the vanquished Khân to a son, of whom *Olon Ayka* (R), the first of his wives, was soon after delivered (S), calling him *Temujin* (T). As he was born with congealed blood in his hands, *Sûghujin*, the Khân's relation and first minister, foretold, by his skill in astrology, that he should overcome his enemies in battle, and, at length, arrive to be Grand Khân of all *Tatary*. On the death of *Sûghujin*, *Pisûka* chose his son *Karasher Nevian*, a man of great parts and learning, to educate *Temujin*; who had scarce attained his ninth year, when he would apply himself to no other exercise than that of arms.

Hej. 559.
A. D. 1163.

YESUKAY at length was unfortunately taken prisoner by the Khân of *Kitay* (U); but after a long imprisonment, making his escape by bribing his guard, he resolved to revenge himself: in order to which, he married *Temujin*, though not thirteen years old, to the Khân of the *Naymans* daughter; but died (X) before he could execute his design.

* DE LA CROIX hist. Gengh. p. c, & seq.
& seq.

† Ibid. See also ABU'LEH. hist. Turks, &c. p. 55, & 63.

‡ Ibid. p. 15.

(F) This, the oriental authors say, is a corruption, or contraction, of *Nûranîyûn*, which signifies children of light.

(G) *Abûlghazi Khân*'s translators call him *Budenfir Mogak*.

(H) According to *Abûlghazi Khân*'s history, something as bright as the sun fell into *Alankû*'s chamber, and assumed the shape of a man.

(I) This is the first and most eminent of all who have written of *Jenghiz Khân*, and his successors. An account has been already given of him, p. 123.

(K) *De la Croix* writes *Pisûka*; and seems to have followed *Mirkhond*, and others, who call him *Bisukay*, or *Pisukay*. But *Kondamir*, *Abûlghazi Khân*, and the *Chinese* annals, name him *Tesukay*; which we have followed.

(L) The names in this succession differ a little from those given by *Abûlghazi Khân*, probably through some mistake in transcribing.

(M) Page 5, it is said, that the *Moguls* under him made a vast progress, and advanced as far as *Karakatay*, where they obliged some Khâns to pay them tribute: but that, in the twelfth century, in which *Jenghiz Khân* was born, they were tributary to the *Kara-its*. The *Tumena Khân*, in this list of ancestors, must be a different person from the hero of that name, mentioned before, p. 134, & seq.

(N) They were called *Niron Kayat*, of which tribe *Jenghiz Khân* was chief. It is called his own tribe, p. 18.

(O) The *Chinese* annals do not seem to make him so powerful: it is only said, that he was chief of the principal hord of the *Moguls*. This hord was contiguous

to that of the *Naymans*, near the city of *Holin*, or *Karakorum*, to the north of the sandy desert. *Souciot* observ. mathemat. &c. p. 185. and *Gaubil* histoire de Gentchisc. p. 2.

(P) It may be questioned, if this distinction of *Su Moguls*, or *Tatars*, is to be found in any oriental author; for it seems to be taken from *Carpin* the friar, who was sent into *Tatary* by the pope, in 1246.

(Q) The same, probably, called in *Abûlghazi Khân*'s history, *Blunuldak*.

(R) In *Abûlghazi Khân*'s history, p. 48, & 67, she is called *Ulan-Iga*. The surname of *Iga*, in the *Mogul* language, signifies great. She had also the surname of *Kujin*, which, in the language of *Kitay*, is an old woman. She was of the tribe of *Alakours*, and had a vast deal of wit.

(S) This date is according to *Abûlghazi Khân*; and agrees nearly with the *Chinese* history, which puts it in 1162: but *De la Croix* places his birth in 549, ten years higher, from *Mirkhond*, and other historians.

(T) According to the *Chinese* annals, he was first named *Kyravwen*: but afterwards, in memory of the victory over *Temujin*, chief of a *Tatar* hord, whom his father *Tesukay* took prisoner, he was called *Temujin*. He was born at a mountain near the river *Onon*, or *Amûr*, where *Tesukay* incamped after the battle. *Gaubil* hist. de Gentchisc. &c. p. 2.

(U) *De la Croix* places this in 562 of the *Hijrah*, of Christ 1166.

(X) According to the *Chinese*, he died in the flower of his age; left five sons and a daughter; and appointed *Temujin* chief of the hord.

a BEFORE we proceed, it will be proper to acquaint our readers with the state of *Tatary*, and *State of Asia*, the neighbouring countries, at the time of this prince's death. The whole region between mount *Altay* and the eastern *Tatary*, was divided among a great number of Aymaks, or tribes; who had each one or more Khâns, according as it was more or less numerous, and divided into branches. Among these, that of the *Kara-its* was most powerful, whose prince assumed the title of Grand Khân: to him most of the other tribes, and, among the rest, the *Moguls*, were tributary; but, according to the *Chinese* historians, both one and the other paid tribute to the emperor of *Kitay*, or *Katay*.

b CHINA was at that time divided into two parts: the nine southern provinces were in the hands of the *Chinese* emperors of the *Song* family, who kept their court at *Hang-chew*, the capital of the province of *Che kyang*: the five northern provinces, except part of *Sben-si*, with the adjoining parts of *Tatary*, were possessed by the *Kin*, a people of eastern *Tatary*, from whom the *Man-chew*, at present masters of *China*, are descended. This vast dominion was named *Kitay*, or *Katay*, and divided into two parts: that which belonged to *China* was properly called *Kitay*; and the part which belonged to *Tatary* was named *Karakitay*; in which some even include the territories of the *Moguls*, *Kara-its*, and other nations, mentioned in this history.

c THE western part of proper *Kitay* was possessed by a prince of *Turkish* extraction, who had lately formed an empire there, called by the *Chinese* *Hya* and *Si Hya*; whose capital city was *Hya-chew*, at present *Ninghya*, in *Sben-si*, from whence the kingdom took its name. To the west of *Hya* lay *Tangut*; a country of great extent, and formerly very powerful; but at that time reduced to a low state, and divided among several princes; some of whom were subject to the emperor of *Hya*, and others to him of *China*.

ALL *Tatary* to the west of mount *Altay*, as far as the *Caspian* sea, with the greater part of *Little Bukhâria*, which then passed under the general name of *Turkestan*, was subject to *Gur-khân*, *Kurkhân*, or *Kavar Khân*; to whom the *Oygûrs*, *Vigûrs*, or *Igûrs*, and even the *Karazm Shâh*, who reigned over *Great Bukhâria*, *Karazm*, and most part of *Irân*, or *Persia*, were tributary. This *Gurkhân* had been prince of the western *Kitân*, or *Lyau*; who, driven out of *Kitay* by the *Kin*, settled in *Little Bukhâria*, and the country to the north, between *Turfân* (about which the *Oygûrs* inhabited) and *Kashgûr*, where they founded a powerful state in the year 1124.

d THIS was the state of the north part of *Asia* at *Pisukay's* (Y) decease; at what time between thirty and forty thousand families, all from the same stock, were under his obedience. But *Temujin* being so young, the *Tayjuts* first, and then two thirds of the rest, deserting him, went over to one *Burgani Kariltuk*. All the *Kataguns*, the *Jipjuts* (Z), the *Jaygherats* (or *Fajekats*), and the *Nirons*, excepting a few families, joined him to a man. Hereupon the *Markats*, who never would submit to *Tesughi* (or *Pisûka*) *Babadr*, submitted to him. They who continued faithful to *Temujin* were the descendants of his great grandfather, half the tribe of the *Markats*, and several families of the other tribes: there remaining out of some fifty families, one or two hundred out of others, and no more than ten or five out of many. It is true, *Temujin* did all he could to remedy this evil in the beginning: for this end, while scarce thirteen years old, he took the field against those revolters, and fought a bloody battle; but, in regard it was not decisive, he was obliged to temporize till the fortieth year of his age. This is all which *Abû'lghazi Khân* relates concerning him till that period; but many remarkable transactions happened during that interval, which are mentioned by other authorsⁱ.

e *PISUKA's* death threw things into confusion: for soon after the Khâns of *Tanjut* (A), *Mer-kit*, and several other *Niron* tribes, his relations, whom he had subdued, with his cousin *Jemuka* (B), revolting, came to attack *Temujin*: who, encouraged by his mother, set up his standard, which displayed a horse's tail, and marched along with her at the head of his forces; which fought the enemy with good success^k.

f THIS affair is related more particularly in the *Chinese* history: which takes notice, that *Temujin* being very young, his mother *Ulun* governed in his stead, and brought back several of his vassals, who had gone over to *Taychot* (C) and *Chamuka*, two princes, enemies to his family. These, having formed an army 30,000 strong, of soldiers chosen out of seven hords, came to

ⁱ ABU'LGHAZI KHAN hist. Turks, p. 65, & seq.

^k DE LA CROIX ubi supra, p. 15.

(Y) In *De la Croix's* history it is written thus; perhaps by a mistake of the oriental manuscript, in putting three points under the first letter p, instead of two.

(Z) In the translation written *Tipjuts*; the z being commonly used instead of the *English* j consonant.

(A) The same which in *Abû'lghazi Khân* is written *Tayjuts*; by some mistake, perhaps, in pointing the letter for a; instead of an x, or the contrary. If *Tajut* be the name, it may possibly be the same with *Tan ju* in the

Chinese histories; by which the *Tatars* to the north-west of *China* were formerly known to them.

(B) *Abû'lghazi Khân*, p. 70, calls him *Jemuka Jijen*; which last word signifies eloquent. The *Chinese* annals name him *Chanuka*.

(C) This *Taychot* seems to be the *Burgani Kariltuk* of *Abû'lghazi Khân*, mentioned a little before; but he says not what became of him. Perhaps also 'tis his *Tayjuts*, in note (A).

gains a
victory:

attack *Temujin*: but being assisted by his mother, who led a body of troops herself, and by *Porji*, a young lord of the hord of *Orla*, but thirteen years old; after a bloody battle, in which those three did wonders, *Taychot* was slain, and *Chamuka* put to flight. This action made a noise all over *Tatary*, greatly to the advantage of the young *Mogul* prince: who discovered on this occasion much grandeur of soul, in the manner of rewarding his officers and soldiers, making them ride his own horses, giving them habits, and the like. Almost all *Taychot*'s hord, which was very numerous, and possessed a large country, submitted to the victor; and *Potû* (D), who was lord of the country about the river *Ergona*¹ (or *Argun*), became his fast ally, marrying his sister *Tumulun*; upon whose death *Jenghîz Khân* gave him his daughter to wife^m. But after this we are told, that, fortune turning against *Temujin*, he was beaten; and fell several times into the hands of his adversaries: yet had always the luck to escape.

loses his wife.

A. D. 1176.

In his fourteenth year he espoused *Purta Kujin*, daughter to the Khân of the *Kongorats*, and kinswoman to *Vang* (or *Ung*) Khân of the *Kara-its* (E); by whom he had a daughter that same year. But next year, while he was on some expedition from home, the *Merkits* entered *Niron Kayat*, which belonged to one of his tribes; and, having defeated the few forces who guarded it, carried off all that was valuable, with the princess *Purta Kujin*, who was big of her second child. Her they sent to *Vang Khân*, and her husband's enemies pressed him to marry her: but, though she was very beautiful, he declined it, saying, He could not marry his son's wife. He spoke thus, because, at the time when he made a league of amity with *Tesukay*, he called *Temujin* his son.

The Moguls
revolt:

retires to Ka-
rakorum.

So soon as the *Mogul* prince heard of his wife's captivity, he sent an ambassador to *Karakorum*, to demand her of the Khân (F); who immediately granted his request. Happening to be delivered of a son on the road, she wrapped him in paste; and so carried him in her lap, without hurting his tender limbs, to the palace of her husband, who called him *Fuji* (G). Two years after this, his own tribe of *Niron Kayat*, seduced by *Tukta Bey*, Khân of the *Merkits*, his most powerful enemy, took up arms against him; and he was himself made prisoner by the tribe of *Tanjut* (or *Tayjut*). He had however the address to escape again from the hands of his enemies. After this, reflecting on the bad posture of his affairs, he offered the Khâns all they could desire to procure an accommodation; but their design being entirely to ruin the house of *Tesukay*, they rejected all his proposals, and seized the greater part of his dominions. Hereupon, resolving to take refuge under the Grand Khân, he sent a *Nevian*, or prince of his court (H), to *Karakorum*, to implore the protection of *Vang Khân*, who readily granted it; in consideration, as he said, of the signal obligations which he lay under to his father *Pisuka*. Upon this *Temujin* married his mother *Ulon Ayka* to *Buzrak* (I), an eminent man, whom he placed on his right hand above all the princes; and leaving the regency of his kingdom to his uncle *Utejekin*, departed with *Karashar*, and all his faithful servants, escorted by a guard of 6000 men, for the court of the Grand Khânⁿ; of whom it may be proper to give some account.

Vang Khân's
descent.

THE predecessors of this prince, whose original name was *Togrul*, had been powerful lords in *Mogulistân*, *Jelayr*, *Türkestân*, and *Karakitay*. Some of his ancestors had even assumed the title of emperor; but their greatness in time decayed. His family, one of the most illustrious in *Karakitay*, contained six great tribes of *Derligbin Moguls*; among whom were the *Kara-its*, who made war with their neighbours. *Mergûs* (K), the grandfather of *Togrul*, whose tribe resided at *Karakorum*, was one of the most considerable and valiant Khâns of the *Kara-its*, but at the same time unfortunate: for several Khâns of *Karakitay* having combined against, and twice vanquished him; one of them, named *Nawr*, his relation, drew him into an ambuscade, and sent him to the king of *Kûrga* (L) in *China*, who caused him to be sewed up, bound, in a sack, and left to expire on a wooden ass.

Female cou-
rage.

KUTUKI, the widow of *Mergûs*, enraged at the treachery of *Nawr*, yet feigning to be angry with none but the king of *Kûrga*, fifteen months after sent to tell the former, that she passionately desired to divert herself in his company; and that, if he retained the affection which he professed

¹ See before, p. 247, & seq.
la Croix, ubi sup. p. 16, & seq.

^m GAUBIL. ubi supra, p. 2.

ⁿ MIRKHOND, MARAKASHI apud De

(D) Afterwards said to be lord of *I-ki-lye-tse* hord.

(E) This, following the *Chinese* and *Abûlghazi Khân*'s computation of his birth, must have been in the year 1176, or 1177.

(F) *Hejrah* 567, A. D. 1168. *De la Croix*.

(G) That is, in the *Mogul* language, *happily arrived*. So says *De la Croix*: but *Abûlghazi Khân* says it signifies a *guest*. This prince was named also *Tufbi*.

(H) About this time he dreamed that his arms were grown of an extraordinary length; and that, holding a sword in each hand, that in the right pointed to the east,

the other to the west. Which the queen his mother interpreted, as prefiguring to him the empire of two parts of the world. *Marakishî*.

(I) In *De la Croix* he is called *Amir Buzrak*; in *Abûlghazi Khân*, *Menglik Izka*. He brought the whole tribe of *Kunakmars*, of which he was, to submit to *Jenghîz Khân*; and informed him of *Vang Khân*'s design against him.

(K) *Mergûs îli*, in *Abûlghazi Khân*'s history.

(L) *De la Croix* says, some pretend that this *Kûrga* was *Korea*: but that country is too far distant.

a for her before her marriage with *Mergüs*, she would not scruple to make him her husband. *Nawr*, falling into the snare, the lady immediately sets out, attended by waggons laden with great vessels made of ox hides, filled with Kammez (or Kimis), a hundred sheep, and ten mares, which were ordered to be dressed. The Khan met the princess with all the demonstrations of joy; and having drank plentifully of the liquor which she presented him, she gave the signal to her attendants: these opening the great barrels, there came forth armed men, and cut to pieces *Nawr* (whom she had already stabbed), with all his domestics. After this, she made her retreat, without the least suspicion; and for so great an action was highly esteemed by all the princes of that age.

b MARGUS KHAN left two sons by his princess, *Koja Boyruk* and *Gürkhân*. The first at his death left several children; the eldest of whom was named *Togrul* (M): at ten years of age he accompanied his father in the wars, and was in that expedition where his grandfather was taken by *Nawr*, and with much difficulty escaped himself. As he had more merit than the rest of his brothers, he succeeded his father, which made them hate him (N). After this, having frequent quarrels with his brothers and cousins, he put some of them to death; which rigorous treatment moved his uncle *Gürkhân* to make war upon him. *Vang Khân* being vanquished, and being dispossessed of his dominions, fled to *Pisuka*, *Temujin's* father; by whose assistance he recovered his throne, and pursued *Gürkhân* even to the kingdom of *Kashin*°.

c THIS *Vang Khân* (or, as it is commonly written, *Ung Khân*) was the prince who made so great a noise in the Christian world towards the end of the twelfth century, under the title of the *Prester John* of *Asia*, which the *Nestorians* first conferred on him: and there are four letters extant, said to be sent by him to pope *Alexander III.* *Lewis VII.* of *France*, the emperor of *Constantinople*, and the king of *Portugal*. That to the king of *France*, of which there is a *French* copy, begins, “*Prester John*, by the grace of God, the most powerful monarch, king of all *Christian* kings, witheth health, &c.” He boasts of his great wealth, and the vastness of his dominions; speaking of seventy kings who serve him, and vaunting of the tribute which he extorts from an *Israelitish* king, who is lord of many dukes and *Jewish* princes. He invites the king of *France* to come and see him, promising to give him great dominions, and make him his successor. He proceeds to name the different kinds of people and rarities that are in his kingdoms. He calls himself a priest, because he performs the sacrifice of the altar; and a king, as he executes the office of a sovereign judge. He speaks of *St. Thomas* according to the fabulous notions of the *Indians*; and, at the conclusion, desires the king to send him some valiant cavalier of French generation^p.

d BUT it is not difficult to discover that this letter is spurious, and written, not by *Vang Khân*, a *Nestorian* but the *Nestorian* missionaries; who were very numerous, and had been established there in the year 737, by means of those of *Musol* and *Basrah*. These, by their emissaries, had spread a report all over *Christendom*, that they had converted the greater part of the inhabitants of *Tatary*, and even the Great Khan himself; who, they said, was actually become a priest, and had assumed the name of *John*. They invented these fables to make their zeal more conspicuous, and render their sect more respected. There is also a letter of the pope's, which styles him, a most holy priest; although, in reality, there is not the least appearance that he was a *Christian*: but only, that he permitted *Christians* to live in his dominions, with their bishops; and that some of his subjects had embraced their religion.

e ALL that can be allowed as true, is, that this prince was the most powerful Khan of the country north of *Kitay*; and that a great many sovereign princes paid him tribute. *Abûl'faraj* observes, that he was lord over all the eastern *Turks*; for, in his time, the greater part of the inhabitants of *Tatary* were called *Turks*. *Vang Khân* was a native of the tribe of *Kara-its*, whose dependants were the inhabitants of *Jelayr* and *Tendük*, who possessed the largest parts of that region. The capital of this kingdom was *Karakorum* (O), situate about ten days journey from the place where *Temujin* first kept his court, and about twenty days from the borders of *China*. This city, after *Vang Khân's* reign, became the residence of the *Mogul* emperors, and had the name of *Ordubaleg* given it by *Oktay Khân*, the successor of *Jenghiz Khân*^q.

^c FADLALLAH ap. De la Croix. p. 21, & seq. CROIX, p. 26, & seq.

^p MATH. PARIS ap. eund. p. 24, & seq.

^q DE LA

(M) Called, in *Abûlghazi Khân's* history, *Tayrel*; perhaps by some mistake. These translations name him also *Manak*, which is a corruption of *Vang*; and say his brothers were *Jakakara* (by others, *Erkekara*), *Baytimur*, *Numisay*, and *Jukambu*, who is called *Hakambu* by others.

(N) It is added here, that this aversion was increased

by the king of *China's* (or rather *Kitay*) honouring him with the title of *Ung Khân*. But this, according to the *Chinese* history, happened not till afterwards, in the time of *Temujin*; as will be related presently.

(O) *De la Croix* says, it signifies *black sand*. In *Abûlghazi Khân*, *karakum* is said to be *Turkish* for *black sand*. Perhaps both names may signify the same thing.

Temujin
esteemed.

THIS prince was in his twentieth year (P), when he arrived at *Karakorum*, where he was received with great marks of affection by the Grand Khân, whom he assured of his obedience, professing to devote himself intirely to his service. *Vang Khân*, on the other hand, promised him his protection, and to force the *Mogul* Khâns to return to their duty. He sent lords to menace them with war, if they continued hostilities against *Temujin*; and daily heaped honours on his royal guest: called him his son, and even placed him above the princes of his own blood: increased the officers of his retinue; and committed the conduct of his armies to him, in the war he had with the Khân of *Tendûk*. *Temujin* made his courage appear on this occasion, and humbled some *Mogul* Khâns, who refused to pay *Vang Khân* the usual tribute. But this success and favour of the sovereign created him many enemies among the courtiers; who, at first, following the example of their master, strove who should please him most.

Marries his
daughter.

THIS enmity was increased by another accident. The princess *Wisûljine*, daughter to the Grand Khân, charmed with the valour and person of the young *Mogul* prince, fell in love with him; and rejected the offers of *Jemuka*, Khân of the tribe of *Jajerat* (Q), who had, with much earnestness, asked her in marriage. But *Vang Khân* having given her to *Temujin*, *Jemuka* was so enraged, that he vowed revenge; and stirred up many persons, as envious as himself, to join with him: yet the credit which that young prince had with the Grand Khân, who had made him his prime minister, and the great number of his friends, for a long time defeated all their contrivances. However, *Vang Khân*, who wanted nothing but firmness of mind, at last suffered himself to be seduced with calumnies.

THIS is the account given by the *Persian* historians; but the *Chinese* do not speak of *Temujin* as seeking protection of the *Kara-it Khân*. On the contrary, they represent him as in friendship with, but independent of, him, and in good circumstances; ever since the defeat of *Jamuka* and *Taychot*, by his mother's assistance: at which time he seems to have reduced the revolted tribes under his obedience.

Tatars re-
duced.

AFTER this, probably about the time that he is said to have retired to *Karakorum*, the *Chinese* history informs us, that the hord of the *Tatars*, who usually incamped along the *Enon* (R), having revolted against the emperor of *Kitay*, this monarch ordered all his tributary princes (S), to assemble near that river, and march against them. *To-li* (T), lord of the *Kara-its* (U), and *Temujin*, having distinguished themselves on this occasion, the first was made a *Vang* or *Wang* (X), which answers to Khân; whence afterwards called by his subjects *Vang Khân*; and *Temujin* had a considerable post in the army conferred upon him.

League against
them.

AFTER this, *Toli's* brother, in discontent, fled to the *Naymâns*, and prevailed on their Khân to attack him. This obliged him to fly to the countries of the *Whey-bu* (Y), to the west of the *Whang-ho*, or yellow river, which runs through *China*. In this distress *Temujin* lent his troops to *Vang Khân*; who, marching to the river *Tula*, defeated the *Merkits* (or *Markats*), who were neighbours and allies of the *Naymans*: then joining *Temujin*, both together fell upon the *Naymans*, and routed them. But altho' *Vang Khân* got much plunder in these actions, he gave none to his benefactor, who yet concealed his resentment. The *Persian* historians relate this affair more at large, in the following manner. *Tûktabey*, Khân of the *Merkits* (or *Markats*), was at the head of those who sought to ruin *Temujin*; and finding that their plots did not succeed, broke friendship with *Vang Khân*, in order to compass his design by force (Z). With this view he made a league with the Khân of *Tanjût* (or the *Tayuts*), who both together assembled a formidable army, into which they admitted all who were enemies either to *Temujin* or his protector: and, to confirm their union, took a solemn oath, usual with the *Moguls* on such occasions. All the Khâns and chiefs, or their deputies, hewed in pieces with their swords a horse, a wild ox, and a dog; after which they pronounced this formula: "Hear, O God! O heaven! O earth! the oath that we swear against *Vang Khân* and *Temujin*: if one of us spares them, when occasion offers, or fails to keep the promise which he has made to ruin them, and assist their enemies against them, may he become as these beasts."

* ABU'LFARAJ, ap. eund. p. 28, & seq.

(P) Then, according to *Abû'lghazi Khân*, and the *Chinese* computation, it will be in 1182 or 1183.

(Q) In *Abû'lghazi Khân's* history called *Joygherats*. This is placed by *De la Croix* in Hej. 571. A. D. 1175.

(R) Or *Wa-nan*; the same with the *Saghalian Ula*, or *Amûr*.

(S) From hence it appears, that the *Kara-its* and *Moguls* were tributary to the emperor of *Kitay*. And indeed, what is so often mentioned in *De la Croix's* history of *Jenghiz Khân*, from the oriental historians, of the *Moguls* and other tribes inhabiting *Karakatay*, shews this to be so; since with them *Karakatay* was part of the empire of *Kitay*, signifying *black Kitay*, to distinguish it from the other part, which was cultivated, and inhabited mostly by *Chinese*s.

* ABU'LKAYR, ap. *De la Croix*, p. 30.

(T) Called, by *Abû'lghazi Khân*, *Tayrel*; by others *Togrul*.

(U) In the *Chinese*, *Ke-lye*.

(X) *Fadlallah*, and the other authors made use of by *De la Croix*, do not mention the occasion of this title being given.

(Y) The princes of the *Whey-lû*, at first called *Whey-be*, were possessed of the territories to the north or north-west, and west, of *Turfân*, in *Little Bukhâria*, and perhaps to the south of that city. They were descended from the *Whey-bû*, who, during the *Chinese* dynasty of *Tang*, were so powerful, and afterwards became *Mohammedans*. *Gaub.* Perhaps the same with the *Whey-ke*, p. 136.

(Z) This is placed, by *De la Croix*, in Hejrah 573. A. D. 1177.

- a THIS oath was long kept secret : but at length the Grand Khân, and *Mogul* prince, having been informed of all by a *Kongorat* lord, prepared to prevent their enemies. *Temujin* joining his *Moguls* to one half of the *Kara-it* army, which was given to him, marched to the borders of the *Tanjûts* (or *Tayuts*) ; and, by his extraordinary diligence, surprized them with his arrival. However, their general, to avoid fighting, till some of the allies had joined him, amused *Temujin* by various stratagems. Mean time the *Naymâns* having learned by their scouts that the Grand Khân had but part of his army with him at *Karakorom*, *Erkekara* (A), a younger brother of his, who many years before had retired to that tribe, persuaded their Khân *Tayyan Khân*, who thought of nothing less than an irruption from that quarter ; having, the year before, made peace with *Tayyan Khân*, on terms very advantageous to the *Naymâns*.

- b THE Grand Khân, at this unexpected visit, made a brave defence ; but, after an obstinate fight, was obliged to fly, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy. The greater part of his soldiers were either killed or wounded, and the capital city pillaged ; where his brother *Erkekara* ascended the throne, as Khân of the *Kara-its*. The remainder of his scattered troops, with prince *Sankûn* his son, retired to the mountains (B) ; and *Vang Khân* himself hastened to seek his son-in-law, whom he found ready to give battle to the *Tanjûts* and their confederates. The *Mogul* prince was much amazed when he saw the king in his camp, and heard of his disaster : but comforting him with the hopes of having now his full revenge ; he resigned to the Khân the command of the main body, and put himself at the head of the left wing, a *Kara-it* lord being intrusted with the right. The victory was a long time doubtful : but at length *Temujin* broke in with such fury upon the confederate forces, that he put their left wing into disorder ; which animating the rest of the troops, the enemy was intirely routed, and the *Tanjût* tribe almost quite destroyed.

- c NEXT year (C) *Temujin* got together a formidable army of *Kara-its*, with intent to restore the Grand Khân : nor was that of the confederate Khâns less considerable. *Tuktabey*, for want of *Tanjûts*, brought *Merkits* with him. *Tayyan Khân* led the *Naymâns* in person, and the tribes which *Erkekara* had engaged to his part, helped greatly to augment his army. After skirmishing a while, *Temujin*, at the head of his troops, began a general battle, the most bloody, perhaps, that was ever fought. At last the leaders of the enemy gave way, and fled, followed by their troops ; of whom the pursuers made a terrible slaughter. It was not known what became of *Erkekara* (D) : but the Grand Khân, his brother, entered victoriously into *Karakorom*, in 1179, and was re-established in his throne.

- d ABU'LGHAZI KHAN does not mention this restoration of *Vang Khân* by *Temujin*, but speaks of his dethronement by *Jakakara*, as an event which happened in the reign of *Tesukay Behadr* *. That author leaves *Temujin* in a state of inaction for the space of twenty-seven years. He tells us, that, after the battle which he fought when but thirteen years old, finding himself not able to reduce the tribes which had revolted from him, to *Burgani Kariltûk*, he was obliged to temporize till the year *Bars*, or the tiger ; when entering into the fortieth year of his age, a man belonging to the revolted tribes came to tell him, that the *Tayjuts* and *Nirons* were joined with the *Bayjuts*, the *Markats*, and the *Tatars*, intending to surprize him. On this news *Temujin*, who had already considerably augmented his forces, and acquired great experience in war, gave a general review to the thirteen tribes, which were then under his obedience. After this he ordered the baggage and cattle to be placed in the middle of the camp ; and putting himself at the head of his troops, proposed, in that posture, to wait for the enemy : but, at their approach, he ranged his 30,000 men in a line, to cover, by so large a front, his baggage and beasts. Having in this manner engaged his foes, he gained a complete victory, with the slaughter of 5 or 6000 slain on the spot, and a great number taken prisoners.

- e IMMEDIATELY after the battle, he ordered seventy large caldrons of water to be put on the fire, and caused the principal of the revolters to be thrown in headlong, when the water was boiling hot. After this he marched to the habitations of the revolted ; and having plundered them, carried away the men, cattle, and all other effects. He condemned to slavery the children of the chief men of the tribes ; and distributed the rest among his troops, to serve for recruits.

- f PRINCE *Chamaka* (or *Jemuka*) envying the reputation of *Temujin*, stirred up several princes, the chief whereof were those of *Hatakin*, *Sachibu*, *Kilupan*, and *Tatar*, who resolved to seize on both him and *Vang Khân*. *Te-in* (E), lord of the *Honkirats* (or *Kongrats*), who had been

* GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 3, & seq.
KHAN, p. 72.

u ABU'LFARAJ, ap. De la Croix, p. 31, & seq.
ibid. p. 69, & seq.

* ABU'LGHAZI

(A) Called *Jakakara*, in *Abû'lghazi Khân* ; and *Isankula* in the *Chinese* annals.

(B) The *Chinese* history says, to the *Whey-hu* princes, to the west of the *Whang-ho*, as before remarked.

(C) Hej. 575. A. D. 1179. *De la Croix*.

(D) *Abû'lghazi Khân* says, he was taken and put to death ; but places this event in the time of *Tesukay*.

(E) The same, perhaps, who is by *Abû'lghâzi Khân* called *Turk-ili*. This seems to be the same confederacy and discovery by a lord of the *Kongrats*, mentioned before, but out of its place.

forced into the league, retired to his own lands, and sent notice to *Temujin*, who had married a his daughter. Hereupon *Temujin* and *Vang Khân* took the field, when least expected, and defeated the confederates in several battles. The *Moguls* were considerably reinforced by the accession of the *Ulutay*, *Mangu*, *Chalar* (or *Jalayr*), *Honkirats*, and *I-ki-ye-tse*. These five hords, which furnished excellent officers, and sprung from the five sons of *Laching Patâr*, sixth ancestor of *Te-in* dwelt along the *Onon*, *Kerlon*, *Ergone*, *Kalka*, and other neighbouring rivers. At this time *Temujin* and *Te-in* made a treaty, famous in the history of the *Moguls*; by virtue of which the chief of each family was to take his first wife out of the other: which treaty was strictly observed, so long, at least, as the descendants of *Temujin* reigned in *China*².

raised by Jamuka.
A. D. 1202.

IN 1202 *Jamuka* having assembled the confederate princes near the river *Tulu Pir* (F), they elected him their chief, and took an oath to obey him. This league was exceedingly strengthened, b by the accession of *Boyrak* (G), king of the *Naymâns*. *Temujin*, who was assisted by the princes of his house, and his allies, had in his army four generals, called *Palipankuli*, or the *four intrepids*, named *Mubuli* (H), *Porchi*, *Porokona*, and *Chilakona* (I). Besides these, there was a stranger called *Say-i*, who was expert in the art of war; and being a fire-worshipper, was called *Chapar* (K).

Vang Khân's
inconstancy.

NEXT year *Temujin* joined *Vang Khân*, near the mountain *Kau* (L), where *Jamuka* and his allies had assembled their forces. But *Jamuka*, fearing the success of a battle, chose rather to render the *Kara-it* prince jealous of *Temujin*, by suggesting to him that he was not to be trusted. *Vang Khân* hereupon secretly decamped in the night, and retired first to the river *Hafwi* (M), and thence to *Sali*, between the *Tula* and *Onon*. They had scarce separated, when the *Khân* c of the *Naymâns* attacked several parties of the *Kara-its*, and plundered the habitations of that hord. On this *Vang Khân* dispatched couriers to *Temujin*, desiring the aid of his four intrepids; who, on their arrival, beat the *Naymâns*, and recovered the booty. This seasonable assistance begat a firmer union than ever between the two; and each promised a daughter in marriage to the other's son.

Ilako's envy.

MEAN time *Ilako* (N), *Vang Khân*'s son, who had long envied *Temujin*'s reputation, by the instigation of *Jamuka* (O), persuaded his father, ever wavering and distrustful, that the prince of the *Mungls* had betrayed him. In this belief he resolved to destroy *Temujin* by artifice: with which view he invited him to his camp, with his son *Chuchi* (or *Juji*), and the princess his daughter; under pretence of accomplishing the double marriage before agreed on. *Temujin* indeed d set forward; but returning again, sent an officer to put off the ceremony till another opportunity. Soon after, being informed of the whole plot, he sent to his allies, and took proper measures to prevent a surprize².

Plot against
Temujin,

THE reason of *Temujin*'s sudden return is not mentioned in the *Chinese* history; nor does *Gaubil* inform us from thence in what manner he came to know of the plot: but both are related by *Abû'lghazi Khân* (P). According to this author, *Vang Khân*, at the same time that he invited *Temujin*, under pretence of making a more strict alliance by the marriage, sent to tell *Menglik Izka*, *Temujin*'s father-in-law, that, as nothing stood between him and the crown but his wife's son, he would come and help him to put that prince to death, and then divide his possessions between them. As *Vang Khân* was an intimate friend of *Posuki*, and owed great e obligations to him, *Temujin*, after receiving his ambassador with honour, set forward to go to his court: but meeting on the road with his father-in-law, who discovered the Grand *Khân*'s proposal to him, he returned back, and dismissed the ambassador, with an apology to his master for putting off his visit for the present.

how discovered.

² GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 5, & seq.

² Ibid. p. 6, & seq.

(F) Probably the *Toro Pira*, which rises in lat. 47° and long. 3° east of *Pe-king*.

(G) In the *Chinese*, *Po-lo-yu*; he was the elder brother of *Tayyan Khân*.

(H) These are the *Mungl* names, in which language they were intitled *Queshe*, which is the *Quesitan* of *M. Polo*. *Gaubil*.

(I) The first and last were of the hord of *Chalar* (or *Jelayr*); *Porchi* belonged to that of *Orla*; and *Porokona* to the hord of *Hyubûshin*. *Gaub.*

(K) The *Tatar* pronunciation of the word *Ghebr* (or *Ghabr*): the *Chinese* word is *Cha-pa-eul*. *Gaub.*

(L) It is, according to the *Chinese* geographers, 500 *li* (or 50 leagues) west of the mountain *Tu-kin*; which last is about the 45th or 46th degree of latitude, and the 12th or 13th of longitude, west of *Pe-king*, where the kings of the *Tu-que*, or *Turks*, used to encamp, in the fifth century. *Gaub.*

(M) Which rises lat. 47° 50' long. 15° 40' west of *Pe-king*, and falls into the *Selingha*, lat. 49° 20' long. 13° 25'. *Gaub.*

(N) Called by *De la Croix*, *Ilako*; *Sangbin* and *Sung-him*, by *Abû'lghazi Khân*.

(O) According to *De la Croix*, in 1180, the year after *Vang Khân*'s restoration by *Temujin*, *Jemuka*, by *Sankun*'s mediation, obtained leave to return to court, where he persuaded *Sankun* that *Temujin*'s design was to deprive him of the succession; and, for that end, corresponded with *Tayyan*, *Khân* of the *Naymâns*, *Vang Khân*'s enemy, whose daughter he had married in his minority. That young *Sankun* hereupon, in 1180, wrote his father an account; who, with reluctance, at last, in Hej. 588. A. D. 1192. resolved to seize *Temujin*. *De la Croix*, hist. *Geng.* p. 34, & seq. also *Abû'lghazi Khân*, p. 70, 72.

(P) Who, p. 69, places this affair in or after the year 1201, agreeable to the *Chinese* annals: whereas *De la Croix*, in Hejrah 590. A. D. 1193, eight years earlier; which must be owing to the error in placing *Temujin*'s birth so many years too early.

a FIVE or six days after the ambassador's departure, *Badu* and *Kishlik*, two brothers (Q), who kept the horses of one of *Vang Khân's* chief domestics, came and informed *Temujin*; that the Grand Khân, finding he had missed his point, was resolved to set out instantly, and surprize him next morning, before he could suspect any danger. They said they heard their master tell this to his wife, the day before, when they went to carry milk to his house; and, without delay, came to give him notice^b.

TEMUJIN was then, according to *De la Croix*, encamped at some distance from *Karakorum*, *Temujin* by *Vang Khân's* order; who had sent him from court, under pretence that his pretence was ^{stands} necessary in the army (R); but, in reality, to get him away from his own guards: for all the soldiers adored him for his brave actions in the field, and liberality to them. Although the Mogul prince could hardly believe what *Badu* and *Kishlik* had told him, he thanked them for their affection; and having consulted *Karasbar*, with the rest of his friends, it was resolved that they should lie in ambuscade. And as the slaves had assured him that he was to be seized in his tent, he ordered all things of value to be removed out of it; that all his domestics and officers ^{upon his guard.} should quit theirs; and that fires should be left burning all night in the camp (S). After which he marched, with all his troops, to possess himself of a narrow lane or pass, called *Jermegab*, two or three leagues distant.

THEY were scarce departed from the place, when *Vang Khan's* forces arrived, commanded by *Sankûn* and *Jemûka* (T). The prince rode full speed up to the illuminated tents, and, with his followers, shot a prodigious number of arrows at *Temujin's*; not doubting but the cries of the wounded would soon drive out him they wanted: but hearing no noise, they entered the tents; where, to their surprize, they found no-body. Hereupon, concluding that he had fled through fear and guilt, they followed him by the track of his troops, in great hurry and disorder.

MEAN time *Temujin* had posted himself at the foot of a mountain, in the narrow pass, which ^{Defeats Vang} was covered by a wood, with a brook before him: but when he saw the enemy advancing in ^{Khân.} disorder, although much inferior in force, having only 6000 men against 10,000 (U), he crossed the stream, and attacked them so hotly, that, after a very slight resistance, they fled before him. In this fight they lost a great number of soldiers and officers: prince *Sankûn*, who, with the rest, fled back to *Karakorum*, was wounded in the face with an arrow. This action happened d when *Temujin* was forty years of age (X), and had been eighteen years in *Vang Khan's* service^c.

ACCORDING to the *Chinese* history, when *Vang Khân* perceived that his plot was discovered, he openly attacked *Temujin* on all sides: but the Mogul prince got the advantage in four battles, in the last of which he fought with *Vang Khân* himself; and *Ilako*, being wounded with an arrow, retired out of the engagement. *Temujin*, after this, went and encamped at the lake *Tong-ko*, from whence he sent an officer to reproach *Toli* in the following manner: "When your uncle *Kior* (Y) defeated you at *Hala-wben* (Z), you lost your possessions. My father defeated *Kior* in *Ho-si*, and restored you. When your brother armed the *Naymâns* against you, and you were obliged to retire westward, I sent my troops, who beat the *Markats*, and e " hindered the *Naymâns* from defeating you. When you were reduced to so great misery, I gave you part of my flocks, and every thing else that I had; yet you sent me nothing of all the great plunder which you got from the *Markats*: altho' it was by the help of my officers that you became so rich, and my four generals brought you out of the plunge you were in. You know what I have done to prevent the ill designs which the confederate princes so often formed against you; will you, after so many obligations, attempt to destroy me in so base a manner?"

^b ABU'LGHASI, ubi sup. p. 49, 72, & seq.

^c DE LA CROIX, p. 37, & seq. ABU'LGHASI, p. 74.

(Q) *Abû'lghazi Khân*, p. 50, makes them of the tribe of *Kalkit*, which, he says, sprung from the third son of *Menglik Izka*, by a former wife; but this does not seem probable. P. 69, he says, *Temujin* then entered his fortieth year.

(R) *De la Croix* places this in Hej. 589. A. D. 1193.

(S) *Abû'lghazi Khân* says, he, on this occasion, sent his women, and children, and effects, out of the way, to a place called *Baljuna-bulak*.

(T) *De la Croix* places this action in Hej. 590. A. D. 1193; but as the year 589 of the Hejrah is also referred to the same year of *Christi*, it must be observed, that 589 began the 6th of *January*, and 590 the 26th of *December*, 1193.

(U) According to *Abû'lghazi Khân*, he could get to-

gether no more than 2500 men; but *Vang Khân* had 12,000 with him.

(X) *De la Croix*, or his authors, place this action Hej. 590, A. D. 1193, when he was forty years old: but if *Temujin* was born in 1162, that battle will fall in 1202, near the time to which it is referred by *Abû'lghazi Khân*, and the *Chinese* authors.

(Y) *Kior*, according to prince *Kantemir* (*Othm. hist.* p. 305, note 48), signifies one who is blind, or has but one eye. This seems to be the *Gurkhân* of *De la Croix* and *Abû'lghazi Khân*. Perhaps he was blind. We will not say that the western historians have made *Gur* out of *Kior*.

(Z) Straits of the mountains south of the river *Orghân*; lat. 48° 20' long. 12° 15' west of *Pe-king*. *Gaub.*

All Tatory in motion.

THE rupture between *Temujin* and *Vang Khân* put most of the princes of *Tatary* in motion: a the first was joined by his brother-in-law *Hasar-Whachin* (A), prince of the *Hongkirats* (or *Kongorats*), and *Putu*, prince of *I-ki-lye-tse*; *Queli*, *Vang Khân*'s brother; *Chapar*, and several other lords. After many consultations with his four generals, the army set forward, ; and being arrived at the river *Panchuni*, or *Long-ku*, whose water was very muddy, *Hasar* caused a horse to be killed. Then *Temujin*, taking up some of the water, drank it; and, invoking heaven, promised to share with his officers, during his life, *both the sweet and the bitter*; wishing, in case he ever should be so unhappy as to violate his oath, *that he might become as the water which he drank*. All his allies and officers did the same after him. This ceremony linked them exceedingly firm to his interest; and the families of those who drank the water on that occasion, valued themselves much on account of their fidelity: nor were they held in less esteem by b others. After this they marched to fight the enemy^d.

League of Panchuni.

The Kunkurats submit.

THESE matters are related with no small variation, and more circumstances, by the western historians. According to *Abū'lghazi Khân*, *Temujin*, after the above-mentioned battle, contenting himself with the honour of having beaten the enemy with such a handful of men, judged it convenient to retreat, before all their forces came down upon him; and shaping his course to *Baljuna-Balak*, where he had sent his family and effects for security the night before, found so little water there, that he was constrained to march towards the river *Kallajui* (B). As the tribe of *Kunkurats* (or *Kongorats*), at this time dwelt on that river, and had a chief named *Turkili*, who was a relation of *Temujin*, he sent an officer to acquaint him; that he intended to visit him, and should be glad to know if he was disposed to keep up the friendship which had long subsisted between them. Upon this method *Turkili* (who seems to be *Hasar* above-mentioned), c thought proper to submit to *Temujin*, and join him with all the *Kunkurat* tribe. From thence they marched towards the river *Kollanuaer* (C), on whose banks they stopped for some time. After this, he sent *Arkayjum Behadr* to upbraid *Vang Khân* with his ingratitude; who confessed the charge: yet as the war had been entered upon by the advice of his son, he sent the envoy to him for an answer: but *Sungun*, resolving to be revenged for his late hurt, would hear of no accommodation^e.

Sanghin inexorable.

DE LA CROIX relates this affair with a greater number of circumstances, and still farther variation from the *Chinese* history, as follows: *Temujin*, after the battle, retired with his troops to the lake *Baljuta* (D), of salt water, and in no great quantity; where his friends and the discontented d *Kara-its* resorting to him, he went and encamped on the frontiers of *China*, at the river *Kakul* (E), near a high mountain. From that place, after some stay, he marched for *Mogulistan* (F), where he was joyfully received by his subjects of *Yeka-Mogul*, and *Niron Kayat*. After this, in several kurulties, or assemblies, summoned to sound and animate the people (G), he proposed throwing off the yoke of the *Kara-its*: telling them they had now a fair opportunity; and, to induce them the sooner, pretended he was sent from God for that purpose. This speech had the desired effect: for applauding his enterprize, they promised to obey him. Hereupon he raised only 4500 soldiers more than he had before; and then sent to propose a league with the *Khân* of the *Kongorats*; son to his father-in-law, who was dead; also with the *Khân* of the *Kurlas*: but those of the *Sû Moguls*, or *Tatars*, refusing his offers, he constrained them by force of e arms. The *Khâns* of *Merkat*, seeing this, chose to do freely what they would otherwise have been compelled to; and several other tribes followed their example, although solicited to stand out by some *Khâns*, particularly those of *Merkit*; of whom *Tuktâbey*, *Temujin*'s mortal enemy, was the most powerful.

Refuse paying tribute.

AFTERWARDS, all the allied *Khâns*, by proclamation, forbade paying any more tribute to *Vang Khân*; who, on this, tried gentle means. But finding nothing would reclaim them, freed the *Merkits* from all tribute, and made large promises to *Tuktâbey* (H); hoping that this party of *Moguls* would ballance the power of the other. Mean time *Temujin*, seeming to be for peace, advised sending to propose an accommodation to *Vang Khân*, on condition that he should release them from all taxes, as he had done the *Merkits*^f.

^d GAUBIL, hist. Gentch. Kan, p. 8. Dela Croix, p. 41, & seq.

^e ABU'LGHAZI KHAN, ubi sup. p. 75.

^f ABU'LKAYER ap.

(A) This was doubtless the son of *Te-in*, *Khân* of the *Hongkirats*; probably the same with *Turk-ili*, who was dead.

(B) Now called *Orkhon*, or *Orkon*, according to *Bentink*; whereas it ought to be the river which he names *Argun*, and is the *Ergona*, according to the *Chinese* history.

(C) Now called *Tola*, or *Tula*, according to *Bentink*.

(D) This must be the *Baljunabalak* of *Abū'lghazi*

Khân; by mistake the same letter being marked for a *z* instead of *n*.

(E) *De la Croix* says, it was also called *Karamuren*: there is such a river, which runs from north to south, within a little of the *Whang-ho*.

(F) This is placed Hej. 591. A. D. 1194.

(G) This is referred to Hej. 592. A. D. 1194.

(H) This is referred to Hej. 594. A. D. 1197.

a As they left the management of this affair to himself, he pitched on *Arnijân* to be the Temujin pro-ambassador; who, after reciting the obligations he owed to his master, and *Vang Khân's* ungenerous returns, intreated him to grant peace to the *Moguls*, and renew his friendship with his son-in-law. *Vang Khân*, having referred the affair to his council, for a while (†) put off the envoy; who, in the mean time, suffered a thousand indignities from the friends of *Sanlun* and *Jemûka*, which he loudly complained of: but meeting with no redress, sent an account of all to *Temujin*, who ordered him forthwith to return.

THE Grand Khân would willingly have made peace; but *Sanlun*, prejudiced by *Jemûka's* suggestions, opposed it with all his might; and carrying his father's answer himself, told the ambassador, "that the *Moguls* were to expect no peace, but by submitting absolutely to the Khân's will; and that, as for *Temujin*, he would never see him but with sword in hand (I)." The confederate Khâns, exasperated by so haughty a message, prepared for war. Here-
b upon *Sanlun* sent troops to ravage *Mogulistân*, but they were always repulsed with loss. The Grand Khân, enraged at this disgrace, levied troops all over his dominions, and drew above 20,000 men out of the provinces of *Turkestan* (K), *Tendik* and other parts, depending on the kingdom of *Jelayr*. Then sending to summon the *Moguls* to submit, he promised them all the satisfaction they required if they complied; but if not, threatened to treat them with the utmost rigour.

SOME Khâns were at first of opinion to accept of *Vang Khân's* proposals; but others, less timorous, nobly opposed them. At length, animated by *Temujin's* arguments, who produced letters from *Karakorum*, assuring them that the Grand Khân and his son had sworn the ruin of the confederates; it was resolved by the whole assembly, then met at *Mankerule*, to raise all the forces their tribes could furnish, and to carry on the war with the utmost vigour. Then declaring *Temujin* general, they presented him the Topûz, or truncheon of command: but he would not accept of it, but on condition that every man should punctually obey his orders: and that he should have full power to punish those who did not do their duty. Having granted all his demands, they returned to their respective countries, in order to get their troops ready to take the field.

TEMUJIN, the better to secure his friends in his interest, loaded with benefits those who had left *Vang Khân*, to follow him; and out of them chose all his general officers. But he in a singular manner rewarded the two slaves who gave him notice of that prince's designs against him: for besides the considerable presents which he made them, he declared them *Terkâns* (L), and assigned them a revenue for their maintenance; ordaining that these privileges should continue to them and their descendants to the seventh, some authors say to the ninth, generation. These acts of gratitude and liberality were of great service to him. When all the confederate troops were come together, contrary to the custom of the *Moguls*, who used to attack their enemies in one main body, he divided his army into two wings, and in the center placed his own troops, as a body of reserve. Then marching directly towards the Grand Khân's domi-
nions, he found that his army was already in motion; but being incumbered with carriages, was slow in his march to the plain of *Tangut*, in the country of the *Kara-its*, where *Temujin* waited his coming.^a

To avoid the confusion which would arise from mixing discording relations together, and to leave our readers to chuse for themselves, we have laid before them separately, as we have hitherto done in the like cases, the accounts of the several authors in view; and shall make no remarks on them, farther than to observe, that neither those made use of by *Abû'lghazi Khân*, nor *De la Croix*, speak of the famous oath taken by *Temujin* and his confederates, at the river *Panchuni*, as mentioned by the *Chinese* historians, to whom we shall now return.

TEMUJIN having marched from that river in quest of the enemy, the two armies met between the *Tula* and *Kerlon*, or *Kerûlon*: and though that of *Vang Khân* was by far the most numerous, yet, after a bloody fight, *Temujin* gained a complete victory: after which the greater part of the vanquished troops joined his. *Vang Khân* had much ado to get off; and many of his own officers would have killed him. He was pursued, however, and taken by one of the parties sent after him; but the same day escaped, and retired into the territories of the *Nay-*

^a MIRKHOND. ap. De la Croix, p. 45, & seq. ABU'LGHAZI, p. 76, & seq.

^b JOVINI ap. De la Croix,

(†) *La Croix* says for a whole year.

(I) This is placed, by *Abû'lghazi*, in Hej. 598. A. D. 1201. by *De la Croix*, in Hej. 596. A. D. 1199. and *Sanlun's* hostilities in 1200.

(K) This cannot be understood of the country of the *Turks*, in the west of *Tatary*; but there were some *Turk-izb* tribes who bordered westward on the territories of

the *Moguls*, and other eastern tribes, who probably are meant here.

(L) According to *Abû'lfaraj*, the *Terkân*, or *Tarkhân*, is exempt from all taxes; enjoys his whole booty, without giving any to the Khân; goes into his presence without asking leave; and is pardoned nine times, let the fault be what it will.

*mân*s : where an officer of that country knowing him, caused the unfortunate prince to be slain. ^a
His son *Ilabo* (or *Ilako Sanghin*) retired first into the kingdom of *Hya* ; from whence being driven, and flying to the country of *Kiu tse* (M.), between *Turfân* and *Kashgar*, he was there killed by order of its prince ⁱ.

With this account the western historians agree, but relate the several matters more at large : they tell us, that prince *Karashar*, who commanded the van-guard of *Temujin*'s army, began the battle by attacking that of the enemy, headed by *Jemuka*. The conflict was the more bloody, as the personal hatred betwixt those two generals was very great ; but *Karashar* was at length overthrown. Then *Suida Behadr*, at the head of the veteran troops, joined with the *Sû Moguls*, or *Tatars*, so vigorously charged *Vang Khân*'s main body, that they gave back ; and *Jemuka*, who advanced to sustain them, was obliged also to give ground. At the same time the two wings of *Temujin*'s army, commanded by the princes *Hubba* and *Irka*, attacked the two wings of the enemy, and for three hours both sides behaved with extraordinary bravery. The *Kara-its* fought with so much courage, that the victory seemed often ready to declare in their favour. But, in the end, the *Moguls* gained it (N) : for *Temujin*, when he saw it was time to advance with his corps-de reserve, where he was with the prince his son, fell on with such fury, that the *Kara-its* began to give back, and break their ranks on all sides ; nor could their *Khân*, and prince *Sankun*, rally them again ; so that they were at last obliged to follow their flying army, who fell in heaps before the pursuing enemy. This victory greatly enriched the *Moguls*, who, besides the plunder of the baggage, took abundance of prisoners, and a great number of horses ^k.

Vang Khân flies ; THIS day, which was fatal to *Vang Khân*, proved the most prosperous to *Temujin*, who was then forty years of age : for it put him into possession of the kingdom of the *Kara-its*, and all *Karakitay*. The vanquished not only lost 40,000 men, killed in the battle ; but the best troops, which remained went over to his enemy. As he was wounded in the fight, he was obliged to quit the command of his army, with design to retire to *Karakorum* ; but seeing himself pursued by a troop of *Moguls*, he fled for refuge to his enemy *Tayyan Khân*. This retreat was much wondered at, as that *Khân* hated him ; and there were in his court several great *Naymân* lords, whom he had ill treated : these lords did not fail to aggravate the injuries which he had done their country ; and even to allege, that his flying thither was only with a malicious design to ruin them, by drawing the victor's anger upon the *Naymân*s. ^c

is put to death. TAYYAN KHAN, who was naturally ungenerous, readily gave ear to their advice, to put the Grand *Khân* to death. As soon as he was seized, they held a council, at which their prince took care not to be present ; imagining, by that means, to avoid the charge of having violated the law of nations and hospitality. He even pretended to be displeased at his enemy's death ; but when *Vang Khân*'s head was presented him, he could not conceal his joy, nor refrain from insulting it with words full of scorn and spite ^l.

SOME authors relate this matter very differently. According to them, *Vang Khân*, being on the road to *Tayyan Khân*, he was met by *Karimaju* and *Tamika*, two *Naymân* chiefs ; who knowing there had always been animosity between him and their *Khân*, slew him with all his attendants : but, that, on presenting his head (O) to *Tayyan Khân*, he blamed the action, saying, *that Vang Khân, having been a great prince, and venerable for his age, they had much better served for his guard, than been his executioners*. Farther to honour the memory of so great a prince, he had his head incased in silver, and placed upon his own seat, with his face turned to the door ^m.

His dominions seized. TEMUJIN, when informed of *Vang Khân*'s death, without loss of time continued to seize his dominions, as his right by conquest ; and *Sankun* being no-where to be found, he remained

ⁱ GAUBIL, ubi supr. p. 10.
ABU'LGHAZI, p. 77.

^k DE LA CROIX, p. 55, & seq.

^m Ibid. p. 77.

^l JOVINI ap. De la Croix, p. 56.

(M) 'Tis hard to say what place this is : *Abû'lghazi Khân* says, that he retired to the city of *Khatin* (or *Kotan*), in *Little Bukhâria*, which belonged to *Kalijohara*, a lord of the tribe of *Kallatz* ; who, instead of protecting, put him to death. But according to *De la Croix*, after removing in disguise from one country to another, and thinking himself unsafe at *Kashgar*, he returned to *Tibet*, where he was put to death the same year for a spy.

(N) *Marco Polo* reports, that this prince ordered the astrologers and magicians to try his fate by wands : they split a piece of green cane in two ; then writing the name of *Cingis* on one, and of *Umcan* on the other, stuck them in the ground at some distance. After this

they began to read their conjurations, during which the sticks approached ; and having fought, *Umcan*'s remained undermost ; which presaged the victory to *Cingis*. This piece of juggle is still in use among the *Turks*, *Africans*, and other *Mohammedan* nations, which they call *do the book* ; whereof *Thevenot* gives an account in his travels to the *Levant*.

(O) Both *De la Croix* and *Abû'lghazi Khân* mention the circumstance of the tongue thrusting itself several times out of the mouth ; from whence some presages were drawn in favour of *Temujin*. The first says, this happened when the head was fresh ; the latter when it was dry.

a peaceable possessor of all the *Kara-it* territories. About the end of the year (P) he returned to his own country, where he was received with acclamations by all the *Mogul* Khâns, who came to pay their acknowledgements to him, for having delivered them from the tyranny of *Vang Khân*, whom they called the persecutor of their nation.

AFTER this, *Hakembû*, a brother of *Vang Khân*, came to offer his service to *Temujin*, and a *Hakembû* daughter in marriage. The Grand Khân received him favourably, gave him the employment ^{submits.} he desired, and accepted of his daughter with joy : at the same time telling him, " that he " owed him a kind treatment, in return for that which his brother had given to him in his " misfortunes. That although both *Vang Khân* and prince *Sankûn* had, without cause, con- " spired against his life, yet he never blamed them, but imputed all their persecutions to *Jemû-* b " *ka* ; nor had, on that score, one jot the less respect for their memories, than if they had " always continued his friends." *Temujin* fully designed to have married his daughter ; but perceiving that the captain of his guards, whom he much esteemed, was fallen in love with that princess, he gave her to him for a wife.

TAYYAN, Khân of the *Naymans*, one of the most considerable princes of *Karakitay*, was *Jemûka* alarmed and uneasy at his son-in-law's surprising fortune, notwithstanding the harmony there had ^{stirs up} been of long time between them. While his thoughts were employed on this subject, *Jemûka*, who had escaped out of the late battle, with the remains of *Vang Khân*'s army, and most of the officers, arrived at his court ; and being known to be a man of great abilities, was very well received. As he had a subtil wit, and was skilled in all the arts of courts, he endeavoured to c stir up his jealousy against *Temujin*. He represented him as a man of unbounded ambition, ^{the other} who quarrelled with princes, for a pretence to invade their dominions ; as well as the most un- ^{Khâns.} grateful and perfidious : alleging that he contrived to deprive both *Vang Khân* and *Sangun* of their empire and lives, at the same time that they loaded him with their favours. *Tayyân Khân* knew this to be all calumny ; yet, urged more by his own fears than *Jemûka*'s solicitations, he resolved to make war on *Temujin*. To this purpose he proposed a league with some other Khâns, whose interest it was to put a stop to the new emperor's growing greatness ; into which *Tuktabey*, and the other *Merkit* (Q) Khâns, the Khân of the *Virats*, and he of the *Kerit*, who was a relation of *Vang Khân*, presently entered : and *Jemûka* engaged for the whole tribe of *Jajerats* (or *Joygherats*) ⁿ.

d Among the rest, *Tayyân Khân* had likewise invited *Alaku* (or *Alakus*) to join with him and prince *Jemûka*, in order to curb the power of *Temujin*. This *Alakus* (R) was chief of the ^{The plot dis-} white *Tata*, who dwelt to the south-south-east of the mountain *Altay*. These *Tata* are differ- ^{covered.} ent from the *Tatars* : that name being sometimes given by the *Chineses* to the people in general inhabiting beyond the great wall ; and at other times to certain particular hords, where- of some were called *Tata of the waters* (S), situate almost due north of *Korea* ; others, *White Tata*, of whom we are speaking. Their chief, *Alakus*, was a descendant of the ancient *Turkish* princes (T) ; and having had a very great esteem for *Temujin*, he detained the messenger who came from *Tayyân Khân*, and gave the *Mogul* prince notice of the proposal. Hereupon his brother *Kanchekin*, pressing him to take speedy and vigorous measures, he mount- e ed his horse ; and, followed by his choicest soldiers, marched to the mountain *Hang-hay* (U), where *Tayyân* was incamped with his *Naymâns* ; who, though much more numerous, were defeated, and their Khân slain : on which many hords declared for the victor, who before *Naymâns* were restrained by fear. This happened in the year 1204 ; and next year *Temujin* began to ^{routed,} make incursions on the territories of the king of *Hya* ^o.

WITH regard to this new victory, the western *Asiatic* historians tell us, that *Alakus*, having sent *Tayyân Khân*'s letter, containing all the particulars of the conspiracy, with the names of

ⁿ DE LA CROIX, p. 60, & seq.

• GAUBIL, ubi supra, p. 10. & seq.

(P) In the text of *La Croix*, p. 61, it is, *about the end of the year 1202, being forty-nine years of age*. But, according to *Abû'lghazi Khân*, p. 78. he was no more than forty years of age, when he gained the victory ; and was acknowledged by the *Moguls* for their Khân, in the country of *Naumankura*, where he then resided. He places this event in the *Mogul* year of the *Hog*, and of the *Hejrah* 599, which answers to the year of Christ 1202 ; at the end of which *De la Croix* also puts it : so that here the chronology of these two authors, which disagreed before, coincides, and thenceforward tallies pretty well. On this occasion it must be observed, that the authors followed by *De la Croix*, spin out to ten years length the affairs, which those made use of by *Abû'lghazi Khân* comprize within the compass of one year : for the former puts *Vang Khân*'s plot to seize *Temûjin* in *Hej.* 588, the latter in 598, A. D. 1201, at which time the Khân says he was forty ; but *De la Croix*, that he had entered into his forty-eighth year. Whence this

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difference happened is not easy to determine ; but we conclude *Abû'lghazi Khân*'s account to be most exact, as the *Chinese history* gives but the space of a year to the same transactions.

(Q) In *Abû'lghazi Khan, Markats*.

(R) In *Chinese, A-la-u-tse*. *De la Croix* says, he was Khân of the *Ankuts*, or *Unkuts* ; as also does *Abû'lghazi Khân*. In the text of *De la Croix* the *Karlucs* are put in by some mistake.

(S) Or *Sui Tata*. *Rubruquis* mentions *Su Moguls*, or *Moguls of the waters*.

(T) Called by the *Chinese, Tu-que*. They dwelt to the north-west of *Turfan*, and were very formidable to the *Chinese* themselves in the sixth century, as hath been related before, p. 130.

(U) A chain of mountains, the most eastern part, in lat. 50° long. near 17° west of *Peking*. The chief mountain belonging to it, is in lat. 46° 58' long. 14° 38' west. *Gaubil*.

the before-mentioned Khâns, to *Temujin*; this latter convened a council, in which he would have his eldest son *Juji*, otherwise called *Tusbi*, to assist; and, the designs of the co-conspirators being made known, war was resolved on (X). The army assembled in the beginning of the year (Y): soon after which *Temujin* began his march; and, having passed his own frontiers, came at length to the river *Altay* (Z). Where no troops appearing, to dispute the passage, he was surprized; because he must have suffered much, had there been ever so few to have opposed him. *Jemuka* would have had *Tayyan Khân* go meet the enemy, and not wait their coming; for that in so doing he would prevent the *Moguls* from ravaging his country, and his own men from flying, by leading them far from home. But the *Naymân Khân*, instead of hearkening to his advice, flattered himself, that the farther the *Moguls* advanced, the less able they would be to fight; and, on the contrary, that his troops, being in full strength, would easily get the victory.

and their Khân slain.
A. D. 1204.

Kushluk flies.

Jemûka executed.

The Naymâns reduced.

The Merkits defeated.

WHILE he deluded himself with these vain imaginations, the *Moguls*, who were well supplied with provisions and forage, approached his camp. But when his officers brought him word how formidable the enemy was, he began to repent that he had not followed the counsel of *Jemuka*; who yet shewed not the least discontent, nor appeared less zealous for the cause^p. The two armies being in sight, and drawn up in order, prince *Juji*, and one of his uncles, *Jujikar*, began the fight, with great vigour: but *Kashluk*, *Tayyan Khân*'s son, sustained the shock without giving ground. The two young princes, whom the love of glory equally inflamed, strove to signalize their skill and valour. The brave resistance which the van-guards made on both sides, by degrees engaged the other corps, and brought on a general battle. The fight lasted from sun-rise to sunset, with great obstinacy; but at last the *Moguls*, breaking the enemy's ranks, put them to flight, and made a terrible slaughter of them. *Tayyan Khân*, who performed all the parts of a good general, was, at the beginning of the battle, mortally wounded, and died soon after. *Kushluk*, his son (A), and *Tukta Bey* (B), fled, with all those who escaped the swords of the enemy. As for *Jemûka*, spurred on by his hatred to the Grand Khân, he signalized himself by a thousand heroic actions; but his rage made him venture too far, for he was taken prisoner; and after the battle, had his head struck off (C), as the principal cause of all the late distractions.

THE kingdom of the vanquished being thus subdued by *Temujin*, who brought under his obedience a vast tract of land, he returned to *Karakorum*; where, during the winter, his court was filled with ambassadors, who were sent by their masters, either to congratulate him, ask his protection, or submit to his government. Almost all the *Kalmûk* (D) tribes in the eastern parts put themselves under his protection: but, to the north, some Khâns, jealous of their liberty, and even some *Mogul* tribes, who were most out of his reach, refused to ask his favour. *Tukta Beg*, who was once a very powerful prince, could not bear to see the sudden grandeur of the new emperor, strove all he could to foment their hatred against him. On the other hand, *Temujin*, looking on him as his worst enemy, resolved to turn his arms against this Khân, who had so highly injured him. Accordingly, early in the spring (E), he set out at the head of a powerful army against the *Merkits* (or *Markats*).

TUKTA BEY was not insensible of the provocations he had given *Temujin*: yet his envy flattering him with hopes of success one time or other, he also made great preparations for war: and was joined by some *Tanjuts* (or *Tayjuts*), with prince *Kushluk*. But when he heard that *Temujin* approached his capital city *Kashin*, with an army, the like of which was never seen before in *Mogulistan*, his heart failed him; and he, with his eldest son, fled to *Boyrak*, *Tayyan Khân*'s brother, to whom *Kushluk*, his nephew, had already retired for shelter^q.

^p DE LA CROIX, p. 70, & seq. ABU'LOHAZI, p. 80, & seq.

^q ABU'LE. ap. De la Croix, p. 74, & seq.

(X) *Abû'lghazi* says, that the heads of tribes alleged, that they were not in a condition to undertake any thing, till their horses were recovered from the fatigue of the former expedition: but that *Daritlay Oljigan*, or *Bulay*, *Jenghîz Khân*'s uncle by the father's side, offered to furnish the whole army with horses of his own; which obviated the objection.

(Y) *De la Croix* places this affair in *Hej.* 600, *A. D.* 1203.

(Z) Now called *Siba*, according to *Bentink*.

(A) According to the *Chinese* history, he was son of *Boyrak*, *Tayyan*'s brother.

(B) By *Abû'lghazi Khân* called *Tokta Beghi*, who fled to *Boyrak*, another Khân of the *Naymans*, and *Tayyan*'s eldest brother.

(C) It appears not, from *Abû'lghazi Khân*, p. 86, that he was in this battle: but after *Tayyan Khân*'s death he returned to his tribe: who, considering him as the cause of the war, carried him bound to *Jenghîz Khân*, their present sovereign, who caused him to be drawn limb from limb.

(D) By these seem to be meant the tribes who continued *Pagans*, or who were not *Mohammedans*, when our historians wrote. *De Lisle*, in his map to the history of *Jenghîz Khân*, places them to the north of the river *Saghalian*, or *Amûr*, in *Karakatay*, where *Karakatay* never was. But that map is full of gross errors.

(E) *De la Croix* places this in the spring of the year 1204.

a THE Grand Khân by this means found none in the field to oppose him. However, the city of *Kashin* (F) seemed resolved to stand a long siege: but although, at first, the inhabitants made a vigorous resistance, yet they were in a short time obliged to surrender; and *Temûjin*, having put all to the sword who had been in arms against him, razed the fortress. After this he took an oath of fidelity from all the tribe of *Kashin*, as well as others of the *Merkit* tribe; and all the Khâns whom he pardoned swore to obey him.

THE Grand Khân, having finished the conquest of *Mogulistan*, returned to his capital *Karakorum*; where, reflecting on the vast number of his acquisitions, he judged it proper to regulate his empire. With this view he called a general dyet, which he appointed to be held on the first day of spring the next year, when the sun entered *Aries*; to which were summoned

Military regulations.
Hejrah 602.
A. D. 1205.

b all the great lords, both *Mogul* and *Tatar*. In the interim, to establish good order in the army, he divided his soldiers into several *Tomâns*, *Hezarehs*, *Sedehs*, and *Dehehs*; that is, bodies of ten thousand, one thousand, one hundred, and of ten men, with their respective officers, all subordinate to the generals who commanded the *Tomâns*; and these were to act under one of his own sons. He next turned his thoughts to making new laws; whereof he ordered a memorial to be drawn up, which he communicated to his privy-council, before he exposed it in the general dyet.

At length, the day of holding it being come, the princes of the blood and great lords met *Temûjin* *in* at the place appointed, dressed in white. Then the Grand Khân, clothed like the rest, sitting *flashed*, down on his throne, with his crown on his head, was complimented by the whole assembly, who wished the continuance of his health and prosperity. After this they confirmed the *Mogul* empire to him and his successors; adding all those kingdoms and nations which he had subdued, the descendants of whose vanquished Khâns were deprived of all right or title to any of them. When he had thanked them for these marks of love and respect, he declared his resolution to add to the antient laws some new ones, which he commanded that they should observe; and which we have inserted at the end of his reign.

AFTER this, in the tenth month of the year 1206, the princes of the family of *Temûjin*, the chiefs of hords, and generals of the army, assembled at the source of the river *Onon*. All the troops were divided into nine bodies, each of which having set up a pavilion, and displayed a standard, they acknowledged *Temûjin* for their sovereign, by this general cry, *Chinghîz Kobân* *and acknowledged* (G). After which he nominated *Mûbûli* and *Porchi* his two chief generals and prime ministers. From this event the *Chinese* history commences the empire of the *Mongol* (or *Mongl*) conqueror.

A. D. 1206:
and acknowledged

ABU'LGHASI KHAN, conformable to the *Chinese* historians, gives *Temûjin* the empire and name of *Jenghîz Khân* at the same time: but *De la Croix* places those events three years asunder; the first in 1202, just after the defeat and death of *Vang Khân* (in which year *Abû'lghazi* places both), the latter in 1205. They likewise relate them with different circumstances. With regard to *Temûjin* being acknowledged sovereign, *Abû'lghazi Khân* only says, that, in the year 599, called by the *Moguls* *Tongûz*, or the *Hog*, *Jenghîz Khân* being full forty years old, all the tribes of *Moguls* who had submitted to him, acknowledged him for their Khân in the country of *Naumankura*; where at that time he resided: on which occasion he gave his subjects a great feast. *De la Croix* enlarges much on the subject; and informs us, that *Temûjin* laid hold of the opportunity which his victory over *Vang Khân* afforded, to strengthen his interest with the people; who, gained by his eloquence, and the encomiums of his friends, resolved to chuse him their Grand Khân. The Khâns who were already in his interest importuned the other Khâns to yield to the request of *Temûjin*, whose presents were still more prevalent. Notice having been given to the absent Khâns, of what was agreed on in this great assembly, they repaired to *Dilon Idak*, in the province of *Yeka* *Mogul* (H), to perform the ceremony of his inauguration. There *Temûjin*, placing himself on a plain seat, set for him upon an eminence, harangued the people with his usual eloquence. After which they set him on a black felt carpet spread on the ground; and then the person who was appointed to give the people's suffrages, pronounced aloud their pleasure: first he told

for Grand Khân of

^r MIRKOND, KONDAMIR, ABU'L. ap. *De la Croix*, p. 76, & seq.
^t ABU'LGHASI KHAN, p. 78.

^s GAUBIL, ubi supra, p. 11, & seq.

(F) It is not easy to fix the site of this city, p. 92 and 371. The country of *Tangut* is said to have borne that name. *De Lisse*, in his map prefixed, places it to the south of the *Naymân* country; but far from the north-west borders of *China*, to which it seems to be near: since, p. 91, *Ardîsb*, in the borders of the *Naymân* and *Merkit*, was near *Tangut*; and *Kampion* (which is known to be *Kan-chew*, in the province of *Shen-si*, in *China*), was the capital of *Tangut*.

(G) In the *French*, *Tching-ki-ssé*. Which is not a *Mongol* word; but a sound expressing the cry of a bird, to which they ascribe extraordinary qualities, and make its appearance the presage of good-luck.

(H) To make this agree with the foregoing *Chinese* account, *Dilon Idak* and *Yeka* *Mogul* must have been situate about the source of the *Onon*; and indeed the country of the *Moguls* seems to have been thereabouts.

him, "that the authority or power, which was given him, came from God; who would not fail to prosper him, in case he governed his subjects well: but that, if he abused his power, he should render himself miserable, as the black felt, on which he sat, intimated to him." After this remonstrance, seven Khâns lifted him up with an air of ceremony, and bore him to a throne, which was prepared for him in the midst of the assembly. Then they proclaimed him emperor, with the title of Grand Khân, or Khaan, of all the *Mogul* tribes; and bowed their knees nine times before him, in token of obedience: after which the people performed the same ceremony, accompanied with acclamations of joy.

Moguls and
Tatars.

THE new emperor promised on his part to govern them with as much justice as mercy, and defend them against all their enemies; always to procure their good and ease; to acquire glory for them, and make their names known to all the earth. As he had much reason to commend the *Sû-Moguls*, or *Tatars*, he declared, that, in reward of their services, he would join their name in his title, by styling himself *Grand Khân of the Moguls and Tatars*. When the ceremony was over, he distributed presents, both to great and small. He likewise made magnificent entertainments (I); which, according to the custom of those nations, continued for several days together. After this he dismissed the assembly.

Named Jenghiz Khân,

CONCERNING the name of *Jenghiz Khân*, *Abû'lghazi Khân* relates, that, during the ceremony of the inauguration, one *Kokza* (or *Kokja*), son of *Menglish Izka* (or *Iika*), by the first venter, father-in-law of *Temûjin*, came to him, and declared, "that he came from God to tell them, that from thenceforth he should take the name of *Jenghiz* (K), and order his subjects to call him *Jenghiz Khân* (L)." He foretold at the same time, that all his posterity should be Khâns, from generation to generation. This *Kokza* used to go bare-footed in winter, and very thin of cloaths: but as he suffered no injury by it in his health, as others would have done, they surnamed him the *image of God*. He gave out, that a white horse came to him, from time to time, which carried him up to heaven, where he conversed with the Deity*. Many believed that *Kokja* was set on by *Temûjin* to play this game. However that be, from this time forward he assumed the name of *Jenghiz Khân*; which we shall use for the future.

by a revelation.

TOWARDS the end of the year 1205 a dyet was called, wherein the *Mogul* lords, who were in the secret of the pretended revelation, supported it so strongly, that the *Moguls* every-where gave credit to it; and already looked upon all the rest of the world as belonging, by divine right, to their Grand Khân. In this persuasion they breathed nothing but war; and even thought it a crime against heaven in those princes who resisted, in defence of their own dominions.

Boyrak Khân
defeated.

A. D. 1208.

BUT to return to the *Chinese* historians. The year 1206 was farther memorable for the intire defeat of *Pologu* (or *Boyrak*), brother of *Tayyan*, Khân of the *Naymans*. His son (M) *Kushluk*, and *Toto* (or *Tokta Bey*), lord of the *Markits*, retired to the river *Irtish*; where the former had still a powerful party: but, in 1208, *Chinghiz Khân*, having attacked them both, slew *Toto* with his own hand, and *Kushluk* fled into the kingdom of the *Kitan* (N). This victory put him in a condition to subdue the rest of the hords, which still stood out.

THE *Persian* historians say, that *Boyrak* being pursued, was taken, and put to death in the camp. After this, according to *Abû'lghazi Khân*, *Kushluk* and *Tokta Beg* retired to the river *Irtish*. But *De la Croix*, who quotes *Mirkond*, *Kondamir*, and *Abû'lkayr*, for his authorities, says, they retreated to *Ardish*, a fortress on the frontiers of their respective territories in the tribe of *Merkit*; where they designed to recruit their scattered forces, with some others who were left behind: but that, two years after (O), *Jenghiz Khân*, to prevent their having time to fortify themselves, marched against them in the midst of winter. Those princes, amazed at his sudden arrival, and not being strong enough to oppose him, retired under the fortresses of *Ardish*: but *Jenghiz Khân*, for all the rigour of the season, and difficult roads, soon appeared before

^u DE LA CROIX, p. 61, & seq.
^y DE LA CROIX, p. 90.

^x ABU'LFARAJ, MIRKOND, ap. eund. p. 64. ABU'LGHAZI, p. 78.
^z GAUBIL, ubi supra, p. 12.

(I) At this feast, according to *Abû'lghazi Khân*, he assumed the name of *Jenghiz Khân*, at the instance of *Kokza*.

(K) Our royal author, explaining this name, says, that *Jin*, in the *Mogul* language, signifies *great*; and the termination *ghiz* making the superlative, *Jenghiz* is as much as to say *the most great*. *De la Croix* says, it signifies the Khân of Khâns.

(L) *Abû'lfaraj*, p. 281, says, he named him *Jenghiz Khân Tubt Tangri*; but *Mirkond* and others say, *Tubt Tangri* (or, as *D'Herbelot*, p. 379, writes it, *Tubi Tangri*) was the name of the prophet. *De la Croix* says, that

Mirkond calls him *Bar Tangri*. This signifies *the son of God*, and seems designed for an explanation of *Tubt Tangri*; which perhaps, after all, signifies *the image of God*, and was *Kokja's* surname.

(M) The western *Asiatic* writers make him the son of *Tayyan Khân*, as has been observed in a former note.

(N) This must be understood of the *Kitan* settled in *Little Bukhâria*; of whom an account will be given hereafter. They were called *Karakitayans*, as coming originally from *Karakitay*.

(O) This is placed in the year 1207 by *De la Croix*.

- a that place, and forcing them to come to an engagement, quickly put them to flight. *Tukta* Kuchluk of *Beg* was killed in the action: but *Kushluk*, with some expert soldiers, escaped to *Turkestan*, ^{capet.} where he was kindly received by *Gurkân* (P), a very powerful monarch; who, touched with the misfortunes of this young prince, gave him his daughter in marriage ^a.

OUR readers cannot but be surprised at the great disagreement among the authors before *Mistake made* us, concerning the place of action; some making it to be at a river beyond the regions of the *Moguls*; others at a fortress at a great distance from thence, not far from the borders of *Tangut* and *Kitay*. Whether those who assert the latter as fact (for we take the concurrent testimony of *Abû'lghazi Khân*, and the *Chinese* historians, to be a proof that the *Irtish* was the scene of action), had it from the memoirs of *Pulâd*, or, finding only a bare name of a place, b supplied the want of a description by conjectures of their own, we will not venture absolutely to determine: but this latter looks to be the case, since *Ardish* and *Irtish* are written with the same *Mogul* or even *Arabic* characters: and *De la Croix* does not cite *Fadlallah*, who wrote his history from the memoirs and assistance of *Pulâd*; which seems to shew, that he says nothing to support the matter in question.

JENGHIZ KHAN, in his approach to the *Irtish*, passed near the habitations of the *Joygherats* *Joygherats* and *Karliks*: the first subject to *Konaka Beghi*; the latter to *Arslân Khân*; who, not being in ^{and Karliks} a condition to oppose his forces, both submitted to him, and conducted him to the camp of ^{submit.} *Kuchluk* and *Tukta Beghi*. In his return from this expedition he summoned *Urûs Inâl*, chief of the *Kergbis*: who likewise submitted, and sent him a *shungar*, or *shonkar*, for a present ^b.

^a MIRKOND, ABU'LKAYR. ap. De la Croix, p. 91, & seq. ABU'LGHAZI, p. 84, & seq.

^b ABU'L-

(P) He was sovereign both of the *Western Kitan*, or *Karakitayans*, and *Turkestan*; and generally resided at *Kashgar*.

C H A P. II.

Jenghîz Khân invades the kingdoms of Hya, Kitay, and Turkestan.

- a **T**HE Grand Khân, having finished the conquest of *Mogulistan*, or that part of *Tartary* ^{Jenghîz Khân} inhabited by the various tribes of people comprehended under the name of *Moguls* and ^{invades} *Tatars* (extending from the borders of what is called *Eastern Tartary* to mount *Altay* in the west), began to think of invading the countries out of *Tartary* to the south: which, unlike the deserts he had already subdued, where no works of stone appeared to stop the progress of an enemy, were full of fortified cities, and strong places, as well as inhabitants. A consideration which at once presents to the reader's mind the difficulty of the enterprize, to people as yet, it may be presumed, unexperienced in the art of taking towns; and shews the genius of the prince who formed so grand a design.

- b JENGHIZ KHAN, who, as hath already been observed, had, in the year 1205, begun to ^{the empire of} make incursions upon the territories of the king (or emperor) of *Hya*; in 1209, attacked ^{Hya.} his dominions, with design to reduce them under his obedience: but, after forcing several posts ^{A.D. 1209.} near the great wall, *Li-gan-tsoen*, to save his capital, which *Jenghîz Khân* was preparing to attack, submitted to become his tributary, as will be related hereafter ^a.

ALMOST at the same time that prince conquered the countries of *Krekir* and *Kashin*; which last name, we are told, formerly the region of *Tangut* bore ^b: but where those countries lay is hard to determine. If any such there were, they must, by the circumstances of the history, have been in the neighbourhood of *Kampion*, either belonging to the province of *Shen-si*, or on its borders.

- c THE same year, *Parchukorte Tikin* (A), prince of *Igûr*, styled *Idikût* (B), slew the *Kitan* (C) ^{The Igûrs re-} officers, who were in his city; and, going in person, put himself under *Jenghîz Khân's* protection: who gave him a daughter in marriage ^c.

^a In the history of the *Hya* and *Sifan*.

^b DE LA CROIX, p. 92.

^c GAUBIL, p. 13.

(A) *Abû'lghazi Khân* names him *Banerjik Idikut Khân*, p. 36.

(B) *Abû'lkair* and *Abû'lfaraj* say, that *Idikût* signifies the reigning prince; but *Abû'lghazi Khân* explains it, a free man, not subject to any body. So he says it signifies *Mod. Hist. Vol. II.*

in the language of the *Uzbeks*: but sent by the spirit, in the Turkish. *Idi* importing being sent, and *kût*, the spirit, or soul. *Abû'lfaraj*, p. 283, writes *Idikûb*; that is, the lord of the empire.

(C) These were the *Western Kitan*, or *Lyan*, settled

THE occasion of this proceeding is related by the *Persian* historians. They tell us, that a *Idikût*, Khan of the *Oygûrs*, or *Igûrs*, though a very powerful prince, was yet tributary to *Gurkhân*, king of *Turkestan*; who usually kept a deroga among the *Oygûrs*, to gather his tribute. *Shuwakem*, who at that time was his officer, exacting more than his master's due, the prince, on the people's complaints, spoke to him. But the other, instead of forbearing, threatened *Idikût*: who, to revenge the insult, had him assassinated; and, then to screen himself from *Gurkhân's* resentment, sent to ask the Grand Khan's protection. The envoys overtook *Jenghîz Khân* in the country of *Tangut*, where he was gone to reduce *Shidaskû*; who, with some other Khâns, had revolted from him: among the rest was the Khân of *Krekir*, whose territories he intirely ruined.

submit to Jenghîz Khân. THE *Mogul* emperor, glad of an opportunity to make *Gurkhân* uneasy, who was never a friend to him, and had now made an alliance with *Kashluk*, received the *Oygûr* (or *Igûr*) envoys much better than otherwise he would have done; and sent them back with two persons, to assure their Khân of his friendship and protection. *Idikût*, charmed with this generous behaviour, strait went himself, with costly presents, to offer his service to *Jenghîz Khân*: who received him with affection; and afterwards, to reward his fidelity, gave him one of his daughters in marriage. *Gurkhân*, on the news of *Shuwakem's* death, had threatened *Idikût* with fire and sword: but, hearing he was become the Grand Khân's son-in-law, he smothered his rage, for fear of drawing the *Mogul* forces against himself^d.

Their country described. *IDIKÛT* was of an antient family among the chiefs of the *Igûr* tribe, for above 500 years standing. The first possessed the country where the *Selinga* rises. In process of time they became masters of the country of *Kau-chang*, *Igûr*, or *Kyau-chew*, being the same with that of *Turfân*, in *Little Bukhâria*. The *Chinese* geographers agree, that the country of *Igûr* (*Vigûr*, or *Oygûr*) was situated where *Turfân* now stands; but seem unacquainted with its extent. The same authors farther inform us, that the *Igûrs* understood the *Chinese* characters, and had the books of *Kon-fû-tse*, or *Konfusius*: that they honoured the spirit of heaven, had many Bonzas among them, and followed the *Chinese* kalendar. The chief city, where *Idikût* resided, was called *Ho-chew*; the ruins of which still remain, seven or eight leagues to the east of *Turfân*^e. To the north of this last city lay *Bishbâlig*, which all the oriental writers make the capital of the *Igûrs*; whose territories, according to *Abû'lghazi Khân*, extended to the *Irish*: for they were divided into three branches; some living in towns, others in the fields^f.

The Kitân empire. JENGHIZ KHAN, being now in peace with all his neighbours, and strengthened by the accession of so many princes, who either submitted to, or joined in league with him, resolved to shake off the yoke of the *Kin*; to whom at this time the *Moguls* were tributary (D), as they had been before to the *Kitân*. Sometime before the *Mungls* (E) and other hords of *Tatary* had acknowledged that prince for their sovereign; *Tay-bo*, emperor of the *Kin*, sent *Yong-tsi*, a prince of the blood, to the city of *Tsing-chew* (now called *Khûkkû-hotun*^g), to receive from them the annual tribute. On this occasion *Yong-tsi* made slight of *Temûjîn*, and advised framing some pretence to put him to death. But the emperor rejected the proposal; which coming to *Temûjîn's* ears, he resolved to be revenged on the author of it.

refuses to pay tribute. WANG-YEN-KING, emperor of the *Kin*, dying in the tenth month, *Yong-tsi*, who succeeded him, sent, the following year (1210), an officer to order *Jenghîz Khân* to pay the tribute. That prince demanded, whom he came from? and being told, from *Yong-tsi*, then emperor; he absolutely refused; saying, he was himself a sovereign, and would never acknowledge *Yong-tsi* for his master. *It is said*, added the Khân, by way of sneer, *that the Chinese ought to have the son of heaven for their master; but, at present, they know not how to chuse a man*. Having spoken these words, he mounted his horse, and rode towards the north. *Yong-tsi* was strangely nettled at these cutting expressions. *Jenghîz Khân* had other reasons to be displeased with the *Kin*. Among the rest, *Ching-pu-bay*, a prince of his house, had been slain by them, in 1206; to revenge which injury (F) the *Mungls* waited for an opportunity: besides, their Khân was told, *Yong-tsi* intended to have him seized. These things determined him to go and encamp along the *Kerulon*; where he assembled a formidable army, composed of vete-

^d MIRKOND, ABU'LKAYR, ap, De la Croix, p. 93, & seq. ABU'LGH. p. 87. 38, & 40.

^e ABU'LGH. p. 35.

^f See before, p. 24.

^g GAUBIL, p. 13,

to the east of *Kashgar*, then subject to *Gurkhân*, king of *Turkestan* and the *Kitân*; whose country was from them called *Karakitay*.

(D) In the tenth month of the year 1147, the emperor of the *Kin*, unable to subdue the *Mongols*, was obliged to make peace with them. Their chief was then *Aolopükiliay*, and called himself emperor. This shews, that since then the power of the *Mongols* had been weakened: for the history of *Jenghîz Khân* says positively, that, in his time, they paid tribute to the

Kin. Gaubil. hist. De Gentchis, p. 20. There is no such prince as *Aolopükiliay* among the predecessors of *Jenghîz Khân*, as given by *Abû'lghazi Khân*, and other oriental authors.

(E) They are always called *Mongu* in the *Chinese* history; which shews, that the word *Mogul* had obtained only in the west of *Asia*.

(F) The western *Asiatic* writers mention injuries in general received from *Altûn Khân*, but none in particular.

a ran troops. From thence he ordered *Chepe Noyân* (G), and *Yelu Kobay* (H), to march towards the borders of *Shan-si* and *Pe-che-li*: who, having observed the country, and made some spoils, returned to the main army ^h. *With a great army*

THE *Kin* had considerable forces at *Lyau-tong*, which was the bulwark of their empire. In the same province, and countries depending on it, there still remained also a great number of *Ki-tân*, and many princes of the family of the *Lyau*, whom they had deprived of the empire. But as *Tong-tsi* grew jealous of them since the rise of *Jenghîz Khân*, he commanded double the number of *Nyu-che* (or *Kin*) families to be put in all places where they were settled, in order to watch their motions. After this precaution, which gave a general discontent to the *Kitân*, the emperor caused notice to be given every-where, that the *Mungls* intended to attack him, raised powerful armies, and posted troops in all the fortified places on both sides of the great wall, from the *Whang-bo* to *Lyau-tong*.

IN the spring, and first month of the year 1211, *Arslân*, prince of the *Karluk*s (I) in the west, came with a body of troops, to offer his service to *Jenghîz Khân*; and *Idikût*, prince of *Kin*, *invades the* *Igûr*, to consult the preservation of his country. The army began its march southwards, the beginning of the second month: on which *Tong-tsi* sent to make proposals of peace (K); but they were rejected. *Chepe* with the choicest of the troops forced the posts of the great wall (L), to the north-west and north-east of *Tay-tong-fû* (M), whilst others seized the fortresses without the barrier. *Mibûli* took the posts about *Pau-gan*, and *Yen-king*, in *Pe-che-li*. *Chapar* surprised the garrison of *Ku-yang-quan* (N), an important place: and *Jenghîz Khân* defeated a considerable body of the *Kin*, near *Swen wha fû*; which city he took, with the fortresses about *Tay-tong-fû*, then called *Si-king*, or the western court, all in *Shan-si*: in short, the *Mungls* made incursions as far as the capital.

HASAR WHA-CHEN, prince of the *Honkirats* (or *Kunkurats*), *Jenghîz Khân*'s brother-in-law, who had been sent to the frontiers of *Lyau-tong* (O), to sound the pulses of the *Kitân* lords, and attack the *Kin* on that side; found the prince *Yelu Lyew-ko* at the head of an hundred thousand men, ready to declare in favour of his master. In testimony of his sincerity, that prince, ascending the mountain *Kin* (P), sacrificed a white horse and black ox, broke an arrow, and made an oath to be faithful to *Jenghîz Khân*. *Lyew-ko*, who was of the royal family of the *Lyau*, a good officer, and had many vassals, provoked at the indignities which the *Kitân* daily received from the *Kin*, took arms, as soon as he heard that the *Mungls* intended to make war upon them. The *Khân*, to prevent *Lyew-ko* from being drawn off again, made him very advantageous offers, and conferred on him the title of king (Q); furnishing *Wha-chen* and *Chepe* with good troops, to assist him. *Lyew-ko* ordered himself to be proclaimed king wherever he came; over which he obtained a signal victory. Hereupon many *Kitân* lords shook off their yoke, and several cities submitted to him. After which he reduced *Tong-king* (R), or *Lyau-yang*, a city of *Lyau-tong*. This great success swelled the reputation of the new *Kitân* king; and made the *Kin* raise numerous forces, to save that provinceⁱ.

^h GAUBIL, p. 13, & seq.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 14, & seq.

(G) He was one of the *Moguls* best generals. The title of *Noyan* (so also it is written in *Abû'lghazi Khân*'s history, but *Nervian*, by *De la Croix*) is given only to princes of the reigning family, sons-in-law of *Khân*s, or great lords, who are chief of hords. *Gaubil*.

(H) *Yelu Kobay* (written also *Yelu Kolay*, perhaps by mistake) was a great mandarin, or officer, of the *Kin* emperor; who, being sent to settle some affairs with *Jenghîz Khân*, was so charmed with him, that he entered into his service. He was a prince of the imperial family of the *Lyau*, whose name was *Yelu*. *Gaubil*.

(I) So we explain *Arslân*, prince of *A-la-lu*; which last word *Gaubil* was at a loss about. This *Arslân*, *Khân* of the *Karluk*s, or *Karlik*s, is mentioned by *Abû'lghazi Khân* and *De la Croix*, as repairing to *Jenghîz Khân* about the same time with *Idikût*.

(K) *Abû'lghazi Khân* relates, that *Jenghîz Khân* sent to summon *Altûn Khân* to submit; and that this prince, falling into a passion, said to the ambassador, *You believe, perhaps, you have to do with one of your petty Turkish tribes*. *Abû'lgh.* hist. *Turks*, &c. p. 89. Or, as *De la Croix* has it, *Your master treats me as if he thought me a Turk, or a Mogul*. *Hist. Gengh.* p. 100.

(L) Both *Abû'lghazi Khân*, p. 44, and *De la Croix*, p. 101, say, that *Alakûs*, *Khân* of the *Ungûts*, or *Ankût*, opened one of the great gates of the wall, of which he had the custody, to *Jenghîz Khân*.

(M) In the province of *Shan-si*, in *China*, lat. 40° 15' long. 3° 15' west of *Pe-king*. Note, *Fû*, at the end of

the name of a place, denotes a city of the first rank in *China*; *cheu*, one of the second; and *hyen*, one of the third rank: *quan*, a fortress; *keu*, a gate or strait of the mountains.

(N) A fortress nine leagues north-north-east of *Pe-king*; and *Yen-king* is three or four north of *Ku-yang-quan*. *Gaubil*.

(O) *De la Croix*, p. 100, says, *Jenghîz Khân* sent three of his sons to attack *Kurje*, which he calls *Korea*: but it must be *Lyau-tong*, as well from the circumstances of the history, as the description of it, which he gives from *Fadlallah*; viz. *that it was situate to the north of China, and had the sea on the east: that the country contained about 700,000 inhabitants; and had been always governed by its own kings, who were sometimes masters of China (rather Kitay); which, in its turn, was master of it*. That *Lyau-tong* is *Kurje*, appears further, from what is said, p. 108, that *Mukli Goyank* (who is *Mubuli*) was sent to *Kurje*, with a body of troops, to hinder the forces of that country to join *Altûn Khân*.

(P) According to the *Chinese* geographers, 45 or 50 leagues north of *Mûgden*, capital of *Lyau-tong*. *Gaubil*.

(Q) That is, *Khân*, or *Vang*, we presume of *Lyau-tong*.

(R) That is, the eastern court, lat. 41° 20' long. 6° 56' east of *Pe-king*. In the map of the *Jesuits* it is placed on the north side of the river *Taksa*, which falls into the *Lyau*; and is a distinct town from *Lyau-yang*, which lies three miles to the south, and was then a great city.

Jenghiz Khân ^{wounded:} IN 1212, *Jenghiz Khân* subdued *Whan-chew* (S); and *Milili*, the fortresses without the great wall, near the *Whang-bo*. When the *Mungls* had reduced all the strong places between that city and the river, they prepared to besiege *Tay-tong-fü*. To prevent them, *Tong-tsi* sent *Hüjakü*, or *Ki-shelye*, and *Wan-yen* at the head of 300,000 men. The Khân, by advice of *Milili*, marched to meet this army, which was encamped near the mountain *Tebü* (T), where they were attacked by the *Mungls*; who, notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers, defeated them. In autumn he invested *Tay-tong-fü*; where, although the governor *Hüjakü* fled, he met with more resistance than he expected. At last, having in a vigorous attack lost many men, and been dangerously wounded by an arrow, he raised the siege, and retired into *Tatary*: after which the *Kin* retook *Pau-gan*, *Swen-wba-fü*, and even *Kü-yang-quan*.

^{progress in Ki-tay.} JENGHIZ KHAN, who, in this disgrace, was comforted by the news he received from *Liau-tong*, being cured of his wound, re-entered *China* in 1213; recovered *Swen-wba-fü* and *Pau-gan*; defeated an army of the *Kin*, after a bloody battle (U), near *Wbay-lay* (X); and one of his generals took *Ki-pe-kew* (Y). After this battle, the Khân, not able to enter *Pe-che-li* by *Ku-yang-quan*, forced the fortrels of *Tse-kin-quan*, and took *I-chew* and *Cho-chew* (Z). However, *Chepe*, in his return from *Liau-tong*, passed on to *Nan-kew* (a place of importance), and took *Kü-yang-quan*, which is not far distant. On the other side, in the seventh month, a great battle was fought at the mountain *U-wbey-lin*, near *Quan-chang-byen* (A); wherein the *Kin* were overthrown, with a great slaughter.

^{The emperor murdered} IN the eighth month, *Hüjakü*, generalissimo of the *Kin* troops, who had been cashiered in 1212, for bad services, and restored, seized on the person of *Tong-tsi*; and, soon after, caused him to be murdered. The true cause of the successes which attended the *Mungls* was, that general's hatred to those who were the occasion of his disgrace (the year before); which lasted two months. After being replaced, he was ordered to encamp to the north of the court: but instead of endeavouring to stop the enemies progress, minded nothing but hunting, nor regarded the emperor's order. At length he marched with his army to the imperial city, under pretence of preventing a conspiracy which he had discovered. Being arrived before it, he sent horsemen to the palace, to cry aloud, that the *Mungls* were at the city gates: he next put to death such as he suspected; and, having disposed his troops in different quarters, the officers both civil and military assisted him; not imagining that he had a design to dethrone their prince: but as soon as he had secured the gates of the city, he seized the palace, and confined the emperor; then deposed and put him to death. After this, finding he could not get himself declared emperor, he enthroned *San*, a prince of the blood. These distractions determined *Jenghiz Khân* to besiege the imperial city. *Chepe*, after taking *Ku-yang-quan*, set forward with 50,000 chosen horse to join the army. But the van-guard, coming to the river *Tsau* (B), and, endeavouring to pass the bridge, was intirely defeated by *Hüjakü*; who was carried in a car, being hurt in the foot. Next day, being hindered from marching himself, by his wound opening, he ordered *Chu-bu-kau-ki* to advance with 5000 troops, to oppose the enemy; but that general coming too late, *Hüjakü* would have put him to death; which the emperor, knowing him to be a good officer, would not suffer. Then *Hüjakü* said to him, *if you beat the enemy, I will spare you; if you are defeated, you shall die*. *Kau-ki* marched against the enemy; but a north wind arising, which blew the sand into his soldiers eyes, he was obliged to re-enter the city with loss. As he took it for granted, that *Hüjakü* would put him to death, he ran with his troops to that general's palace: who, being apprized of his design, got on his garden-wall; but, falling, broke his leg. The soldiers having killed him on the spot, *Kau-ki* carried his head to the gate of the imperial palace, and surrendered himself to the mandarins, in order to be condemned to death: but the emperor published an edict, wherein he charged *Hüjakü* with several crimes, and commended *Kau-ki*; whom he made generalissimo in his room^k.

^k GAUBIL, p. 18, & seq.

(S) A city of *Tatary*, north-east of *Pe-king*, between the 42d and 43d degree of latitude, now destroyed. But, p. 28, *Gaubil* more justly places it almost north of *Pe-king*, or north-north-west. It seems to have been *Poro-hotun*, whose ruins are seen about twenty miles, south by west, from those of *Shan-tu*, one of the antient capitals of *Tatary*. See before, p. 245.

(T) Seven or eight leagues west, or west-north-west, of *Swen-wba-fü*. *Gaubil*.

(U) This was the battle, perhaps, in which the *Persian* writers say, that *Altün Khân*, joined by the forces of *Kurje*, lost 30,000 men.

(X) Four or five leagues west of *Ku-yang-quan*. The field was strewed with dead bodies for four leagues together.

(Y) A famous fortress at one of the gates in the great wall. See before, p. 245.

(Z) A city in the west borders of *Pe-che-li*. *Tse-kin-quan* is 25 miles west of *I-chew*.

(A) A city in the borders of *Shan-tu* and *Pe-che-li*.

(B) A canal, whose waters, coming from *Chang-pang-chew*, passed by the imperial city; from which the bridge could not be far.

a LI-GAN-TSVEN, king of *Hya*, finding himself pressed by the *Mungls*, demanded aid of the *Kin* ^{The Kin land}; who refused it, as having occasion themselves for more troops than they had. Here-^{pressed} upon the *Hya*, after they had made a treaty with the *Mungls*, before-mentioned, in 1210, declared war against the *Kin*; with whom they had been at peace for fourscore years, and attacked *Kya-chew* (C), in *Shen-fi*. The same year, *Li-gan-tswen* dying, *Li-tsun-hyu*, his relation, succeeded him. This prince, more successful than his predecessor, reduced *King-chew* (D), at the end of 1213.

b SINCE the time *Jenghiz Khân* began to invade the *Kin* empire, many *Chinese* officers, who had been taken prisoners, entered into his service. These he shewed a great esteem for, and gave them parties of their own nation to command. As he now resolved to attack the enemy on every side, he mixed the *Chinese* and *Tatarian* troops together, forming out of them four armies. One he ordered to incamp to the north of *Yen-king*, the imperial city: another to ravage the country to the north and east, as far as *Lyau-tong*: the third, under three of his sons, was to destroy all to the south and south-west as far as the *Whang-ho*; while he himself, with *Tuley*, his fourth son, marched through *Pe-che-li* to *Tsi-nan-fû*, the capital of *Shan-tong*.

c THE *Kin*, for their defence, sent their best troops to guard the difficult passages of rivers and mountains; obliging all people fit to bear arms to retire into the cities. The *Khân*, being informed of this, ordered his generals to take all the old men, women, and children, out of the villages and unfortified towns, and set them in the front of the army. The people from the walls, on hearing the voice of their friends and relations, refused to defend themselves, to their destruction. The desolation was general throughout *Shan-fi*, that part of *Ho-nan*, to the north of the *Whang-ho*, *Pe-che-li*, and *Shan-tong*. The *Mungls* plundered and destroyed more than ninety cities; reduced to ashes an infinite number of towns and villages; took all the gold, silver, and silk, they met with; and massacred thousands of useless people: carrying into slavery a vast number of young women and children. The spoil which they took in cattle was inestimable; and in all those spacious countries there were but ten cities which the *Mungls* could not subdue: among which in *Pe-che-li* were *Yen-king*, the imperial city, *Tong-chew*, *Ching-ting-fû*, and *Tay-ming-fû*. All this devastation happened in the year 1213. ^{Great devastation.}

d IN 1214, *Jenghiz Khân*, being returned from *Shan-tong*, assembled all his troops in one body, and invested *Yen-king*, in the fourth month; pitching his camp on the north side. His generals pressed him, without delay, to scale the walls, and ruin the city: but the *Khân*, having had other views in his mind, instead of following their counsel, sent an officer to tell the *Kin* emperor, that his master was willing to return into *Tatary*: however, that, to appease the anger of the *Mungl* troops, it was necessary to make them considerable presents; adding, that he ought to consider *Yen-king* was almost the only place which remained in his possession to the north of the *Whang-ho*. One of the *Kin* ministers, provoked at this message, proposed to march out and fight the army of *Ta-che* (E): saying, that many of the *Mungl* soldiers were sick; and that they were not in a condition to withstand a vigorous attack¹. ^{The capital invested. A. D. 1214.}

e ANOTHER minister was against this advice: saying, that they had every thing to fear, if they lost a battle; and but little to expect from a victory. He added, "that the troops in the city had nothing in view but to quit it, as most of them had families of their own: that the best measure therefore was to accept of peace; and when the *Mungls* were retired, they should be better able to consult what was proper to be done." The emperor, approving this counsel, sent a lord to the *Mungl* camp, to desire a peace; wherein it was stipulated, that a daughter (F) of the late emperor *Yong-tsi* should be given to *Jenghiz Khân*; with 500 young boys, and as many girls, 3,000 horses, silk, and a great sum of money. As soon as the conditions were performed, the *Khân* raised the siege; and, departing by the way of *Ku-yong-quan*, commanded all the young children, whom he had taken in the four provinces of *Shan-tong*, *Ho-nan*, *Pe-che-li*, and *Shan-fi*, to be massacred. ^{Buy a peace.}

f AFTER the retreat of the *Mungls*, the emperor *San* declared to his council, that he resolved to remove his court to *Pyen-lyang* (G), in *Ho-nan*. *Tu-shi-ni*, a wise and faithful minister, represented, that, in such case, the northern provinces would be lost. He observed, that *Lyau-tong* being very strong by situation, it was easy to maintain themselves there: that no more was to be done, than to make new levies, fortify the court, fill the garrison, and recruit the troops of that province. Most of the grandees were of his opinion: but the emperor said, ^{The emperor removes the court.}

¹ GAUBIL, p. 20, & seq.

(C) Lat. 38° 6' long. 6° 4' west of *Pe-king*.

(D) In *Shen-fi* also. Lat. 35° 22' long. 9° 5' west.

(E) One of the names given by the *Chinese* to that large region, at present possessed by the *Mungls* and *Kalkas*. *Gaubil*.

(F) The *Persian*, &c. historians say, peace was made

on those conditions; but not that *Pe-king*, or *Khân-balik*, was invested.

(G) Called also *Nan-king*, or the court of the south, and still *Pyen*. It stood nearly where *Kay-fong-fû*, the capital of *Ho-nan*, at present stands. *Gaubil*.

that as the treasury was exhausted, the troops weakened, and the cities round the capital destroyed, *Yen-king* was no place of security for him. Accordingly he departed, with his family and some troops; leaving the prince, who was to be his successor, to encourage the inhabitants.

Its bad consequence.

THE *Kin* monarch had soon occasion to repent this bad step. Being arrived at *Lyang-byang*, (a city five leagues south-west of *Pe-king*) he demanded back from his troops their horses and cuirasses. The major part of them, refusing to obey, slew their general, and chose three others in his stead: after which they returned, and seized the bridge of *Li-kew* (H). From thence *Kanta*, one of their generals, sent a courier to *Jengbiz Khân*, who was then encamped at the city *Whan-chew*, in *Tatary*, to offer himself and his troops at his service. As soon as that prince was apprised of the emperor's retreat, he was much incensed; complaining that he had been deceived by the *Kin*, and thereupon resolved to re-enter *China*. With this view he sent his general *Mingan*, with a great force, to join *Kinta*, and besiege *Yen-king* (I). When this news reached the emperor, he ordered his son to leave that city, and repair to *Pyen-lyang*. This also was against the advice of his ministers, supported by the example of *Ming-whang*, or *Hwun-tsung*, a *Chinese* emperor of the *Tang* race (K). The departure of the prince discouraged the garrison, not only of *Yen-king*, but of other strong places^m.

State of China.

THE rapid conquest of the *Mungls*, and retreat of the *Kin* emperor, gave great uneasiness to the *Chinese* monarchs of the *Song* race; who were then masters of the southern provinces of *China*, called by some authors *Manji*, viz. *Quan-tong*, and the isle of *Hay-nan*, *Quang-si*, *Yun-nan*, *Se-chwen*, *Quey-chew*, *Hu-quang*, *Kyang-si*, *Che-kyang*, *Fo-kyen*, and almost all *Kyang-nan*, where the *Kin* had a few cities. In *Shen-si* they possessed the country of *Hang-chong-fu*, besides some places in the district of *Kong-chang-fu*, and on the borders of *Se-chwen*. The great wars which they had carried on against the *Kin*, had forced them to make a shameful peace, whereby they were to pay a yearly tribute (L) in silk and silver. It was resolved therefore, at this juncture, to refuse tendering the tribute any longer: but the proposals made by the king of *Hya*, to join forces against the *Kin*, were rejected.

Conquests in Lyau-tong.

THE *Kin* possessed in *Lyau-tong* an army of 100,000 men, who had retaken many places, subdued the preceding years by king *Lyew-ko*; and, among the rest, *Lyau-yang*: but in the ninth month, *Mubuli*, followed by the general *Wir*, of the hord of *Shan-tsu*, entered that province, in order to succour the prince, and cut off the communication with *Pe-che-li*, which was effected. The huge army of the *Kin*, being filled with traitors, dispersed; and the inferior officers killed their general. King *Lyew-ko* recovered *Lyau-yang*; and *Pe-king*, now called *Mugden*, surrendered to *Mubuli*. This general put to the sword a great number of submitting soldiers, under pretence that they came in too late: but stopped the slaughter, on being told, that such a conduct would hinder many other places from yielding. Towards the end of the year, the city of *Tong-chew* (M), an important post, to the east of *Yen-king*, surrendered to the *Mungls*. The emperor of the *Kin* having been obliged to lay taxes on the people, it furnished several lords with a pretence, some to throw off their dependence, and others to submit to the *Mungls*.

Lyew-ko's fidelity.

IN 1215 many of the *Kitân* advised *Lyew-ko* to be declared emperor, independent of the *Mungls*: but that prince rejected the proposal, as contrary to the oath which he had taken, to be *Jengbiz Khân*'s subject. At the same time he sent his son *Sye-tu* to the *Khân*, with ninety waggons loaded with rich presents (N); and a list of the families which had submitted to him, amounting in all to 600,000. Towards the end of the year he came in person, to do homage to the *Mungl* sovereign. Mean time the emperor of the *Kin*, being informed of the distress *Yen-king* was in, sent a great quantity of provisions, with forces for its relief: but the first convoy, under the escort of an inexperienced general, arriving at *Pachew* (O) his army was there

^m GAUBIL, ubi supr. p. 23, & seq.

(H) Now called *Wen-bo*. The *Kyau*, or bridge, is two leagues west-south-west of *Pe-king*, and a very fine one. *Gaubil*.

(I) Called, by the oriental authors, *Khân-balik*, that is, the city of the *Khân*; or *Khân-palu*, the place, or residence of the *Khân*. Some write *Balg* and *Hân*, for *Balik* and *Khân*.

(K) Who retiring from *Shen-si* to *Se-chwen*, left his son behind him, to defend the province. In 736, *Gan-lo-shan* rebelling, 150,000 men from *Turkestan*, and the *Mohammedan* countries, came to aid the empire. The particulars of this great revolution are one of the most curious parts of the *Chinese* annals; and give considerable light into the history and geography of the countries between *Shen-si* and the *Caspian* sea. It appears that, in those times, a great number of *Arab* and *Persian* ves-

sels frequented the port now called *Kanton*. *Gaubil*.— This last remark confirms *Renaudot's Anciennes Relations*, &c. p. 8, & seq. of the rebellion above-mentioned. Some account is given by *Du Halde*, vol. i. p. 23, & 199. See new collect. voy. & trav. 4to, vol. iv. p. 438. note d.

(L) The emperor *Kau-tsung*, in the articles of peace made in 1144, with the emperor of the *Kin*, subscribed himself a subject, and tributary of his. See *Couplet*, tab. chron. linic. p. 73.

(M) In *Pe-che-li*, on the river *Pe-bo*, about twelve miles east of *Pe-king*, and its port.

(N) They were exposed on felts for seven days, to give heaven notice of what was done.

(O) Lat. 39° 3' long. 0° 0°.

a defeated; on the news whereof the other generals fled, and left all the provisions a prey to the enemy^a.

THE two generals, who commanded in *Yen-king*, were *Wan-yen Chang-whey* (P) and *Mo-nyen Chin-chong*; the former of whom, out of all hope of succours, or withstanding the enemy,^{death.} proposed to the latter to die for their country. *Mo-nyen*, on whom the troops immediately depended, refusing, *Chang-whey* retired in a rage, and told a Mandarin his resolution. The first day of the fifth month he wrote a petition to the emperor, wherein he touched on matters of government; and mentioned the crimes of a bad minister, whom his master made use of, meaning *Kau-ki*, who slew *Hijakû*. He finished, by confessing himself guilty of death, for not being able to save the imperial city (Q). This done, with a composed air, he called together all his domestics, and divided all his effects among them: then ordering a cup of poison to be filled, he wrote a few words. After which, commanding the Mandarin who was with him to leave the room, he drank it off; and died before his friend was gotten many paces from the house.

THE same evening the emperor's wives, knowing that *Mo-nyen* was preparing to leave the city, came to acquaint him, that they would go out along with him. He seemed pleased^{The capital taken.} with the proposal; but said he would go before, to shew them the way. The ladies, confiding in his promise, returned to the palace: but *Mo-nyen*, not caring to be troubled with their company, marched off, and left them behind. On that general's departure, the *Mungl* army entering the city, a great number of the inhabitants and Mandarins perished in the disorder which ensued. A troop of soldiers set fire to the palace, which continued burning for a whole month. *Jenghiz Khân*, who was then at *Whan-chew*, in *Tatary*, sent to compliment the general *Min-gan* on the occasion; ordering him to dispatch into *Tatary* the silks, gold, and silver, found in the imperial treasury. *Mo-nyen* arriving at *Pau-ting-fû*, in *Pe-che-li*, told those who accompanied him, that they should never have gotten thither, had he undertaken to conduct the ladies of the palace. When he came to *Pyon-lyang*, the emperor (R), though extremely troubled at the loss of his capital city, did not speak to him about it, and gave him a very considerable employment: but shortly after he was put to death, for having been engaged, as it was said, in dangerous designs. On the other hand, his majesty, having read *Chang-whey's* petition, declared him *Vang*, or *Wang*, that is, king.

d MIN-GAN, who was ordered to search for a Mandarin of the royal race of the *Lyau*, or *Ho-nan* in-
Kitân, called *Telu-chû-tsay* (S), having found him conducted him to *Jenghiz Khân*; who, at the first interview, conceived a high esteem for this great man, and let him at the head of his affairs. *San-kepa*, being sent with 10,000 horse to besiege *Ton-quan* (T), a famous pass in the mountains, between *Shen-si* and *Ho-nan*, marched through the territories of the king of *Hya*; who still continued the war against the *Kin*, and this year wrested from them the city of *Lin-tau-fû* (U). He took his route by *Si-gan-fû* (the capital of *Shen-si*); but failing in his attempt on *Ton-quan*, marched to *Yû-chew*, in *Ho-nan*, through cross roads, full of deep torrents, over which they made bridges with their pikes and halberds. At last arriving, after many difficulties, in sight of *Pyen-lyang* (X), capital of that province, the *Kin* troops sallied, and made him retire to *Shen-chew* (Y), on the *Whang-ho*; which being frozen, *San-ke-pa* crossed it, and escaped. The emperor *San*, after this, sent to desire peace of *Jenghiz Khân*; who proposed such hard conditions, that he could not accept of them. Mean time *Mûbûli* and *Wir*, in *Lyau-tong*, dispersed, with much address and courage, several parties which endeavoured to shake off the *Mungl* yoke^o.

In 1216 the *Mungls* took their measures so right, that *Ton-quan* was forced in the tenth month: after which they posted themselves between the city *Yû-chew* and the mountain *Song* (Z). The court being greatly alarmed at this, one of the censors of the empire represented to his *Kin* majesty, that *Pyen-lyang* would be reduced in the same manner as *Yen-king* was, unless he took the field with the garrison, which was very numerous; seized the post of *Ton-quan*, fortified the frontiers of *Shen-si*, and passages of the *Whang-ho*: unless also he hindered the *Mungls* from gaining footing in *Ho-nan*, and making inroads thither, by which they ruined the inhabitants. On the contrary, the minister *Cbu-hû Kau-ki* persuaded the emperor to think only of securing the capital: which conduct, says the history, ruined the dominion of the *Kin*.

^a GAUBIL, p. 25, & seq.

• Ibid. p. 27, & seq.

(P) He was a prince of the blood; the family name of the *Kin* being *Wan-yen*.

(Q) It was false patriotism to slay himself on this occasion; he ought to have done his utmost, and died in defence of the city, if he could not save it.

(R) The oriental historians say, upon the loss of *Khûmbalik* he poisoned himself.

(S) *Telu* was the family name of the *Kitân* emperors. *Gaubil*.

(T) Lat. 34° 39' long. 6° 17' west of *Pe-king*.

(U) In *Shen-si*, lat. 35° 20' long. 12° 20' west.

(X) Here *Gaubil* says it is the same with *Kay-fong-fû*; though in a former note he says it was near it.

(Y) A city of *Ho-nan*, fifteen leagues east-north-east of *Tong-quan*. *Gaubil*.

(Z) A famous mountain, to the north-east of *Yû-chew*. *Gaubil*. Rather, it should seem, to the north-west of that city.

A rebellion
quashed,

by Mûhûli.

Ho-nan aban-
doned.

Kurje, or
Lyau-tong.

A bloody bat-
tle.

Kapchâk
invaded.

Karakitayans
revolt.

MUHULI, after the parts of *Lyau-tong* towards *Lyau-yang* (A) had been conquered, ordered, *Chong-ping*, one of the generals in that province, to march into *China*, and join the other troops: but being informed that he was a traitor, had him put to death; in the end of the year 1215. Hereupon *Chang-chi*, to revenge his brother's death, revolted, and took *King-chew* (B); with most of the other cities of the province, included between the great wall of *China*, the river *Lyau* (C), the wooden palisade (D), and the sea. After this he caused himself to be proclaimed king; and, in 1216, declared for the *Kim*, who gave him the command of their troops in *Lyau-tong*. *Mûhûli*, who had retaken *Quang-ning-byen* (E) the preceding year, at the end of this besieged *King-chew* (F). *Chang-chi* had good troops; and the place being very strong, *Mûhûli* ordered *Wir* to go and attack an important post on a neighbouring mountain, while another general should be ready to cut off the troops detached from the city to succour it. *Wir* having obeyed his orders, *Chang-chi* sallied out with part of the garrison: hereupon *Monku pûwba* placing himself between that post and the city, gave notice thereof to *Mûhûli*, who lay towards *Quang-ning*. This general, marching all night, by break of day came up and attacked *Chang-chi* on one side, while *Monkû* did the same on the other; so that he was entirely defeated. Yet escaping back to the city, he defended it gallantly for more than a month; when an officer of the garrison seized and delivered him to the *Mungls*: who cut off his head, and took possession of the place.

THE *Mungls*, after a great struggle to get footing in *Ho-nan*, at last abandoned that province; and passing the *Whang-ho*, under the conduct of *Sa-me-ho* (G), surnamed *Patûrû*, or the courageous, marched towards *Ping-yang-fû*, in *Sben-si*: but *Su-ting*, who commanded the troops there, having gathered those from the dependent places, met and defeated them.

THIS is the account of *Jenghîz Khân*'s first expedition into *Kitay*, transmitted to us from the *Chinese* historians. We shall now subjoin a view of that given by the western *Asiatics*, that our readers may the better compare them, and judge of their merit.

THESE authors tell us, that *Jenghîz Khân* being ready to enter *Kitay*, in 1210, divided his army into two bodies; and that, keeping the most considerable with himself, he gave the command of the other to three of his sons, *Fuji*, *Jagatay*, and *Oktay*: that these princes marched through the *Kalmûks* country (H), towards *Kurje*; which being unprovided with troops, who were gone to join *Altûn Khân*, they made terrible devastations in the towns, and carried off all the cattle: that *Jenghîz Khân*, marching by the *Til*, a river of *Karakitay*, entered *Kitay*, at the great gate in the wall of *China*, which *Alakûs*, Khân of *Ankût*, to whose care it was committed, opened to him: that he spared all the cities which made no resistance; but plundered those which opposed him: that *Altûn Khân*, with his united forces, hastening to meet *Jenghîz Khân*, a battle was fought, in which the former lost 30,000 men, and the latter more: that *Jenghîz Khân* retired with all his spoils into *Pe-che-li*; and *Altûn Khân*, fearing he might besiege *Pe-king*, sent to propose a peace, with his daughter *Kubbû Khatûn* in marriage, which was accepted: that *Jenghîz Khân* being returned to his dominions, in 1211, set out, accompanied with his son *Fuji*, to conquer (I) *Kapchâk* (or *Kapjâk*), the most western and considerable part of *Tatary*; judging he had a right, by conquest, to several tribes, who inhabited the country, as having been subject to *Vang Khân*: that as soon as he appeared, those tribes, with others inhabiting the country of *Jetab*, or the *Getes* (K), in *Kapchâk*, on the borders of *Mogulistân*, submitted to him, which all together formed a vast army: that, leaving one half of his forces with *Fuji*, who defeated the *Komâns*, *Walâks*, *Bulgarians*, and *Hungarians*, he, with the other half, returned to *Karakorom*: that there, being joined by *Arslân*, Khân of the *Karlûks*, and *Idikût*, Khân of the *Tugûrs* (or *Igûrs*), he resolved to invade *Kitay*, to revenge some threats uttered by *Altûn Khân*; but more by the persuasion of a Khân of *Karakitay* (L), who, provoked at the ravages made by *Altûn Khân* in that country,

P GAUBIL, p. 30. & seq.

(A) Lat. 41° 17' long. 6° 56' east; then a great city. Gaubil.

(B) Lat. 41° 8' long. 4° 45' east of *Pe-king*. Gaub.

(C) Called also *Sira Mûren*.

(D) *Lyau-tong* is surrounded with a wooden palisade, or fence.

(E) Lat. 41° 39' long. 5° 26' east.

(F) Lat. 41° 0' long. 4° 44' east.

(G) Perhaps *Samûka*, mentioned by *Abûlghazi Khân*.

(H) *De la Croix* tells us, on this occasion, that these *Kalmuks*, who had submitted to *Jenghîz Khân*, were a nation situate on the borders of *Karakitay* to the eastward; and not to be confounded with the *Kalmuks* who dwell in the west, towards the *Wolga*. But these seem

to be an imaginary nation of *Kalmuks*, which name came in use long after. See before, p. 278, note (D).

(I) *Abûlghazi Khân* mentions nothing of this *Kipjâk* expedition: but, conformable to the *Chinese* historians, says, that after the peace, he left his son in *Pe-king*, and retired to *Nan-king*.

(K) This country, placed here in *Kipjâk*, is frequently mentioned by the oriental historians, and cited by *D'Herbelot*, and in *Sharifoddin*'s history of *Timûr Bek*; but they place it to the east of *Kipjâk*, between it and *Mogulistân*. Nay, *Kâshgar* seems to be included in it; as *Kamroddin*, Khân of that country, is called prince of the *Jetab*. It belonged now to one, then to another country.

(L) According to *Abûlghazi Khân*, *Altûn Khân*, before

- a try, had, by means of some rebels, seized a considerable fortress, which opened a way into *China*: that in 1212, *Jenghîz Khân* being indisposed himself, sent *Samûka Behadr*, with a great army; who seized on all the provinces of *Karakitay* remaining to *Altûn Khân*, and with ease entered *Kitay*, by means of the intelligence which the rebel Khân held in the country: that, at the same time, *Miklî Gâyank* (M), one of the most able *Mogul* generals, marched to *Kurje*, to hinder the forces of that kingdom from going to assist *Altûn Khân*, and reduced several cities there: that, for all this, *Altûn Khân* advanced to attack *Samûka Behadr*, expecting to obtain an easy victory: but although the van-guard of the *Moguls* gave way at first, they at length obliged the enemy to fly, and shut themselves up in their cities: that the *Moguls*, instigated by the rebels, laid siege to *Pe-king*, or *Khân-bâlik*, which was so vigorously defended by *Altûn Khân's* son, that Altûn Khân they assaulted it in vain: that being no hopes of taking by force a city defended by such defeated. numerous troops, the siege was turned into a blockade; and when the famine became so great that the inhabitants ate one another, the city was taken by a stratagem, Hej. 610, A. D. 1213: that, on the news of this loss, *Altûn Khân* poisoned himself (N); and *Jenghîz Khân* gave the Kitay em- government of *Pe-king* to *Miklî Gâyank*, who, in two years, finished the conquest of *Kitay*, quered. with that of *Kurje* ^a.

- THE authors made use of by *Abû'lghazi Khân* differ from those consulted by *De la Croix* in several particulars, especially touching the second expedition of the *Moguls* into *Kitay*. According to him, five or six months after *Altûn Khân's* remove from *Khân-bâlik* (or *Pe-king*), to *Nan-king* (or *Pyen-lyang*), his son, who had been left to govern in that city, went to *Nan-king*,
c to acquaint his father with the bad condition of their affairs on the frontiers. That, in the mean time, *Jenghîz Khân*, understanding that the empire of *Kitay* was rent by factions, sent *Jamuka Behadr*, and *Maskan Behadr*, with a numerous army, to invade the country, and besiege *Khân-bâlik*: that on the frontiers they were joined by a great number of deserters from *Karakitay*; while *Altûn Khân*, hearing of their march, sent provisions to that city, under the guard of a large body of troops, commanded by two of his best generals; but that, being met by the army of *Jenghîz Khân*, they were defeated, and the two generals taken: that *Altûn Khân*, overcome Altûn Khân's with this misfortune, poisoned himself; and, at the approach of the *Mogul* generals, *Khân-bâ-* death. *lik* surrendered without striking a stroke: that *Jenghîz Khân* afterwards arriving at *Khân-bâlik*, took, by degrees, most of the cities belonging to the empire of *Kitay*; and having employed five
d years in this expedition, returned into his hereditary dominions, in order to watch the motions of his enemies ^c. Let us now return to the *Chinese* historians.

- IN the year 1216, *Jenghîz Khân*, after resting for some time in the palace which he had built Kuchluk near the river *Lûku* (O), in *Tatary*, went and incamped near the *Tula*; from whence he sent routed. *Supûtay* against the *Markats*, who had raised new troops, and always supported the king of the *Naymâns*. This prince (P), after his defeat, had endeavoured to stir up several tribes of the *Kitân*, *Naymâns*, and *Markats*, against the *Mungls*. *Chepe* therefore was detached, in the year 1217, towards the river *Irtîsh*, where he vanquished *Kuchluk*, son of *Boyrak*, late king of the *Naymâns*, who had taken up arms afresh. After this victory, he directed his march westward; but the *Chinese* history mentions no particulars of this expedition. At the same time *Chuchi*
e (or *Fuji*), the emperor's eldest son, took his journey towards a country very remote from *China*, to the north-west. The history does not name this country: but mentions some people, or tribes, whom he subdued; as the *U-se-han*, *Ha-na-sa*, *Kû-lyang-û-ke-she*, and *Tay-miboynirk-hân*.

- JENGHIZ KHAN, having now resolved to carry his arms westward, declared *Mûbûli*, whose Expedition great qualities he publicly extolled, generalissimo of the troops, and his lieutenant-general in westward. *China*: he conferred on him likewise the title of king (Q), and made it hereditary in his family. On this occasion he caused the *Chinese* and *Tatar* troops to be drawn out, with their standards displayed, and ordered them to obey *Mûbûli* as himself; delivering to him, at the same time, a royal seal of gold, to put to all his mandates. That general, the same year, marched
f with his troops for *China*, where, in a short time, he subdued many cities in *Shen-si*, *Pe-che-li*, and *Shan-tong*. *Li-chew* (R) having held out to the last extremity, *Mûbûli* would have put all the inhabitants to the sword: but, at the intreaty of *Chau-tsin*, one of his best officers, who offered

^a MIRK. ABU'LK. FADLALLAH, ap. De la Croix, hist. Gengh. p. 101—111. ABU'LGH. p. 90. ^c Ibid. p. 92.

fore he left *Khân-bâlik*, cut off the heads of some *Karakitay* lords for slight offences, which made several of them retire with their effects into *Jenghîz Khân's* dominions. One lord, among the rest, having surprized and ruined some of *Altûn Khân's* cities, sent to offer his service to *Jenghîz Khân*, and was so well received, that many others followed his example.

(M) The same with *Mûbûli*, as he is called before, from the *Chinese* history.

(N) The death of the emperor *Xong-tsi*, during this

expedition, might have been the foundation of this error in the more western historians.

(O) Our author *Gaubil* takes it for the *Kerlon*, or *Kerlon*: if so, perhaps this might be the place where *Parahotun*, or the city of the tiger, was afterwards built.

(P) *Kuchluk* must be the king here meant.

(Q) It is not mentioned by what title, as that of Khân, or any other.

(R) At present *Li-hyen*, a city of *Pe-che-li*.

to die himself, to save his mother, brothers, and the rest of the citizens (being a native of that place), they were spared^a.

Kuchluk pur-
sued.

AT the end of the year 1217, or beginning of the next, *Jenghiz Khân* put himself at the head of a powerful army, in order to march into the west. Before he set out, he declared the prince *Tye-muko* (S), called also *Wa-che*, his fourth brother, regent of the empire. Among the chosen generals who accompanied the Khân, there were several *Chinese*; and he formed companies of soldiers, who had the art of casting huge stones against cities. His first enterprise was against *Kuchluk*, who had put in motion all the countries to the north-west of *Turfân*, as far as the rivers *Sihûn* and *Jihûn* (T) on one side, and on the other as far as the *Osi* and *Irtîsh*. He was leagued with the *Markats*, and princes of *Kicha* (U), a vast country, to the north and north-east of the *Caspian* sea; besides those of the *Kangli*, who inhabited the country to the north-east of the territories of *Samarkant*.

Bishbâlig
taken.

AN army of 300,000 men, said to be the remains of the *Kitân* (X), of whom there were many tribes about *Turfân*, having advanced with design to oppose the Khân's passage, he intirely defeated them. *Ko-pau-yu*, one of the *Chinese* generals in the *Mungl* army, having been desperately wounded in the battle, *Jenghiz Khân* honoured him with a visit in his tent. When recovered, he was sent to besiege *Bishbâlig* (Y), which was taken, with the other cities in that country. At the same time *Gonchor*, a lord of the tribe of *Tong ku*, in the western parts of *Tatary*, subdued the city and country of *Almâleg* (Z). *Kosmeli*, one of the great officers of the last Khân of the western *Lyau* (or *Kitân*), understanding that the *Mungls* were come to make war on *Kuchluk*, persuaded the chief of the city of *Asân* (A), and those of other tribes, to submit to *Chepe* (B). *Jenghiz Khân* being informed of this, sent for *Kosmeli*, and gave him the command of a body of the van-guard. *Kuchluk*, after this, being defeated, his head was cut off by the Khân's order; and exposed to view in all the towns and villages of the *Naymâns* (C) and *Kitân*, through which they passed. Hereupon those tribes, together with the *Kangli* (or *Kankli*), acknowledged *Jenghiz Khân* for their sovereign^c.

Kuchluk
slain.

His ingrati-
tude.

THE more western historians of the *Mungl* affairs agree pretty well with the *Chinese*. They inform us, that *Jenghiz Khân*, after the reduction of *Tangut* (or *Hya*), intended to have returned, and finished the conquest of *Kitay*; but that he was diverted by the rumours of his old enemies in *Tatary* beginning to raise new disturbances. The tribes, which had still refused to acknowledge him for their master, had submitted to *Kuchluk* as their Khân: who thus finding himself in a condition of power, by the advice of *Mohammed Karazm Shâb*, the most potent prince at that time in the west of *Asia*^d, on some pretence of discontent, unexpectedly attacked *Kavar* dominions. On the other hand, *Kudath*, brother of *Toktabeghi*, Khân of the *Markats*, with the two sons of the latter, had arrived among the *Naymâns*, and began to make the subjects of *Jenghiz Khân* in those quarters uneasy; for the *Naymâns*, being but newly subdued, were the readier to listen to proposals of freeing them from his yoke.

Markats
subdued.

HEREUPON the Khân sent two of his generals, *Suida* (D) *Behadr*, and *Kamu Tushazar*, with a considerable force against *Kudath* (E), and his adherents; who were defeated at the river *Jam Muran* (F), and all of them killed or taken: which put an end intirely to the sovereignty of the *Markats* (G). As the *Tumats* (H) had invaded the Khân's dominions while he was employed in *Kitay*, he sent against them some troops, under *Burgu Noyan* (I), or *Nevian*, who caused some of them to be slain; and treated the rest with so much rigour, that *Jenghiz Khân* was concerned at it. To reduce *Kuchluk*, who appeared a more formidable enemy, he detached

^a GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 32, & seq.

^c Ibid, p. 24, & seq.

^d See before, p. 141.

(S) Called by *Abûlghazi Khân Tamuka*: in *De la Croix*, named *Utain*.

(T) These, which are the *Arab* names of the rivers at present called the *Sir* and *Amû* (of old the *Jaxartes* and *Oxus*), we presume, are not in the *Chinese* history.

(U) Elsewhere written *Kincha*: this seems to be *Kîp-châk*, or confounded with it.

(X) These were the western *Lyau*, or *Kitân*, called by the oriental historians *Karakitayans*, as hereafter will be observed in their history.

(Y) Or *Pishbâlig*: in the *Chinese* *Pye-cha-pa-li*: a city which lay to the north of *Turfân*, in *Little Bukhâria*; reckoned, by the *Persian* geographers, as the capital of the *Igûrs* country, and residence of their Khân *Idikut*: but, according to the *Chinese*, the capital was *Ho-cheu*, some leagues to the east of *Turfân*.

(Z) Or *Almâlig*; so called by *Alûlfeda*, and other oriental writers. In the *Chinese* pronounced *O-li-ma-ii*.

(A) This town, or tribe, seems to have been at no great distance from *Kâshgar*.

(B) Which shews, that this general's design in marching westward was to attack *Kuchluk*.

(C) It must not be understood that the native country of the *Naymâns* was in these parts; but they were possessed of them by conquest, under their Khân *Kuchluk*.

(D) He is the same with *Suputay*, in the *Chinese* history.

(E) *De la Croix* calls him *Kondû Khân*, and says there were with him three of his nephews.

(F) *Bentink* says, it rises in the mountains which cross the Gobi, or sandy desert, and runs south south-east into the *Uhang-ho*, on the borders of *Tibet*.

(G) In *De la Croix*, *Merkit*.

(H) Or *Tumats*, a tribe on the frontiers of *China*: they were excited to revolt by *Kondû Khân*. *De la Croix*.

(I) Called *Baba Nevian* in *De la Croix*.

- a *Zena* (K), (or *Jena*) *Noyân*, the most experienced of his generals, with a numerous army. The *Naymân* prince, far from hiding himself, advanced to meet *Zena* with superior forces. But the *Mungls* charged him so vigorously that he was constrained to fly, followed only by a small number of his men; the rest having been all cut to pieces. *Zena Noyân*, not content with the victory, set out in pursuit of him; and pressed him so closely, that he even killed all the men who accompanied him, excepting three. His pursuer, arriving soon after in the country of *Sarakol*, was Hej. 611. informed by a peasant, that four strangers were newly passed by, who had taken the road to A. D. 1217. *Badagshân* (L). Hereupon, redoubling his speed, he came up with the unfortunate prince before *Kuchluk's* he could reach that city, and had him put to death on the spot. *Zena*, after this, returned to *Jenghîz Khân*; who rewarded him magnificently for the services done him in that expedition^a.

THIS is the account given by the historians of the west of *Asia*, whom we shall almost wholly follow for what regards *Jenghîz Khân's* wars in those parts: the *Chinese* authors having been as little acquainted with what passed in *Great Bukhâria* and *Persia*, as the others were with his transactions in *Lyau-tong* and *Kitay*.

* ABU'LG. p. 94, & seq. MIRK. apud De la Croix, p. 112.

(K) Whether this be the same called by the *Chinese* *Ch. pe*, we cannot determine: for *De la Croix*, from *Mirk-boud*, names the general sent against *Kuchluk*, *Hubbe Noyân*. According to *De la Croix*, *Jenghîz Khân* first sent to draw *Soltân Mohammed* from *Kuchluk's* interest, which was easily effected (the *Karazm Shâh* growing jealous of his power, and willing to weaken *Jenghîz Khân's*); and

then sent *Hubbe Noyân* to pursue him, by way of *Kâshgar*, which *Hubbe* reduced; and *Kuchluk* was taken as he was hunting in the mountains of *Badagshân*, where he passed for an inhabitant of the country, but was known by some *Moguls*.

(L) A city in the eastern part of great *Bukhâria*, on the river *Amu*.

C H A P. III.

From the invasion of Karazm to the death of Soltân Mohammed.

- c **J**ENGHIZ KHAN, having established peace in his dominions, and completed the reduction of all the *Turkish* tribes under his obedience, resolved to cultivate amity with his neighbours, particularly *Soltân Mohammed Karazm Shâh*. To this purpose, at the end of the year 1217, he sent *Makinut Jalûzi*, his ambassador (A), to acquaint the Soltân, "That, having become master of all the countries from the farthest east to the frontiers of his empire, he was desirous to enter into a treaty of amity with him, for their mutual interest; and that the Soltân would consider him as his father; in which case he proposed to look on the Soltân as his son." *Mohammed*, having heard the ambassador's proposal, took him aside, and asked him, "If it was true, that *Jenghîz Khân* had conquered *Kitay*?" and, at the same time made him a present of a rich scarf adorned with jewels, which he had then on, to induce him to be more open and sincere. Upon this, *Makinut* protested before God, that what he had related was fact; adding, "That he would soon find he told truth, in case he came to have any difference with him." At this answer the Soltân fell into a great passion; "I know not," said he, "what your master means, by sending to tell me that he has conquered so many provinces? Do you know of how great extent my empire is? or upon what ground he pretends to be greater than I; expecting that I should honour him as my father, and be content to be treated only as his son? Has he then so many armies?"
- d THE ambassador, perceiving how disagreeable truth was to the *Karazmian* monarch, altho' he required it, began to soothe him; saying, "I know very well that you are more powerful than my sovereign; and that there is as much difference between you two as between the true son and a mock one: but, on the other hand, you know that he is my master, and that I must obey his orders; however, I can assure you, that his intentions are very good." This flattery mollified the Soltân, so that he consented at last to every thing which the ambassador proposed, and a treaty of peace (B) was concluded on^a. He returned with presents both

^a ABU'LG. p. 97. DE LA CROIX, 119.

(A) *De la Croix* says, there were three ambassadors; one a native of *Karazm*, whom the Soltân talked to in private; but names none of them. In all other respects he agrees with *Abûlghazi Khân*.

(B) According to *De la Croix*, and his authors, *Jenghîz Khân* was sixty-three years old in 1217, when this peace was concluded.

for

for his master and himself: several merchants of *Karazm*, loaded with the choicest commodities, accompanied him, with a design to traffick in the dominions of *Jenghiz Khân*. a

Mohammed
guarrels with
the Khalifah
Nasser. AFTER this there subsisted so great an harmony for some time between the two empires, that a man might have travelled from one to the other, with gold and silver in his hand, without the least danger: but as two great neighbouring princes cannot possibly live long without distrusts and jealousies, Soltân *Mohammed* soon became uneasy at *Jenghiz Khân*'s greatness; and, after his reduction of *Gazna*, he treated the *Mungls* with less respect than before: at the same time his subjects committed such acts of hostility as obliged *Jenghiz Khân* to complain of them. Yet this did not alter his intention to keep the peace^b; nor could even the importunity of *Nasser*, the Khalifah of *Baghdâd*, draw him from that resolution. *Mohammed*, having cut off the heads of above one hundred princes, to make himself master of their treasures and domi- b
nions, would needs oblige the Khalifah to grant him the privileges which the *Seljukian*, and other Soltâns had enjoyed before; particularly that of establishing his seat in *Baghdâd*, to govern and be named in the publick prayers, in the same manner as he was. But *Nasser* refused to comply with his demands, alleging, "That former Soltâns had some right to those
" privileges, for great services done to the Khalifat; whereas he had no occasion for *Moham-*
" *med*'s assistance: nor had that prince done any thing to intitle him to such powers."

His army
ruined. SOLTÂN *Mohammed* received the Khalifah's ambassador (who accompanied his own back) very honourably: but was so far from abating any thing of his demands, that he called a general council of the Muftis, Mûlas, Kâdîs, Imâms, Sheykhs, and other lawyers, to depose him; and having nominated another Khalifah, set out with a great army to take *Baghdâd*. By good luck c
for *Nasser*, this army was almost intirely destroyed by the frosts and rains of a severe winter, which obliged the Soltân to return home. However, the Khalifah, fearing in the end to be reduced to extremities by that powerful prince, resolved to make an alliance with *Jenghiz Khân*; and excite him to invade *Mohammed* on one side, while he attacked him on the other. Part of his council were against this measure: alleging, that it was contrary to the *Mohammedan* law, to bring the enemies of God into the country of the faithful, as it might occasion the ruin both of the *Musulman* religion and empire. But the Khalifah's zeal for the faith could not make him change his sentiments: He answered, "That a *Mohammedan* tyrant was worse than one who
" was an infidel: that it only became cowards to abandon the care of their preservation to avoid
" the pains of watching: that, since they saw themselves threatened with apparent ruin, they d
" might attempt any thing to prevent it: that, besides, *Jenghiz Khân* did not hate the *Moham-*
" *medan* religion, since he suffered *Mohammedans* to live in his dominions, and had even one
" for his Wazîr (or Vizier): that, in short, supposing him an enemy to the faith, they had
" nothing to fear from the *Mungls*, since it would be many years before they could enter into
" those countries which were really *Mohammedan*."

to Jenghiz
Khân THE opinion of the Khalifah prevailing, an envoy was accordingly sent into *Tatary*, with his credentials impressed on his head (C), to prevent discovery: and having been admitted to a private audience, *Jenghiz Khân* told him, "The treaty which he had just then concluded would
" not permit him to make war upon the Soltân at that juncture: but that he knew the rest-
" less spirit of *Mohammed* would not suffer things to remain long in the posture they were then e
" in; and that, on the first occasion given, he would not fail to declare war against him."
The *Mohammedan* historians greatly blame this conduct of the Khalifah: and although it does not appear that he ever gave any assistance to *Jenghiz Khân*, yet his having but excited him to make war on a prince of their religion, was sufficient to draw their reproaches upon him^c.

for assistance. MEAN time Soltân *Mohammed*, careless of preserving the good harmony on his side, gave much occasion of discontent, by sending, or permitting, his soldiers to enter the borders of the *Mungl* empire, and commit depredations. At last, he seized a province which belonged to *Kashluk*, but became the Khân's by right of conquest: and one day, by his order, his soldiers attacked the *Mungl* troops, which guarded the borders of the country of *Ardishb*. Yet all these injuries could not provoke *Jenghiz Khân* to declare war against *Mohammed*: on the contrary, f
as he had in view to enrich his subjects by commerce, and polish their manners by conversation with strangers, he resolved, if possible, to live at peace with him, and even cultivate a firm alliance^d.

Mungl embas- THE good order and perfect security for travellers, which *Jenghiz Khân* had established in
sadors,

^b ABU'LGH. p. 100. DE LA CROIX, p. 125, & seq.
p. 132 & seq.

^d Ibid. p. 142.

^c EEN KATUR. NISSAWI. MIRK. ap. La Croix,

(C) This was done with the point of a needle and indigo, in the same manner that the arms of pilgrims are marked at *Jerusalem*; so that when his head was shaved, the credentials appeared. *Histæus*, prince of *Miletus*,

when at the court of *Darius*, king of *Persia*, made use of the same device, to excite *Aristagoras*, his son-in-law, to revolt; as we learn from *Herodotus*, l. v.

- a his dominions, drew thither merchants from all parts; and, among the rest, from *Great Bukharia*, which was subject to Soltân *Mohammed*. Upon the arrival of some of these latter with very rich commodities, the Khân sent for them: but they set so extravagant a price on their goods as made him very angry: and having shewn them above a thousand chests, with all sorts of valuable commodities, told them, "They might see by what was before them, that it was not the first time he had cheapened such merchandizes: but that, since they durst exact upon him with so much assurance, he resolved to pay them in their kind;" and so made them take back their goods without buying any. After this, sending for other merchants of the same country, with the like commodities, he began to cheapen several parcels: but they, warned by what had happened to their countrymen, told the Khân, "That they left it to himself to give them what he pleased for them; or that, if he paid them nothing at all, his majesty was well come to take them." This answer pleasing *Jenghîz Khân*, he not only ordered them to be paid double the value of their goods; but also gave them leave to sell the remainder of them in his camp, without presenting the chief men with the least trifle.

- At the departure of these merchants for their own country, the Khân took that opportunity to put in execution what he had before projected. He sent with them four hundred fifty merchants of his own subjects, to trade in the Soltân's dominions: accompanied by *Mohammed of Karazm*, *Ali Khoja of Bokhâra*, and *Yusef of Otrar*, three officers of his court, whom he sent in quality of ambassadors to that monarch, with a very obliging letter; importing, "that he had treated his merchants so well during their stay in his dominions, that he flattered himself the Soltân would do no less by his subjects, who went to trade in his empire: that he engaged his promise always to act the part of a good father by the Soltân; and reckoned that he would, on his side, prove a good son to him; which obligations being performed by both parties, could not fail to aggrandize their empires, and encrease their common glory."

- The ambassadors, having passed through *Mogulistan*, *Karakitay*, and *Turkestan*, at length arrived at *Otrar*, called by the *Arabs Farab*, a city of great trade, seated to the north of the river *Sihûn*, now called *Sir*, at the west end of *Turkestan*, but subject to Soltân *Mohammed*. They immediately went to salute the governor, cousin-german to the mother of the Soltân, who had given him the name of *Gaghîr Khân*. The merchants likewise paid him their compliments, and offered him some presents: but one of them, an old acquaintance of his, happening inadvertently to call him by his former name *Inaljik*, he was so offended at it, that, without farther ceremony, he ordered both ambassadors and merchants to be arrested: and then dispatched a courier to inform the Soltân, that there were arrived at *Otrar* strangers, who indeed pretended to be merchants and ambassadors; but that, having strong reasons to suspect they came on some ill design, he had caused them to be arrested, till he knew his pleasure concerning them. *Mohammed*, without taking any farther information of the matter, sent orders that they should immediately be put to death: which sentence *Gaghîr Khân* executed to the rigour, and confiscated all their effects to the Soltân's use.

- This affair is somewhat differently related by the authors made use of by *La Croix*. They tell us, that *Jenghîz Khân* sent but one ambassador with the *Karazmian* merchants, accompanied by one hundred and fifty *Mungl* merchants; four of whom had the principal direction of trade: that he also ordered each of his wives and great lords to send some domestics with the merchants, to buy what they found most curious in the countries as they passed: that most of this large company were *Mohammedans*; and, for their greater security, the guards of the roads, which had been already established through his dominions, were doubled: that, being come to *Otrar*, the governor, whom they call *Gayer Khân* (D), gave them a very courteous reception, and promised to acquaint the Soltân immediately with the ambassador's arrival: that the ambassador, deceived by his complaisance, having talked too openly of the money brought by the merchants, the covetous governor, with design to enrich himself with their spoil, represented them in his letter to Soltân *Mohammed* as spies, extremely inquisitive to inform themselves of the strength of garrisons and forces of the country; in order, as he pretended, to discover the weakest side for invading his dominions: that hereupon, having received commands to watch the *Mungls*, with a power to act in the matter as to him should seem expedient, he resolved to murder the ambassador and all his company, four hundred and fifty in number: that, for this purpose, he invited them to an entertainment in his palace, where he caused them to be secretly slain one after the other, and then seized their treasure.

NOTWITHSTANDING the perfidious governor took all possible precautions to conceal his crime, that it might not come to the knowledge of *Jenghîz Khân*; yet one of the merchants had the good fortune to escape the massacre, and carried the news of it to that prince: who, at the recital of a fact so unexpected, as well as execrable, fell into an extreme rage; and

(D) And *Najal Khân*, instead of *Inalzik*, or *Inaljik*.

having given immediate orders for assembling his troops, sent to tell (E) the Soltân, “That a
 “ since by so infamous an action he had violated all the engagements which were between them;
 “ he, from that instant, declared himself his mortal enemy, and would take vengeance on
 “ him by a rigorous war.” It is related, that the Khân recounted to his children and great
 lords of his court, assembled for that purpose, the story of the assassination at *Otrâr*: he set
 forth the matter in such dismal colours, that he filled all their hearts with grief and anger; and
 represented the murder of his ambassador with such fire, that it inspired nothing but vengeance
 and fury against Soltân *Mohammed*, whom they looked on as a monster.

Makes regula-
 tions

AFTER *Jenghîz Khân* had assembled the forces of his empire, he wrote to the foreign princes
 who were either his friends or tributaries; acquainting them with the reasons of his marching
 against the *Karazm Shâh*, and desiring them to join him with their troops: which, when done, b
 upon a review, his army amounted to 700,000 men. Before he set out on this expedition,
 he ordered levies to be made and sent him from time to time. He likewise established some
 new laws for regulating his soldiery. He forbade the *Mungls*, under pain of death, to fly
 without fighting, whatever danger there might be in resisting the enemy. He ordered, that
 where ten commanders, with their troops, were joined together in one body, if any of such of-
 ficers, or troops, should offer to break their ranks and fly, without being accompanied by the
 whole body, they should be killed upon the spot without delay; he also made it death for any
 out of ten men, who, seeing their companions engaged in fight, did not go to assist them: or
 who, being present when one of their comrades was taken prisoner, did not do their utmost to
 rescue him.

in his army.

He appointed the proper arms which each soldier was to carry; the chief of which were the
 sabre, the bow, and quiver full of arrows, the battle-ax, and some ropes. The officers were
 to have helmets and breast-plates either of leather or iron, or else an entire suit of armour or
 coat of mail; nor was it forbidden the private soldiers to wear armour if they were able to buy
 it. Persons of substance were obliged to arm their horses, so that arrows could not wound
 them. It was likewise ordained that the soldiers should, on all occasions in the field, do nothing
 but what was conformable to the laws, under the penalty of the most rigorous punishment.
 Lastly, he commanded, that in case he died in the expedition, the books, in which the laws
 were written, should be read in the presence of his children at the election of a Grand Khân:
 to the end that such election should be made pursuant to those laws; and that the new Khân d
 might regulate his conduct by them.

Begins his
 march

H. 616.
 A. D. 1218.

EVERY thing being now ready for the war, the Khân detached his son *Juji*, or *Tusbi* (F),
 with a large body of troops towards *Turkestan*, in order to dislodge the friends of *Kushluk*,
 who still remained there: after which he marched to attack the dominions of Soltân *Moham-*
med. And since it is from the date of this expedition, that the great irruption of the *Mungls*,
 or *Moguls*, and *Tatars*, into the southern part of *Asia*, is reckoned to commence, it will be pro-
 per to acquaint our readers with the state of this part of the world at that remarkable juncture.

State of Asia

THE *Indians* were governed by many kings; the most powerful of whom was the king of
 the *Patans* (G), who reigned in *Multan* and *Debli*. The southern part of *China*, then called
Manji, had its own emperors of the *Song* race; and the northern part, named *Kitay*, or *Katay*, e
 was under the *Mungls*; as were also both the eastern and western *Tartary*, with most of *Tur-*
kestan. The rest was possessed by Soltân *Mohammed*, who was also master of *Great Bukhâria*
 at his invasion. and *Karazm*, where the monarchy was first established, and from whence the family took the
 title of *Karazm Shâh*. Besides these, his dominion extended over the greater part of the empire
 of *Irân*, or *Persia* at large; containing, among the rest, *Khorassân*, with the frontiers of *India*,
Pârs, or proper *Persia*, *Irâk Ajemi*, and *Azerbaijan*. *Georgia*, and the adjacent countries, had
 their particular princes, who were independant: as for *Armenia*, its king paid tribute to the
Shâh of *Karazm*. The Khalifah *Nasser* reigned in *Baghdâd*, over *Irâk Arabi*, or *Khaldea*,
 part of *Jazireh*, or *Mesopotamia*, the three *Arabias*, and some countries of *Persia*, contiguous
 to his other dominions. The Atabek princes of *Musel*, or *Mosul*, the descendants of the great f
Nûro'ddîn, prince of *Syria*, possessed almost all the rest of *Jazireh*. The successors of *Salâ-*
bo'ddîn (or *Saladîn*) were also very powerful; *Egypt*, with part of *Syria*, (where the Christian

^e ABU'LGH. p. 100, & seq. LA CROIX, p. 144.
^f ABU'L. p. 103.

^f ABU'LKAIR ap. La Croix, p. 151, & seq.

(E) According to *Abûlfaraj*, three ambassadors were
 sent; others say, but one; who declared the subject of
 their embassy with so much warmth, that the Soltân,
 instead of disavowing his governor's crime, put them
 to death. He adds, that *Jenghîz Khân* was so touched
 with this barbarous proceeding, that he wept, ate nothing
 for three days, and could take no rest, till he got all
 things in readiness to revenge the injury.

(F) According to *la Croix's* authors, *Tusbi* was in *Kap-*
chak (or *Kipjak*) at this time; whither he was sent for
 to be at the rendezvous. Perhaps he came time enough
 to be detached to *Turkestan*.

(G) These people were of *Persian* extraction, and
 their kings of the family of *Gaur*; who succeeded that
 of *Gazni* in the empire of *Persia* and the *Indies*; to which
 last their possessions were at length confined.

a affairs were in a very bad posture) having submitted to them. *Anatolia*, or *Asia minor*, was for the most part under the power of the *Seljukians*, called Soltâns of *Konia*, or *Ikonium*; and of *Rûm*, or the *Romans*: and the empire of *Constantinople* was at this time in the hands of the *French* ^b.

HISTORIANS do not mention the places through which the *Mungls* marched in their way to *Soltân* the *Karazmian* dominions; nor even the month in which *Jenghiz Khán* left *Mogulistan* in the Mohammed year of the *Hare*. Mean time Soltân *Mohammed* made great preparations to oppose him; and, having raised 400,000 men (a vast army, though inferior to that of the enemy), marched towards *Samarkand*, and from thence to *Kbojend* (H), in order to meet the Khán ⁱ: but being informed at this last place, that *Juji* was returning from *Turkestan*, he changed his design; and directed his course to attack the *Mungl* prince before he could join his father. Having at length, by forced marches, arrived on the borders of that country, he turned off towards the river *Kabli*, in order to cut off *Juji*'s retreat. Being arrived between that river and the *Kamzi*, he found a great number of men; who, as he was informed by a wounded soldier, had been slain the day before by the *Mungls*: upon this he hastened his march, and overtook them next morning. The generals, who accompanied *Juji*, counselled him to make an orderly retreat: inasmuch as the Khán had not commanded him to fight with the Soltân's whole army; and he was not strong enough for such an undertaking: they added, that, in case the Soltân should pursue them, it was only to be done by small detachments; against which they might easily defend themselves, without running so great a hazard as that of a general battle.

THE prince alone was against this advice: "What," replied he, "will my father and brothers say, should I return flying in the sight of the enemy? It will, on all accounts, be better to stand our ground, trusting to our valour, than to be slain in flight. You have done your duty, in admonishing me of the danger we are in: I am now going to do mine, by trying to bring you out of it with honour." After this, he ranged his troops in military order, and led them cheerfully to the charge. In the height of the confusion *Juji* pierced twice or thrice the enemy's ranks; and, having encountered Soltân *Mohammed*, gave him two or three strokes with his sword, which the other parried with his buckler. The *Mungls*, animated by the example of their prince, performed wonders that day: so that, notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy, they were on the point of flying; if the Soltân, finding that his presence could not revive the courage of his soldiers, had not called out to them to stand their ground only for a few minutes, till night came on to part them. They obeyed this command, and thus saved him from the shame of seeing his whole army fly before a small part of the *Mungl* forces.

JUJI, who thought he might be content with the honour acquired in that one engagement, caused great fires to be lighted in several places of his camp, and retired silently in the night. Next day, the enemy, imagining that he still waited for them on the field of battle, marched out again to renew the fight; but finding he had decamped, they retreated likewise. The prince, having rejoined his father with the troops under his command, was joyfully received, and loaded with presents for his gallant behaviour ^k. This is the account given by *Abû'lghazi Khán*: but, according to *La Croix*, *Jenghiz Khán* himself was in the battle, and his whole army engaged in this action. Soltân *Mohammed*, says that author, not doubting but the *Mungl* emperor had a design upon *Otrâr*, as the bloody tragedy was there acted, and it would open him a free passage into the very heart of his dominions, led his army thither. In short, having met the *Moguls* in a place called *Karakû*, the two armies immediately prepared to fight: the great trumpet, *Kerrena*, fifteen foot long, was blown; the brass timbrels, called *Kûs*, the drums, fifes, and other warlike instruments, sounded the charge. The *Karazmians*, who were all *Mohammedans*, implored the assistance of their prophet; while the *Mungls*, trusting to their good fortune, and the emperor's conduct, promised themselves a complete victory.

JUJI KASSAR, *Jenghiz Khán*'s second brother, who commanded the *Mangalay* (I), advancing towards the first ranks of the enemy, defeated the troops which were detached to oppose him. Then *Jalalo'ddin*, the Soltân's son, began the general engagement, and charged prince *Tusbi* (or *Juji*), who was at the head of the first body of *Mungls*. The dispute was long and bloody; at length, *Jalalo'ddin* getting the better, nothing but shouts of joy were heard through the *Karazmian* army, who now deemed themselves secure of the victory. But *Jenghiz Khán*, under no concern at this disadvantage, sent other troops, under the command of *Tuli*, his fourth son, to secure *Tusbi*; whilst he, at the head of the main body, with his son *Jagatay*, fell upon the Soltân himself, who had very ill-treated his left wing. This shock was terrible: but the *Karazmians*, notwithstanding the example of their king, who fought with extraordinary bra-

^b LA CROIX, p. 155, & seq.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 158.

^k ABULGH. p. 103.

(H) In the translation *Khodsan*.

(I) The *Mangalay* is taken sometimes for the van-

guard, sometimes for the forlorn hope, and sometimes for the scouts.

very, began to give way ; when *Jalalo'ddin*, after having defeated the other troops sent against him, joined his father, and renewed the fight with greater fury than ever. The prince did, on this occasion, surprizing things ; whilst the officers, and very soldiers, gave proofs of extraordinary valour.

On the other hand, the *Mungls* never behaved more bravely ; and having now to do with men as valiant as themselves, there ensued a dreadful slaughter on both sides, and the victory remained a long time doubtful : but at last *Jenghîz Khân*, who had still a great body of reserve, under the conduct of his son *Oktay*, bad him march and charge the enemy in flank. The prince executed his orders with much resolution : but although these fresh troops made a terrible havock, yet the *Karasmians* sustained this last attack with great firmness, till night putting an end to the dispute, both parties retired to their respective camps ; which they fortified the best they could, to avoid being surprized, with design to renew the battle next morning. But when Soltân *Mohammed* came to examine the state of his troops, and found they were diminished by more than 160,000 men, killed and wounded ; whilst, by the report of his spies, the *Mungl* army, though so ill-treated, were still much superior in numbers ; he thought only of securing himself from being soon attacked ; and accordingly intrenched his men so well, that *Jenghîz Khân* did not think fit to attempt to force his camp¹.

The Soltan
retires.

Jenghîz
Khân advances.

DURING this short suspension of arms, Soltân *Mohammed*, not daring to risk a second battle, the loss of which would have been the entire ruin of his empire, distributed his army into the most considerable places of strength (K) ; and kept with him only a flying camp, to be ready to march where there was the most urgent occasion. He gave all the rest of his troops to prince *Jalalo'ddin*, who did not approve of this way of proceeding ; and, contrary to his commands, retired to *Khorassân*, where he increased his army with all the troops which he could get together. The truth is, that, in thus dividing his forces, the *Karasm Shâh* yielded the victory to his enemy. Thus *La Croix*. On the other hand, according to *Abû'lghazi Khân*, *Jenghîz Khân* was still on his march to *Great Bukhâria* ; where at length arriving, after he had been joined in the way by *Arslân*, Khân of the *Karliks*, *Idikût*, Khân of the *Vigûrs* (or *Oygûrs*), and *Saknâk*, lord of *Amâlik* (or *Almâlig*), he turned first on the side of *Otrâr* : but, understanding that Soltân *Mohammed* had left the country open to him, and distributed his troops into the places of strength, he detached his two sons, *Ugaday* (or *Oktay*) and *Jagatay*, with a considerable body of forces to besiege *Otrâr* ; and his son *Fuji*, with another party towards *Najan* (L). He also ordered two of his generals *Alan* (M) *Noyan* (or *Nevian*) and *Suktu Buku*, with 50,000 (N) men towards *Farnakant* (or *Fenakant*) and *Khojend*, reserving with himself the gross of his army ; with which he continued his march, accompanied by his son *Taulay* (or *Tuli*) towards *Great Bukharia*^m.

Zarnuk
surrenders.

THE first city which *Jenghîz Khân* found in his passage was *Zarnuk* (O), under the walls of which his soldiers encamped with so terrible an outcry, that the inhabitants in a fright shut the gates ; but *Hajîb*, one of his officers, being sent to advise them to submit, by demolishing their castle, and sending to the camp all their young men capable of bearing arms to serve in his army, they flocked in crowds, loaded with presents, to put themselves under the protection of *Jenghîz Khân* ; who received them very graciously, and gave to their city the name of *Kût-lûk Bâlek*, after which he permitted all the elderly men to return.

Nûr submits.

FROM hence the Khân marched to *Nûr*, under the guidance of an inhabitant of *Zarnuk*, who led his army a nearer way, ever since called the Grand Khân's route. This city, which is situate between *Samarkant* and *Bokhâra*, had the name of *Nûr*, or light, given to it, on account of the many holy places within it ; resorted to from all parts by crouds of devotees. The inhabitants, after several summonses to surrender, at last agreed to open their gates ; but *Jenghîz Khân*, to punish them for daring to form even a thought of resisting him, allowed them to keep only such cattle and provisions as were necessary for their subsistence ; and gave all the rest for pillage to his soldiers. Others say, the governor, through cowardice or bribery, having persuaded the citizens to surrender, they were obliged only to furnish the emperor's troops

¹ ABU'LGH. ap. *La Croix*, p. 160, & seq.

^m LA CROIX, p. 163. ABU'LGH. p. 106, & seq.

(K) *Abû'lghazi Khân* says, that, after thus distributing his troops into the cities, he returned to his usual place of residence, and gave himself up to debauchery, which was attended with several excesses. Among the rest, that he caused a Sheykh, who passed for a holy man, to be assassinated, on suspicion of having a criminal conversation with his mother *Turkbân Khatun* : for which, however, he was much troubled when sober ; and would have bought absolution of another Sheykh, with a great bason full of gold and jewels.

(L) The authors, used by *La Croix*, put *Jund*, instead of *Najan* ; or *Nadsan*, as in the translation of *Abû'lghazi Khân's* history.

(M) This is the same who is called by others *Elak*, or *Alak Nevian*.

(N) *La Croix*, from *Fadhlallah*, says, *Oktay* and *Jagatay* had 200,000 men with them ; that *Tusbi* (who marched towards *Kapchak* (or *Kipjak*) had 100,000 men under *Elak Nevian*, his lieutenant-general : that many other *Mogul* commanders went with their troops into *Turkestan*, and other countries eastward ; and yet *Jenghîz Khân* had still 200,000 troops, with which, accompanied by *Tuli*, he marched to besiege *Bokhâra* and *Samarkand*.

(O) Situate on the south side of the *Sikhûn*, or *Sîr*, in *Great Bukhâria*, not many leagues southward of *Otrâr*.

with

a with some necessaries, and pay him yearly the 1500 crowns of gold, which they before paid to Soltân *Mohammed*.

THE Khân made no stay here, being desirous to get as soon as possible to *Bokhâra*, in regard *The Soltân* it was the center of the Soltân's dominions; and he knew that prince had retired thither with *his* the greater part of his riches: but *Mohammed*, too wise to wait his coming, left 20,000 men to defend the place, and retired secretly to *Samarkant* with all his effects. His flight was owing, in great measure, to certain counterfeit letters dropped among his troops; insinuating, that his best officers intended to quit his service. These letters, which bred confusion in the Soltân's army, were written by *Badro'ddîn*, formerly one of his officers; to be revenged on him for putting his father, uncle, and brothers to death. *Jenghîz Khân*, to whose court *Badro'ddîn* had retired, permitted him to make use of that artifice, after being informed that there was a misunderstanding between Soltân *Mohammed* and his mother; and that several commanders had left him, to follow that princess. The Khân even offered his assistance to this queen, and a settlement in any part of his dominions; but she did not care to trust the promises of an infidel prince.

BOKHARA is situate one day's journey to the north of the river *Jihûn*, or *Amû*, very advantageously for trade, and in a delightful country. Besides the city walls, which were very strong, it had an outward inclosure, twelve leagues in compass; which shut in not only the suburbs, but also many pleasant seats and farms, watered by the river *Soghd*: from whence the ancient *Soghdania* took its name. Arts and sciences flourished no-where more than in this city, to which students flocked from all parts; and we are told, that the word *Bukhâr*, in the *Mungl* language, signifies a *learned man*. Among the many who have rendered it famous was *Ebn Sîna*, commonly called in *Europe* *Avicenna*, of *Afghana*; who was bred in this university, and was master of all the sciences at eighteen years of age. He was afterwards called to court, and made prime minister, yet still followed his studies: and is said to have written above 100 volumes. He died in 1036, at the age of fifty-eight ⁿ.

THE *Mungls* arrived in the plain of *Bokhâra* towards the end of *July* 1219 (P), and continued before the city during the following winter. In *March* 1220 the *Mungls* forced the outer wall, destroyed the suburbs, and began to besiege the city in form. Soltân *Mohammed* had left in the town a very numerous garrison, under the command of three generals, *Kuk Khân*, *Siunj Khân*, and *Kuchluk Khân*. At the approach of *Jenghîz Khân* these three generals made a sally in the night with all the garrison, consisting of 20,000 men: but being repulsed with great loss, their courage failed them; and, instead of staying to defend the inhabitants, as soon as they had got into the city by one gate, passed out by the opposite one, with their families, and almost all their soldiers, hoping to escape by the darkness of the night unperceived by the enemy: but their design being discovered, 30,000 *Mungls* pursued, and overtaking them at the river *Amû*, after a bloody dispute, almost all of them were cut to pieces ^o.

MEAN time *Jenghîz Khân*, informed of the confusion which the inhabitants of *Bokhâra* were thrown into by the desertion of their garrison, ordered the city to be attacked on all sides. But while the engines were getting ready for that purpose, next morning all the magistrates and clergy, attended by the principal citizens, went out and presented the keys of the city to *Jenghîz Khân*: who granted them their lives, on condition that they gave no shelter to any of the Soltân's soldiers, and put out all who should be suspected of being in that prince's interest; which they promised to do upon oath. As for the castle, which was strong, all the young people, who were displeased with the surrender, retired thither with the governor; a brave man, who was resolved to hold out to the last extremity.

JENGHIZ KHAN, having taken possession of *Bokhâra*, entered on horseback into the great mosque, and asked merrily, If that was the Soltân's palace? On being answered, that it was the house of God ^p, he alighted; and, giving the principal magistrate his horse to hold, mounted the gallery where the ecclesiastics usually sat; then, taking up the Korân, threw it under the feet of his horses. As soon as he was seated, his soldiers began to eat and drink in the temple, without the least regard to the place. From hence he retired to his camp; and a few days after assembled all the principal men of *Bokhâra*, and ascending a pulpit erected for that purpose in the midst of them ^q, began his speech by praising God, and recounting all the favours he had received from the Deity. After this he represented to them the perfidious behaviour of their Soltân towards him, in commanding his merchants and ambassadors to be assassinated: he added, that God had chosen him to punish *Mohammed* for all his cruelties, and to rid the earth of such tyrants. As to them, he testified his satisfaction for their having freely furnished his army with necessaries, and promised that his soldiers should not meddle with any

ⁿ ABU'LGH. p. 108, & seq. FADHLALLAH apud La Croix, p. 206.

^o FADHLAL. ap. De la Croix, p. 210.

ABULGH. p. 110.

^p Idem ibid. LA CROIX, p. 212.

^q LA CROIX, p. 213, ABU'L. p. 111, & seq.

(P) *Abûlghazi Khân* says, that they sat down before *Bokhâra* the first of *Rabiyo'l Akbir*, in the year of the *Hijrah* 616: *La Croix*, that they continued encamped in the plain all the rest of the winter.

goods, which they made use of in their houses : but commanded them to deliver up to him a all which they had hidden, threatening otherwise to oblige them by torture.

Bokhâra
burned.

THE inhabitants, for fear of the worst, carried to his officers not only the goods which they had hidden, but those also which they had in use. This compliance satisfied him for that time : but, understanding afterwards, that several of the Soltân's soldiers were concealed in the town, he ordered it to be set on fire ; so that there remained nothing of that great city, excepting the Soltân's palace, called *Ark*, built of stone, and some few private houses built with brick, all the rest having been of wood. After this, he sent to search the said palace and houses, and caused all the soldiers he found in them to be slain. *Bokhâra* continued in this state for some years ; but at length the Khân ordered it to be rebuilt, a little before his death. The castle, which b had held out for some time after the city was yielded, surrendered also at discretion, and was demolished ; but the governor and garrison had their lives spared.

Otrâr besieged,

THE reduction of this place gave *Jenghîz Khân* much satisfaction, which was increased by the arrival of the princes *Jagatay* and *Oktay* from *Otrâr*, which city they had taken ^r. Soltân *Mohammed* had left *Gaghir*, or *Gayer Khân* (Q), with 50,000 men, near that place, to oppose *Janghîz Khân*, in case he turned on that side ; and when he understood that prince had detached two of his sons to besiege it, he sent a further reinforcement of 10,000 men, under the command of *Haraja Hajib* (R), one of the lords of his court. With these 60,000 soldiers the governor shut himself up in the city, and made all the necessary preparations for a vigorous resistance, by strengthening the fortifications, and laying in store of provisions. The *Mungls* began the siege with their battering engines, and attempts to fill up the ditch (S) : e which, after much obstruction, they accomplished ; and then placed their machines against the walls with more advantage. But the besieged, by their frequent sallies, in which they often burned the engines, and otherwise damaged them, so well kept off the *Mungls*, that for several months they made very little progress. This inclined the princes to turn the siege into a blockade : but as it was necessary to consult their father on the occasion, and he returned no other answer than *that they must fight* ; his orders were obeyed with such indefatigable pains and ardour, that, in less than a month, the besieged saw all their towers and batteries beaten down, their engines broken, and breaches made in their walls : in short, they were obliged to retire behind their inner works ; which, however, were no less strong than the outer had been.

and taken.

THE siege had now continued five months, when *Karaja Hajib*, seeing things reduced to this desperate condition, told *Gayer Khân* that it was time to think of capitulating, since it was not possible to defend the place much longer ; and, if the surrender was deferred, the enemy would not hearken to any agreement. But the governor, who was conscious of being the sole occasion of the war, and that there would be no mercy shewn him, absolutely to rejected the proposal, and resolved to hold out to the last extremity. He had likewise, by his address, inspired such an aversion against the *Mungls*, on account of their being infidels, that he gained over both the inhabitants and garrison to his sentiments. *Hajib*, finding he had, by this step, made himself liable to suspicion ; with the consent of the officers under him, in the night, caused the gate called *Dervasi Sufi*, of which he had the guard, to be opened, and retired, e with his 10,000 men, into the *Mungl* camp : but the princes, pursuant to a maxim among them, that a man who was capable of betraying his natural lord, would make no scruple of betraying them also upon occasion, ordered him, with all his followers, to be slain (T). After this, they entered *Otrâr* by the same gate which the deserter had come out of.

The castle
reduced.

THE governor, seeing the city taken (U), retired with 20,000 men into the castle ; all the rest of the garrison, who were driven out of the town, were put to the sword. *Gayer Khân*, finding the castle too little for such a number of men, endeavoured to free himself by frequent sallies, which incommoded the enemy extremely : but the princes redoubling their efforts, as the defence of the besieged became more obstinate, the castle, after a month's leaguer, was at last taken sword in hand, and all the garrison slain. The narrow places, which were fortified, f held out longer, being difficult of access ; and the very ruins of the houses, which were beaten

^r MIKKH. FADHL. ap. La Croix, p. 211, & seq. ABULGH. p. 110, & seq.

(Q) Called *Achir*, in the *Chinese* history ; which only says, with regard to this siege, that *Otrâr* being taken in 1219, the governor *Achir*, who had massacred certain persons, sent thither by *Jenghîz Khân*, was put to death. *Gaubil. hist. de Gentschif. p. 216.*

(R) By *La Croix*, named *Kariakas*, captain of the Soltân's guards.

(S) *La Croix*, from *Abûlkair*, relates that *Jenghîz Khân*, at the request of the two princes, went to view the place, and gave advice how to proceed in the siege,

then departed for *Great Bukhâria*. And this might well be ; for, in his way to *Zarnûk*, the first town he besieged, he must have passed near *Otrâr*.

(T) According to *La Croix*, only the general, the officers, and some of the soldiers, were put to death, but the rest were made slaves of.

(U) *La Croix* says, they entered by a breach ; and that it was some time before the city could be taken, the besieged having fortified every place, and cast up intrenchments in all the narrow streets.

down,

a down, afforded means for the remainder of the *Karazmian* soldiers to fight under cover : but the besiegers, still pouring in fresh troops, cut them all off by degrees⁵.

GAYER KHAN, seeing all lost, retired with two men to a terrace of his palace, and there defended himself desperately ; as *Jenghiz Khân* had given orders to take him alive, the execu-^{The governor slain.} tion of them cost the lives of many *Mungls*. At length his two companions were slain ; and although he was in want of arrows to shoot at those who strove to get up to the place where he was, yet he still defended himself a long time with great stones, which his wife brought him for that purpose. At last, being surrounded, he was taken prisoner, and brought before the princes, who ordered him to be loaded with chains ; and in their march to *Bokhâra*, at a place called *Kuk Saray* (X), they had him put to death, pursuant to orders received from their father.

b The castle of *Otrâr* was rased, but the city walls were rebuilt ; and the old men, women, and children, who had been turned out by *Gayer Khân*, permitted to return. It was likewise forbidden, under severe penalties, to the garrison who were left there, any way to disquiet or molest the inhabitants.

As *Jenghiz Khân* perceived it was necessary to reduce several other cities situated on the *Sîr*,^{Slaughter at Saganâk.} before he could undertake the conquest of *Great Bukhâria* ; when *Otrâr* was taken, he sent orders to *Fuji*, or *Tushî*, who was in these parts, to begin with the siege of *Saganâk* (Y). As soon as he arrived before the town, he sent *Haji Hassan*, a *Mohammedan*, to summon the inhabitants to surrender, with a promise of kind treatment : but although he had the governor's parole for his security, in a tumult raised by the chief officers, he was torn in pieces. *Fuji*, upon the news of this assassination, made his soldiers swear revenge, and never ceased assaulting the place until he had taken it. All the officers and soldiers, with more than one half of the inhabitants (Z), paid with their blood for *Hassan's* murder ; the rest of them, with the city itself, would have been destroyed, if it had not been found necessary to keep it for carrying on the war to advantage. *Fuji* likewise, to honour the memory of his unfortunate officer, and remind the people of their barbarity, ordered a stately monument to be erected for him in the most eminent place of the city.

In taking this revenge, the *Mungls* lost more men than the place was worth : but the severity they used produced a good effect, by obliging several cities to yield without resistance :^{yield.} thus the inhabitants of *Uzkant* (A), made wise by the sufferings of *Saganâk*, came out to meet d the prince, then two days journey distant, with magnificent presents, and delivered up their town without opposition ; the governor, and such as would have defended the place, retired to *Tonkat*. *Fuji* forbid his soldiers to offer those who staid the least insult, or take any thing which belonged to them. From thence he marched to *Alshâsh* (B), a very beautiful city, with a garden well-watered to every house. It was situated near the river *Sihûn*, now *Sîr*, four days^{Alshâsh taken.} journey to the north of *Khojend*. This place refused to surrender to *Fuji*, who therefore besieged it ; and, having taken it, caused a great number of the inhabitants to be slain, for daring to defend themselves¹.

AFTER the reduction of *Alshâsh*, the prince marched to *Jund* (C), a city on the borders^{Jund besieged.} of *Turkestan*, and at a small distance from the *Sîr* ; famous for the abode of several learned e men. The governor was named *Kâtlûk Khân* ; which title was given him, because the town, with the adjacent country, belonged to him by inheritance. He possessed great riches, and had promised to make a brave defence, if attacked : but as soon as he heard the *Mungls* were advancing towards him, he crossed the *Sîr* with his treasures, and retired thro' the desert into the kingdom of *Karazm*. However, the inhabitants resolved to defend the place to the last ; and although part of them would have surrendered, on the promise of good treatment, offered by *Jitmûr*, a commander sent from *Fuji*, or *Tushî*, yet the majority were against it ; and he had certainly lost his life like *Hassan*, if those who approved his proposals had not helped him to escape. *Jitmûr*, who was a good engineer, and had observed the strength of the place, judging that it would cost much time and men to take it by force, proposed laying f bridges over the ditch, which was full of water ; and, scaling the walls, in a part where the besieged thought themselves most secure, became masters of the town by surprise.

⁵ MIRK. ABU'LK. FADHL. apud La Croix, p. 164, & seq. p. 171, & seq. ABU'LGH. p. 114.

¹ ABU'LGH. p. 113, & seq. LA CROIX,

(X) *La Croix* writes *Ghenk Seray* ; and says it was a palace in *Samarkant*.

(Y) *Saganâk*, or *Signâk*, as in *Abû'lghazi's* history.

(Z) *Abû'lghazi Khân* says, above 10,000 inhabitants were slain on this occasion. It was, doubtless, owing to the cruelty and treachery of the people of those countries, that *Jenghiz Khân*, who, at first, was so merciful, as even to spare the inhabitants of *Otrâr*, where his ambassadors and merchants had been murdered, afterwards became so severe, and made such destruction where-ever he came.

(A) *Uskend*, or *Urkend* ; *Abû'lghazi Khân* writes *Usgan* ; for it stands on the east border of *Turkestan*, about ninety miles north-east of *Tonkat*.

(B) Thought to be the same which is at present called *Tashcant*, the present capital of the eastern part of *Turkestan*, possessed by the *Kassats*, or *Kassacha Orda*.

(C) In the translation of *Abû'lghazi Khân* we find *Nadjan*, in *English*, *Najan*, instead of it : which place, according to that author, must have been near *Alshâsh* ; whereas *Jund* is placed by authors several degrees to the westward.

Taken by
stratagem.

THE matter was referred to a council of war : and although *Elak Nevian* recommended force, as the noble way of taking cities, yet the rest approved of *Fitmûr*'s stratagem : and, to second it, resolved to amuse the besieged with three false attacks on the weakest part of the town. The attacks began a little before night, with great shouts ; and as soon as the battering engines began to play, all the garrison ran on that side, and abandoned their other posts. When it was dark, *Fitmûr* caused his bridges to be laid across the ditch, and two wooden ladders to be raised against the wall, one of which he mounted himself, followed by his men, who soon fastened so great a number, that the troops entered the town, and seized a gate without much noise. The army being thus let in, seized the principal posts ; while the besieged, quite stunned at this surprise, abandoned the care of the places assaulted, and fled where they could, to hide themselves.

The inhabitants
spared.

THUS was *Jund* taken, without any loss on either side : for the *Mungls*, not having lost any men of their own, destroyed none of the inhabitants, excepting two or three ; who were put to death for having abused *Fitmûr*, when sent to summon them. However, they imagined they were going to be massacred, when a message was brought from the prince, commanding them all to repair to a neighbouring plain : but the design was only to take the number of them ; after which they had leave to return to their houses, where they found nothing which the *Mungls* could take away. To keep them in obedience likewise, a strong garrison was placed in the city, and *Ali Kojâ*, a *Mungl* officer, although a *Mohammedan*, was appointed governor ^u.

Tonkât
besieged,

AFTER the reduction of this place, *Fuji*, or *Tushî Khân*, dividing his army into two bodies, gave 50,000 men to *Elak Nevian* (C) to subdue the countries of *Ilâk*, *Alshâsh*, and *Khojend* ; and ordered the rest of his troops to keep the open country, to facilitate the taking of this last city, which was a place of great importance. That general marched with such speed into *Ilâk*, that several towns surrendered without opposition. Among those which resisted, *Tonkât*, called by *Abû'l-kair*, *Daro'l Ilm*, or *the palace of the sciences* (D), was the most considerable. It depended on *Alshâsh*, and served to secure the frontiers of *Ilâk* ; it was also a common mart for the merchants of both countries. This city was rather a place of pleasure than of strength ; full of springs, gardens, and delightful walks : insomuch that it became a saying, *that God never made a more delicious dwelling than Tonkât*. The garrison was composed of *Kanguli* (E), native *Turks*, a brave people ; and the Bey, named *Ilenko Malek*, who was lord of the place, answered fiercely, when the *Mungls* summoned him to open the gates : but on the first attack retired into the castle, with the principal inhabitants.

and taken.

THE besieged resisted vigorously for three days ; while *Elâk Nevian*, who thought it necessary to take this place before he attempted *Khojend*, gave several assaults to the city ; and having, on the fourth, made a breach in the walls with his engines, the frightened defendants desired to capitulate, but the *Mungl* general obliged them to surrender at discretion. Thinking he had cause to be displeased with the garrison, they were put to the sword, and the inhabitants made to go out of the town, that their houses might be more conveniently plundered (F). *Ilenko Malek* had the good luck to escape before the rendition, or he had fared like the soldiers. The *Mungls* built there a considerable magazine for warlike stores, and then marched towards *Khojend* ^{*}.

Khojend
described.

KHOJEND, or *Kojend*, was situated along the south bank of the river *Sir*, in a fruitful and beautiful country, large, and well fortified. It traded chiefly in musk, and other odoriferous commodities : was seven days journey north from *Samarkant*, and the key of *Bukhâria* on that side. In short, a city in high esteem, on many accounts ; particularly for the bravery of its inhabitants : and the valour of the chief, who at this time commanded in it, made it still more renowned. This illustrious person was *Timûr Mâlek*, sovereign prince of the place, and a *Khân* ; who paid tribute to the *Karazm Shâh*, and had often commanded his armies. As soon as *Elâk Nevian* sat down before *Tonkat*, the *Khân*, who expected to be attacked next, omitted nothing which might be necessary for his defence ; laid in stores, broke down the bridges, spoiled the roads, and caused the corn, fruits, and cattle, of the circumjacent country to be carried away. The *Mungl* general began the siege of *Khojend*, by building a bridge of communication a little below the city : after which, he sent part of his army beyond the river, and

^u MIRK. ABULK. ap. La Croix, p. 177, & seq. ABU'LGH. p. 114, & seq.

^{*} Ibid. p. 182, & seq.

(C) According to *Abû'lghazi Khân*, *Alân Noyan* (who, as we have observed in a former note, is the same with *Elâk Nevian*), and *Suktu Bûka*, were both sent on this expedition, as hath been already mentioned.

(D) On account of an academy of arts and sciences founded there. *Abû'lghazi Khân*, instead of *Tonkât*, puts *Farnakant* : which shews that some authors mention one place, some the other. And this, perhaps, is the reason why *La Croix*, in other places, though not in this, says,

Tonkât is called also *Feneket* ; for *Fenket*, or *Farnakant*, is a different town from *Tonkât* : being the same which afterwards, on its rebuilding, was named *Shâh Rukîya*, between *Tonkât* and *Khojend*. See before, p. 148.

(E) Doubtless the same with the *Kangli*, or *Kankli*, a tribe of *Turks*, often mentioned before.

(F) According to *Abû'lghazi Khân*, all the inhabitants were made captives.

began

a began to play his battering engines ; shooting whole mill-stones, if you will believe the historians, against the city, and exposed himself to a thousand dangers.

On the other hand *Timûr Mâlek* contrived a thousand methods to destroy the enemy's ^{Timûr Mâlek,} machines. He had twelve *Kerûd* ; a kind of large boats (G) or barks, six of which he sent armed on each side the river, to shoot stones, darts, or arrows, into the *Mungl* camp, which killed and wounded abundance of men. The garrison was likewise supplied, from time to time, with recruits, by means of a marsh, which hindered the besiegers from surrounding the city ; so that the Khân was in hopes to have wearied them out : but as *Elâk Neviân* received fresh troops from prince *Juji*, he, with redoubled assaults, so harrassed the besieged, that they despaired of resisting him much longer. On this occasion *Timûr Mâlek* had recourse to stratagem. A little before the siege, he had caused to be built a kind of fortress, at the farther end of the city, in a little island (H), very difficult of access, in which he put a thousand soldiers ; and then sent certain persons into the *Mungl* camp, who, under pretence of being deserters, should advise them to attack this fort, with an assurance that, as soon as it was taken, the city must surrender. The general, suffering himself to be deceived, turned his engines on that side : but the castle being extremely high, as well as strong, and at too great a distance from the shore, after several days battering to no purpose, their stones and other materials began to fail. This delayed them much, and the difficulty of supplying themselves, a great deal more ; for they were obliged to go above three leagues to fetch them.

HOWEVER, this difficulty did not discourage the *Mungls*, who went cheerfully about that labour. But, when a vast quantity of stones was brought together, the general employed them ^{his brave defence ;} another way to reduce the fort ; and, instead of throwing them against it out of reach, ordered them to be cast into the river, so as to form a jetty, or bank, by which they might approach nearer with their engines. The greater part of the army was employed in this work (i), which the holes in the river rendered extremely laborious. The foot soldiers carried the stones to the brink of the water, and the horse went and threw them in, among the earth and trees tied together, laid before-hand for the purpose. Over these were placed fascines, and other materials, to finish the bank, and render it firm. The work was interrupted greatly by the besieged ; who, by their engines, and sallies made in their barks, often threw down the pier, and destroyed all they had done. In short, *Timûr Mâlek* opposed this enterprize by all sorts of contrivances : but when he found he could dispute the passage of the channel with the *Mungls* no longer, he betook himself to his barks, with all his men. He had, during the siege, increased their number ^{quits the place ;} to seventy ; plastered over with a composition made of wet felt, worked up with clay and vinegar, which defended the vessels both from missile weapons and fire. To destroy the bridge of communication, which was an obstacle to his escape, he one night caused a sally to be made : and while the commanding officers attacked those who kept the head of the bridge, several barks, filled with tar and naphta, set fire to the pontoons of which it was composed ; and opened a way for the Khân, and the rest of his fleet, which drove swiftly down the stream.

As soon as the *Mungl* general was informed of *Timûr Mâlek*'s escape, he ordered him to be ^{battles his pursuers ;} pursued by a great body of horse, who followed the barks along the river, and attacked them from time to time with arrows and wild-fire ; often advancing into the water, to get nearer their enemies. In these engagements many men were killed on both sides : but the bloodiest disputes were, when any rocks or sand-banks on the north-side the river obliged the fleet to approach the south shore. On these occasions the Khân appeared a prodigy of valour ; especially at a flat, where the river being fordable, the horsemen had an opportunity of coming nearer the barks : but after a furious fight, they were obliged to make a shameful retreat.

SOME authors relate, that the *Mungls* contented themselves with observing the motions of ^{and escapes} *Timûr Mâlek*, in his passage down the river, imagining that he could not escape them ; as a chain had been drawn across the channel at *Farnakant*, or, as others say, at *Tonkat*. But the Khân found means, by hatchets and files, which he had brought for the purpose, to cut the chain in the night, and pass through, tho' not without great loss of men. However, at ^{down the river.} length coming to a place where the river was extremely narrow and shallow, he was obliged to quit his barks, and try to escape by land. Some authors say, he was under no necessity of going ashore, but did it of choice, to attack the *Mungls* ; which he did from an eminence, with success ; and then retired from one difficult place to another, to fatigue his pursuers. Meanwhile the barks, neglected by the *Mungls*, escaped with the Khân's family to a town on the river, belonging to Soltân *Mohammed*. As for *Timûr Mâlek* himself, his followers being at length all cut off, and finding himself closely pursued by three *Mungls*, he let fly an arrow at

Y ABULK. FADHL. ap. La Croix, p. 186, & seq.

(G) According to *Abû lghazi Khân*, he had only four boats, which were covered, with port-holes on the sides,
(H) *Abû lghazi Khân* says, that this island lay right

before the city ; and that the castle was extremely strong.
(I) *Abû lghazi Khân* says, the captive inhabitants of *Farnikant* were put upon this work.

the foremost; which hitting him in the eye, so scared his companions, that they all stopped, and let him escape to a neighbouring town called *Kent*. There, gathering a small body of men, he went and surprized *Farnakant*; and, having cut the throats of the *Mungl* garrison, returned to Soltân *Mohammed*, who loaded him with praises, and conferred on him the government of that city (K).

KHOJEND having surrendered the day after *Timûr Mâlek's* departure, *Elâk Neviân* settled matters there, and then went along with prince *Juji*, or *Tushi*, to rejoin the Grand Khân; whom they found within a day's journey of *Samarkant*, in a place where they had encamped the latter end of *May* (L) 1220, *Hejrah* 617.

Samarkant
described.

SAMARKAND, supposed to be the *Marakandus* of the ancients, was at this time the capital of *Great Bukhâria*, and seventy furlongs, or three leagues, in compass; though in the time of *Alexander* it was more than twelve. It was likewise inclosed with an outer wall, which was more regularly built, and better fortified, than those of *Bokhâra*. In it were twelve iron gates, a league distant from each other; and at every two leagues there was a fort, able to contain a good body of troops: the walls were likewise fenced with battlements and towers, to fight under shelter, and surrounded with a very deep ditch, through which an aqueduct was laid, conveyed thither by leaden pipes, from a little river called *Sogd*, and thence into the city, which stood on the south side of it: so that every great street had a canal of water running through it, and every house a fountain, as well as garden. Besides this, there was a rising ground, from whence several rivulets descended, forming jettées and cascades. The inner city or inclosure had four gates, but the walls were defenceless: within it stood the great mosque or temple, and palace where the prince used to reside. As within the outer inclosure there were ploughed lands, fields, hills, and an infinite number of gardens; so, in viewing the city from the top of the fortrefs, one could see nothing but trees, and the roofs of some houses.

Its present
state.

THEY are mistaken who ascribe the founding of this city to *Alexander*, for it existed before his expedition; or to a king of *Yamman* (*Arabia felix*), named *Tobay*; for he only built one of the gates, called that of *Kash*. It had been the residence of *Mohammedan* princes, of several races, from the time of the *Arabs*, who conquered it very early: and, about 140 years after *Jenghîz Khân*, *Timûr Bek*, or *Tamerlane*, made it the seat of his empire. At present it is the seat of one of the three *Uzbek* Khâns, who reign in *Great Bukhâria*, the other two residing at *Bokhâra* and *Bâlkh*. Its publick structures and market-places are very handsome, being built and paved with very fine stone. It carries on a great trade with *Great Tatory*, *Persia*, and *India*; furnishing *Hindustân*, in particular, with the best fruits, especially excellent melons. The finest silk-paper in the world is made here; and an academy of sciences helps to render it famous².

The city be-
sieged:

its brave de-
fence:

SOLTAN MOHAMMED, to secure this city against the *Mungls*, had sent thither 110,000 men, under 30 generals: 60,000 were *Turks*, commanded by officers of great renown: the rest were *Taji's* (M), men brave enough to face lions or elephants; of which last there were twenty large ones: besides, the inhabitants, joined to those who had retired thither for shelter, were so very numerous, that the city, though so extensive, could scarcely contain them. On the arrival of so powerful a reinforcement, they drew round the town a broad ditch, which they dug till they came to water, and caused the troops to encamp behind it, as a re-trenchment. On *Jenghîz Khân's* approach, the enemy made a furious sally; but having been driven back to the city, after a bloody action, he went next day, and encamped under the walls. When the engines were ready, he caused several places to be attacked at the same time, to terrify the besieged: but they not only sustained the shock with great resolution, but made repeated sallies, in which they cut off a great many *Mungls*; who, in a general assault, which was given from morning till night, could not gain one inch of ground. Nor possibly would they have taken the city, if discord had not happened between the principal inhabitants and

² ABU'LOH. p. 116. FADHL. MOHAM. NISSAVI, YAKUT. AL HAMAVI, ABU'LF. ap. La Croix, p. 196. 219.

(K) After this he fought against the *Mungls* when they entered *Karazm*; till, seeing all lost on that side, he retired into *Persia*: from thence, in a religious disguise, he retired to *Syria*; and when the *Mungls* were become masters of *Persia*, returned thither, and submitted to the reigning prince; who gave him leave to retire to *Khojend*, where he found but one son living, who had permission from *Batû*, Khân of *Kipchâk*, to recover his father's estate. This making those who had possessed it his enemies, they found out the man whom *Timûr Mâlek* had wounded in the eye; which man one day shot him dead with an arrow, under pretence that he spoke disrespectfully to a prince of the blood, who had expressed some slight of the great actions he had performed.

(L) *Abû'lghazi Khân* places the taking of *Samarkand* in the preceding year.

(M) *Taije*, according to *Fadhlallah*, signifies a *Turk-mân*: but the *Persian* and *Turkish* dictionary of *Nimetalah* says, they were natural-born *Persians*, who could not speak the *Turkish* language. *La Croix*. — The word, we presume, should be *Tajik*, which is a nickname given by the *Turks* and *Tatars* to the natives of any country which they have brought in subjection; and particularly to those who prefer ease and trade to war. They also give that name often to the *Persians*, by way of malice.

a the commanders of the troops: the former, headed by the Mufti and Kadhi, joined by several lords, who were desirous to save their estates, seized one of the gates, and carried the keys to *Jenghîz Khân*, imploring mercy for the besieged: but that prince would grant it to none, excepting those of their party; who, on the return of their deputies, to the number of 50,000, put themselves under their protection.

MEAN while the governor *Alub Khân* had seized those places in the city which were of most difficult access; and, expecting no quarter, resolved to hold out to the last against the *Mungls*; who, having entered by the gate which was delivered to them, attacked him vigorously in his strong-holds. *Alub Khân* sustained their assaults for four days, with extraordinary courage: but having, by this time, lost all the posts but that which he in person defended; b he, on the fifth, accompanied by the principal officers, and one thousand chosen horse, on a sudden broke through the *Mungl* camp, and escaped. The remainder of the garrison, to the number of 30,000, losing all courage, on the governor's retreat, were soon overpowered, and all put to the sword; among whom was the prince of the *Kangûli* himself, with five or six inferior princes. After this expeditious event the Khân ordered the city to be plundered; and made a present to his generals of 30,000 inhabitants, with their wives and children. The rest were pardoned, and permitted to live in the city as before, paying him a tribute of 300,000 dinârs, or crowns of gold^a.

WHEN *Jenghîz Khân* was going to besiege *Samarkant*, he sent a detachment of 30,000 troops to pursue Soltân *Mohammed*; who, he was informed, was fled, by way of the river *Amû*, to the country of *Termed*. These troops were commanded by *Hubbe Neviân*, *Suida Behadr*, and *Amir Tûker* (N), who held the rank of princes: and the orders they received were, "to treat all those cities kindly which should open their gates; but to plunder such as c " resisted, and carry the inhabitants into captivity: to pursue Soltân *Mohammed*, even to " *Dârbend* in *Shîrwân*, and force their way through the territories of all such princes who " should oppose their passage. In short to subdue all the countries bordering on the *Caspian* " sea, and then to rejoin him in *Kipjâk*, or *Kapchâk*; adding, that he did not intend to stay " long in those southern provinces."

THESE three generals departed in June 1220; and, led by a false report, marched towards *Bâlk*: but hearing no news of the Soltân, *Tûker* advanced still towards *India*; and the other d two struck off towards *Herat*, the capital of *Khorassân*. The governor *Amîn Mâlek*, a relation of the Soltân, being in no condition to resist on so sudden an invasion, sent to tell them he was a servant of *Jenghîz Khân*. Upon this the generals, without making any stay, or committing the least disorder, went forwards towards the city of *Zâveh*, situate between *Herat* and *Nishâbûr*. *Tûker*, some time after, having returned from the borders of *India*, arrived in the country of *Herat*, where he committed some hostilities, not knowing, or pretending not to know, that the governor had submitted to his colleagues. Hereupon the prince *Amîn Mâlek* sent a messenger to them, to complain of the injury. Mean time some troops, belonging to the city, joining the country people who had taken arms, formed an army so superior to *Tûker's*, that he was defeated, and killed with an arrow. After which the remainder of his e troops went and joined the other two generals^b.

WHEN *Hubbe* and *Suida* came to *Zâveh*, the inhabitants shut the gates against them; nor would the governor, by any persuasion, supply them with provisions, of which they were in want. This so incensed the *Mungls*, that they immediately fell to attack the city, with such fury; that, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the besieged, they took it in three days, though not without great loss; which they repaid themselves, by putting to the sword all who fell into their hands, and plundering the houses. The army from hence marched to *Nishâbûr*, on advice of a spy that the Soltân was there. But *Mohammed* had left that place some time before, and gone into *Persian Irâk*, by persuasion of his grandson *Amedo'ddîn* (O); whose father *Rokno'ddîn* being prince of that rich and populous province, he might f then be enabled to revenge himself on *Jenghîz Khân*. But *Amedo'ddîn* deceived both the king and himself; for *Irâk* was not by much so powerful a country as *Khorassân*, which contained the most populous cities, as well as most beautiful and wealthy provinces.

On the approach of the *Mungl* generals to *Nishâbûr*, three lords were sent to meet them, and, in the name of the governor, made their submission (P); promising to pay the money demanded, besides tribute, to furnish all sorts of refreshments, and not to assist or succour their

^a LA CROIX, p. 221. ABU'LGH: hist. Turks, p. 116, & seq. p. 123.

^b LA CROIX, p. 229, & seq. ABU'LG:

(N) By *Abûlghazi Khân* named *Zena*, or *Jena Nayan*, *Suday Bayadur*, and *Togazar Kantaret*.

(O) According to *Abûlghazi Khân*, he marched to *Irâk*, by advice of his council; and sent the Soltâna, with his son *Kiyâso'ddîn*, to the town of *Karendâr*, by *La Croix* called *Kacndâr*.

(P) According to *Abûlghazi Khân*, the generals summoned four lords, left to command in that place by Soltân *Mohammed*; and that their answer was, for them to proceed in their pursuit of the Soltân; and that, at their return, they would deliver up the city to them: with which answer the generals were satisfied.

enemies.

enemies. The generals, satisfied with these marks of obedience, continued their pursuit of a Soltân Mohammed; who, from *Nishâbûr*, went to *Bastâm*, a very pleasant and strong city of *Tabarestân*: where he delivered to the Amîr Omar, one of the stewards of his household, ten coffers, sealed with the royal signet, filled with jewels, several of an inestimable value. None in the world, excepting two more then present, knew what was in these coffers, which he ordered Omar to carry forthwith to the strong fortrefs of *Ardabân*. From *Bastâm* he proceeded to *Irâk*, and stopped (Q) at *Maradawled Abâd*, a town depending on *Hamadân*, where his son *Rokno'ddîn* came to meet him with some troops: which, being joined with those the Soltân had levied in the way, made about 20,000 horse.

The Soltân
overtaken.

MEAN time the *Mungls* followed him with so much diligence, that they surprized him at *Farzîna*, not far from *Maradawlet*, where they cut to pieces the greater part of his army: b yet both *Rokno'ddîn* and the Soltân escaped; the first fled to *Kermân*; and *Mohammed*, with a small number of officers, got by several bye-ways into the province of *Gbilân*; and from thence to *Estâdâd*, the strongest city in all *Mazânderân*, and most difficult of access. There he might have lain concealed from the parties sent out to get news of him; if a lord of that country, to revenge his uncle's death, had not, with a small party of *Mungls*, found out the road he had taken. But being near *Estâdâd*, he learned from some peasants that the Soltân was in a town near the *Caspian* sea, where he daily assisted at the public prayers; promising a mighty reformation, in case God would deliver him from the present danger, and re-establish him in his throne.

Flies to Abis-
kûn,

BUT while he flattered himself with the vain hopes of good effects from a late repentance, c news was brought him that the *Mungls*, with the *Persian* lord at their head, were approaching the town. The Soltân, on this advice, abandons his prayers, to provide for his safety; and had scarce gotten on board the bark which he had provided for the purpose, when the enemy appeared on the shore: and finding they had missed of their prey, endeavoured in vain to reach him with their arrows. The miserable monarch, overwhelmed with affliction, fell ill of a pleurisy, which obliged him to stop at an island called *Abiskûn* (R), and at length carried him off, maugre all the skill of his physicians. A few days before his death, prince *Jalâlo'ddîn*, being informed that he was in this island, came secretly thither, with two of his brothers. On his arrival, the Soltân said to him, "Prince, you are the person among all my children who d "are the most able to revenge me on the *Mungls*; therefore I revoke the act which I formerly "made, at the request of the queen my mother, in favour of my son *Kothbo'ddîn*." Then he appointed him to be his successor, and commanded the other princes his sons to obey him. At the same time he gave him his sword, and sent him to look after the affairs of state. After this he expired, under the covert of a little tent, which had been set up for him. The first gentleman of his bed-chamber washed his body, and wrapped it in a shirt; having no other linen, to bury it. But some years after Soltân *Jalâlo'ddîn* had his bones taken up, and carried with great pomp into the fortrefs of *Ardabân*.

dies there.

(Q) *Abû'lghazi Khân* says, that he went for *Kazvin*, where his son Soltân *Rokno'ddîn* commanded, with a body of 30,000 men: and that, at his approach, *Rokno'ddîn* went to meet him, with a detachment of his troops, and conducted him into the city with the greatest marks of respect.

(R) Or *Aboskûn*: *Abû'lghazi Khân* calls it *Aboskûn Kasîra*, instead of *Jezîra*, which signifies island. It lies not far from *Astarabâd*, in the south-east corner of the *Caspian* sea.

C H A P. IV.

The conquest of Karazm, Great Bukhâria, and Irân (or Persia at large), till the defeat of Soltân Jalâlo'ddîn Mankberni.

Progress of the

Mungl gene-
rals.

THIS is the account given by *La Croix*; but *Abû'lghazi Khân* relates matters with no a small variation. He tells us, that the two *Mungl* generals, having left *Nishâbûr*, marched to the city *Mazânderân*, and having carried it by force, cut the throats of all the inhabitants: that then they proceeded towards *Kazvin*, and did the like to all towns which resisted, but treated kindly such as submitted: that they passed by the town of *Ilân*, where the Soltân's mother and youngest children were shut up, without attacking it, because it was very strong by situation, and appeared resolved to defend itself vigorously; but that the town of *Rudîn* was plundered, and all the inhabitants slain, for offering to resist: that Soltân *Mohammed*, on the approach of the *Mungls* to *Kazvin*, resolved to retire to the town of *Karendâr*, but by the way

- a way fell among some *Mungl* troops, and narrowly escaped being made prisoner, having had his horse shot under him: that, some time after, hearing the *Mungls* were advancing also to *Karendâr*, he retired into the province of *Ghilân*: that the general, leaving some troops about *Karendâr*, pursued the Soltân with the rest, while he went to *Istadûra*, in *Ghilân*, having in his way lost his money, and all his equipage: that from *Istadûra* he embarked on the *Kulsum*, or *Caspian* sea, and arrived in the island of *Aboskûm*: that being thus escaped, the generals returned, and took *Karendâr*, after a very vigorous resistance; where the Soltâna, wife of *Mohammed*, and his son *Kiyaso'ddîn*, fell into their hands: that from thence they went and took *Ilân*, where they found the mother and children of the Soltân, whom *Jenghiz Khân* caused to be slain on the spot: lastly, that, on this afflicting piece of news, Soltân *Mohammed* fell down dead; and, for want of things convenient to bury him honourably, was interred in his clothes^a. In this account of matters, besides other variations, *Abû'lghazi Khân* has joined transactions together, which *La Croix* relates to have been done in different expeditions, as the reader will see hereafter.

- THE *Mungl* generals, who had been in pursuit of him, believing that he had put to sea with design to retire into the country of *Karazm*, or some neighbouring territory, gave notice of his flight to *Jenghiz Khân*, then at *Samarkant*; who thereupon had him searched for all over that kingdom, and in every other place where he judged him likely to be found. After this he sent three of his sons, *Fuji*, *Oktay*, and *Jagatay*, with a numerous army, to attack the capital of *Karazm*. This is the country called by the ancient Greeks *Khorasmia*. It has on the west the *Caspian* sea; on the north *Turkestan*; on the east *Great Bukhâria*, from whence it is separated by deserts; and on the south the province of *Khorassân*, in *Persia*. There is in it, to the north, a vast lake, then called the lake of *Karazm*, and at present *Arâl Nor*, or the lake of eagles. The river *Amû*, called by the *Arabs* *Jihân*, which divided *Great Bukhâria* from *Persia*, ran into it; and, after a progress of fifty or sixty leagues to the northwest, parted into two large branches, both which, after a long course between the west and south, discharged themselves into the *Caspian* sea. Most of the cities and towns of this kingdom were situated on this great river, all built of brick, and some very beautiful, especially on the south side. Those which were farthest up in the country were of the least consideration. The capital city was called *Karazm* by the natives, *Korkanj* by the *Persians*, and *Orkanj*, or *Urghenj*, ^{its capital described.} by the *Mungls*; which name it still retains. It stood on the south side of the most northern of the two branches of the *Amû*, which about 100 years ago, forsook its antient chanel, and now falls into the lake of eagles. The country of *Karazm*, whose name extended to all the other provinces which composed the empire of Soltân *Mohammed* and his predecessors, abounded with learned men, skilled in philosophy and the sciences. Poetry reigned there: and few orientals were more polite than the inhabitants. They applied themselves much to music: or rather were naturally musicians. In short, it became a common saying over the east, with regard to their children, that they discovered something of harmony even in their crying.

- THE *Mungl* princes had orders to march, without stopping, to the capital of *Karazm*, and besiege it; that, by taking it, the rest of the cities might be struck with terror, and the country reduced at one blow. They had made vast preparations for this purpose, expecting to meet with a vigorous resistance, as it was the metropolis of the *Karazmian* empire, and the constant residence of the queen-mother *Turkbân Khâtûn*, ever since the death of her husband *Takash*. This princess was daughter of *Hankâshi*, a *Turkish* king (A), who dying without issue, his subjects submitted to Soltân *Mohammed*; who, by that means, extended his empire far among the *Turks* inhabiting *Tartary*. She was a woman of superior wit, and wrote finely. For these reasons she had almost an absolute authority in the Soltân's dominions. She took the title of protectress of the faith, and of the world: also that of the queen of women. She protected the weak against the powerful; administered justice impartially; and examined matters with such application, that her judgments were always right. She was very charitable to the poor. But these good qualities were blemished by her cruelty. She loved to shed blood: and when, on the approach of the *Mungls*, she resolved to quit the kingdom, she put to death twelve children of sovereign princes, whom she kept prisoners; among whom was the son of *Togrul*, the last of the *Seljuks* of *Irân*, whom *Takash* her husband had before put to death. She afterwards caused *Omar Khân* to be slain, who conducted her to the castle of *Elîk*, in *Mazânderân*. She hated *Jalâlo'ddîn*, and had even prevailed on her son *Mohammed* to disinheritor him, in favour of his brother *Kotbbo'ddîn*, whom she loved: but when she was informed that he had cancelled his will, she took no more care to strengthen *Karazm*; and the same cause

^a ABU'LGH. p. 129, & sup.

(A) He was probably Khân of the *Kanguli*, or *Kaukli*, who inhabited the eastern parts of *Turkestan*, towards *Kafigâr*.

made her resolve to abandon the country, as soon as she heard that the *Mungls* were advancing towards it.

*Jalâlo'ddîn's
misfortunes.*

HER departure bred great confusion in the capital. Some lords took on them the government, in behalf of *Jalâlo'ddîn*: but by the time that prince arrived there, the most considerable persons in the kingdom had formed a conspiracy against him, in favour of *Kothbo'ddîn*. This made the prince retire from *Karazm*, with only 300 horse out of 7000, whom he had brought thither: yet with these few he defeated 700 *Mungls*, who attacked him near *Nesâ*, in *Kborassân*; and then took his way to *Nisshabûr*, in the same province. There *Jalâlo'ddîn*, who had assumed the name of *Soltân*, gave orders for raising an army; but hearing the enemies were on their march towards him, after a month's stay, he left that city, in order to avoid them: yet had the ill luck to meet with two parties of them. The first he defeated; the last, which was more numerous, surrounded him: and though he escaped out of their hands, yet they killed two of his brothers, who were with him, and almost all his men. But we shall leave him for a while, to attend the siege of the capital of *Karazm*^b.

*Karazm in-
vaded.*

THE *Karazmians*, surprised at the unexpected approach of the *Mungl* princes, the factions re-united for their mutual safety, and gave the management of affairs to a lord of that country, and relation of the queen, named *Hîmar Takîn* (B). As this lord had no news of their march, and believed them still at a great distance, he had given the inhabitants leave to let their cattle graze in the meadows near the town: which gave the van-guard of the *Mungls* an opportunity, on their arrival, to surprize the greater part of them. The *Karazmians*, upon this, made a sally with 10,000 men, and coming up with the enemy, who retired leisurely toward a garden belonging to the city, attacked them briskly: but when they were so far engaged as not to be able to get back, the *Mungl* troops, who were placed in ambush on both sides of that garden, coming out of their concealment, fell upon them in the rear; while the rest charged them in front so vigorously, that scarce one hundred of them escaped the slaughter. After this, the *Mungls* marched as far as the suburbs of the city, where they put to the sword all they found in arms: and, after plundering, set fire to it. Next day the whole army came before the place, and laid siege to it in form.

*It's capital at-
tacked.*

As there was no fear of any army coming to relieve the city, they made no intrenchments or lines. When all things were ready for an attack, the princes sent to summon the governor to surrender; and let him know that, if he refused, he was to expect no quarter. This menace having no effect on *Hîmar Takîn*, the *Mungls* made a general assault, which was sustained by the besieged with equal bravery. The very women did the duty of soldiers; and not only assisted those who defended the walls, but, mounting on horseback, put themselves among the troops which sallied forth: for the women in those countries can ride and draw the bow, as well as the men. The *Mungls*, though still repulsed, never failed repeating their assaults, till at length they fell short of stones to supply the engines; and were forced to batter the town with the trunks of mulberry trees, cut in pieces.

*Bravely de-
fended,*

THE princes, believing this place would be as easy to take as they found others, to save time and labour, neglected to fill up the ditches, which now they saw there was a necessity of doing: but as they were filled with water from the river, this could not be done without diverting the stream, by means of a canal. The siege had now lasted seven months, when they began this work with 3000 men; and had made a considerable progress, when one night the besieged making a sally, cut them almost all to pieces. However, the canal was at length finished; and the river being turned into it, the ditch was soon filled up with earth, straw, and faggots, in spite of all opposition (C). This obstruction being removed, the batteries were redoubled, and several breaches made. Hereupon ensued a general assault, in which the *Mungl* standards were planted on the walls: but such was the courage of the besieged, that they quickly tore them down again; drove back the assailants; and even repaired their breaches.

*to the last ex-
tremitly.*

THIS ill success bred a misunderstanding between *Fuji* and *Jagatay*; each accusing the other with being the cause of the siege lasting so long, through too much care of his own safety. This dissention made the siege go on more heavily than before; and *Jenghîz Khân*, hearing of it, ordered them to resign the whole command to *Oktay*. After this, the face of things began to change: although the besieged were not less valorous, yet they had not so good success in their sallies as before. On the other hand, the *Mungls*, having made new breaches, gained the outworks in a furious assault, and set up their standards on the towers; while the besieged, unable to pluck them down, retired into the city, to the places they had fortified. Many of these were at length taken, and the citadel itself: yet still the governor rejected the proposals

^b LA CROIX, p. 237, & seq. ABU'LGH. p. 118.

(B) *Abû'lghazi Khân* calls him *Khamar*; and gives him three associates, *Mogul*, *Hajib*, and *Firiduni Gheri*: but the chief command to *Khamar*.

(C) According to *Abû'lghazi Khân*, their design in

turning off the river was to cut off the water of the besieged: but they did not accomplish their design; the 3000 soldiers, employed in that work, having been cut off to a man.

a made by *Oktay* to surrender, because no mention was made of giving liberty to the inhabitants.

THE *Mungls*, enraged at this refusal, set fire to the houses on every side, which consumed ^{Terrible} great numbers of people, and immense riches. As this was a loss to them, they soon forbore, ^{slaughter.} and applied themselves to attack the several quarters of the city : while the *Karazmians* had so intrenched themselves, that one quarter succoured another ; and when one was forced, the defenders found shelter in the next. The attacks continued night and day, with extreme fatigue on both sides. At last, the brave *Himar Takin* was killed by an arrow : yet still the remainder of the citizens held out to the utmost extremity ; and when they saw they could no longer resist, they set fire to the houses which remained, to disappoint their enemies of the plunder. But the *Mungls*, in revenge, put to the sword all the *Karazmians* they met with, amounting to 100,000, some say 200,000, persons ; and *Oktay* had much ado to make the slaughter cease. After this, the rest of the inhabitants were ordered to go out of the town ; and, with their wives and children, were condemned to slavery. Some say, the men amounted to 100,000 : others, that the number of the whole was so great, that, in the distribution which *Oktay* made of them among his troops, every foldier had twenty-four to his share.

AMONG those who fell a sacrifice on this occasion, was *Sheykh Hafreti Kubru*, surnamed *Najmo'ddin*, whose rare example deserves our eulogy. *Oktay*, who had a great respect for this person, from the report of his piety, sent first to offer a passport for himself and ten ; then for a thousand, of his friends ; but he refused to accept of that bounty, unless all the *Mohammedans* in the city were permitted to share with him : sending the prince for answer, " that he " was obliged to take a lot with the rest, by ties too strong to be so easily broken". Accordingly he was slain among the thickest of them, after he had defended himself with the utmost bravery. This was true patriotism ! this was love for his countrymen !

THE capital of *Karazm* was taken and ruined towards the end of the winter 618 : after which, fear seizing the rest of the people, all the other cities, as *Kât*, *Ferâbr*, *Dargân*, or ^{Other cities submit.} *Durân*, and *Zamâkshâr*, surrendered without making any resistance. Then leaving troops in the country, to keep it in subjection, *Oktay* departed, with the remainder of his army, to join his father ^c.

IN the mean time *Jenghiz Khân*, after staying all the spring about *Samarkand*, delighted with the country, began to think of pursuing his conquests. He set out from *Samarkand* about the same time that his three sons marched for *Karazm*. On his approach, several towns opened their gates to him ; among which was *Nakshâb* ; where, pleased with the air and soil, he stayed most part of the summer. Then setting forward towards *Termed*, by way of *Kolûga*, or ^{Termed de-} *iron gate*, a passage cut in the rocks, he was some weeks on his march to that city, which is ^{scribed.} the last belonging to *Great Bukhâria*, towards *Tokbârestân*. It was situated on the river *Amû* ; and, being very commodious for trade, had a port much frequented by barks. Soltân *Mohammed* had conquered it, not long before, from *Babrâm Shâh*, who was among those princes put to death by the queen-mother, at her leaving *Karazm*. It was dependant on *Kash*, or *Kesh*, although it had a great many places under its jurisdiction. The walls of *Termed* were cased with bricks ; and it had a castle, defended on one side by the river : so that the inhabitants believed themselves strong enough to amuse the *Mungls* till the arrival of Soltân *Jalâlo'ddin*, who had given them hopes of coming to their relief.

JENGHIZ KHAN, being informed of their resolution, shut them up close, by very deep and ^{Cruel massacre.} wide lines, which he ordered to be cast up round the place. For eleven days the besieged defended it, with the utmost bravery : but their walls being by that time battered down, and *Jalâlo'ddin* not appearing to succour them, the *Mungls* stormed and took the city ; with a most cruel butchery of all the garrison and inhabitants, excepting some young people reserved for slavery. Some say, all were massacred, excepting one old woman, who offered a great pearl to save her life. Being asked, where the pearl was ? and telling them, she had swallowed it, they ripped her up ; and, finding it, opened the bellies of all the rest whom they had slain, in expectation of finding jewels. The Grand Khân caused the town to be razed, and then went into winter-quarters. Among the towns which had submitted on this side were those of *Langberta*, *Samanda*, and *Badakshân*. The two first, shewing a regret for what they had done, were plundered, and very ill treated, by the ravaging *Tatars* : but the last city was only stripped of its wealth ; consisting chiefly in hyacinths and rubies, with which they hills in its territory abound. They likewise produce fine azure, good bezoar, and excellent chrystal of the east ^d.

BEFORE the army went into winter-quarters, *Jenghiz Khân* sent a detachment of 20,000 ^{Affairs of} of his best troops to *Hubbe Nevian* and *Suida Behadr*, for the ensuing year. The two gene- ^{Khorassân;} rals were on the northern borders of *Khorassân* when they received their master's orders : but, not

^c ABU'LG. p. 119. LA CROIX, p. 247, & seq. p. 121, & seq.

^d FADHLAL. ap. La Croix, p. 257, & seq. ABU'LOH.

to be idle while the expected supplies were on the road, they divided their troops; *Hubbe* a marching towards *Mazânderân*, and *Suida* directing his course to *Helvâs*. After they had ravaged those countries, they returned to *Khorassân*, where *Aynanje Khân*, one of *Soltân Moham-* med's officers, with some troops, gave the *Mungls* much uneasiness. *Suida* strove to force him to fight; which, at last, he effected; but was defeated. The *Mohammedan* lord, in the pursuit, meeting, near *Nak Shivân*, with a brigade of *Tatars*, who were retiring into that place, fell on, and drove them into the ditch, where they were all drowned. After this, being joined by other disbanded troops, he levied contributions, and with the tax-money of *Nisa*, provided for his little army: but retired to the mountains, on the arrival of the expected reinforcements, which were commanded by two *Nevians*, *Jaffer* and *Iko*, each at the head of a *Toman*; who had orders, in the first place, to reduce *Nesa*, as it was a hindrance to the conquest of *Khorassân*. b

Nesa taken, and

NESA, or *Nisa* (D), was situated on the borders of the desert towards *Karazm*: it had, in times past, served as a frontier between the *Turks* and *Persians*. *Soltân Moham-* med, after taking this city from the children of *Nasro'ddîn*, its sovereign prince, caused the citadel to be demolished: but afterwards permitted the inhabitants to rebuild it: and, it being a well fortified place, they hoped to hold it out long. When the *Mungls* had invested the city, they sent to offer very reasonable terms to the governor: but during the treaty some *Karazmians* imprudently shot at the besiegers; and, having slain *Balkûsh*, their lieutenant-general, they resolved to revenge his death. They battered the walls with twenty great engines; and in their approaches made their slaves go before, carrying on their backs pieces of wood covered with c raw hides, to avoid the wild-fire of the defendants, who made a vigorous resistance. As they pursued their assaults day and night, after fifteen days siege, they made a breach; which the inhabitants not being able to repair, they, in the night, seized the walls, and became masters of the place. Next day they ordered them, as usual, to turn out into the plain; where, surrounding them, they shot at them with darts and arrows, like beasts in a chase. Thus all were slain, natives, strangers, and peasants, retired thither for safety, to the number of 70,000. *Shabâbo'ddîn*, one of the *Soltân's* ministers of state, and his son, who had taken shelter there, with their treasure, were brought in chains before the *Nevians*; who, having emptied their coffers, ordered their hands to be smitten off.

its inhabitants slain.

Kaendar fortress besieged.

THREE days after, they went and besieged the citadel of *Kaendar* (E). This place was d accounted the strongest in all *Khorassân*, and was in the road from *Nesa* to *Nishâbûr*. It was governed by *Mehemed Nisâvi* (F), to whom it properly belonged: and hither was retired *Nezâmo'ddîn*, one of the greatest lords of the country, with all his treasure. This nobleman three days before the arrival of the enemy, talking to the governor about the place, which he deemed impregnable on account of its situation, said to him, *we will wait the Tatars coming here*: but when he saw they attacked it on the weakest side, was so affrighted, that he desired *Nisâvi* to let him down with ropes into the plain, and had the good look to escape. The *Mungls* battered this citadel a long time: but the besieged made so brave a defence, that the general, despairing to take it with the troops he had with him, offered to raise the siege, in lieu of clothes, and other things, which his soldiers stood in need of. This the governor thought e proper to comply with; but the difficulty was to find officers, who would venture to accompany the bearers of the presents; believing, that the enemy were cruel enough to revenge on them the shameful retreat they saw themselves obliged to make. After many had refused the employment, two venerable old men undertook it; but had no sooner discharged their commission, than the *Mungls* were really so base, says our author, as to imbrue their hands in their blood (G). At last the two *Nevians* raised the siege, and ravaged the country.

Damegân deserted:

AFTER this, *Suida* came to meet them, and all three went to join *Hubbe Nevian*, who was upon another expedition. They marched by the desert, and other roads, to attack *Damegân*, the capital of *Kumas*: a considerable city, situated in a vast plain, washed by many streams of rock-water, for their excellency called the waters of *Khosraw*, or *Kosroes*; because that king f had them conveyed by fine aqueducts into the town, and would never drink of any other. Finding *Damegân* quite deserted by the inhabitants, who with their best effects had fled to the woods and mountains, and nothing left to content their avarice, they marched, and sat down before *Amol* (H); which they took, as also several other towns in the eastern *Tabarestân*.

^e NISSAVI in Jalal. ap. LA CROIX, 268. ABU'LGH. p. 121, & seq.

(D) *Abûlghazi Khân* calls it *Naysay*. It went also by the name of *Little Damaskus*, for its agreeable situation.

(E) The same, doubtless, with *Karandâr*, mentioned by *Abûlghazi Khân*.

(F) Author of the life of *Soltân Jalâlo'ddîn*, often cited in this history.

(G) We shall not dispute this fact, although *Nisâvi*

was greatly prejudiced against the *Mungls*, in behalf of his master *Soltân Jalâlo'ddîn*: but however that be, we may depend upon it, that the place was not taken, as *Abûlghazi Khân* relates; and in it the *Soltân's* wife and son, as before has been mentioned.

(H) A city of *Mazânderân*, near the borders of *Ghilân*, and about one day's journey from the *Caspian* sea.

- a HUBBE NEVIAN, in the expedition above-mentioned acquired no less reputation than the *surrendered*, other generals. He not only reduced all the *Western Tabarestân*, which is called *Mazânderân*; but even seized on the queen mother, *Turkbân Khâtûn*, who had retired thither, with her immense riches. As *Jenghiz Khân* had spies or correspondents in every part of the *Karazmian* empire, he learned by one of them, that she was lodged in the fortress of *Ilâl* (I), and immediately sent a courier to acquaint *Hubbe* with the news; ordering him to run all hazards to take that place. The general had for three months battered it in vain: when *Jenghiz Khân*, who was informed how things stood, judging that it might be more easily reduced by famine, ordered him to build a strong wall without his lines, whose gates should be kept shut in the night; and to guard all places strictly, that the besieged might receive no succours.
- b This was done accordingly: and, although the governor had no thoughts of yielding, and pretended that he stood in need of nothing; yet in three weeks more, provisions having intirely *for want of* failed, and many of the garrison, as well as inhabitants, being already dead, for want of water, *water*, the queen was forced to capitulate.

THIS want of water passed in the country for a miracle: for although there were neither wells in the town, nor rivers in the neighbourhood, yet it was situate in so rainy a climate, rain falling there every day, that it had never been in want of water before. As therefore it had not rained one drop during the whole siege, the inhabitants concluded it a judgment to punish *Turkbân Khâtûn* for having unjustly put to death so many kings and princes (K). What confirmed them in their opinion was, that the place was no sooner surrendered, but there fell

- c such abundance of rain that the streets were overflowed.

- HUBBE NEVIAN, knowing the extremities to which *Ilâl*, was reduced, would not grant *Queen mother* any thing to the queen more than her life. So soon as the *Mungls* took possession of the place, *seized*, they seized her treasure, and treated her as a captive. She was sent to *Jenghiz Khân*, under a strong guard, with her women, grand-children, and all the lords who had retired with her into the fortress. She sacrificed herself to the hatred she bore Soltân *Jalâlo'ddin*. Instead of desiring success to his arms, she did nothing but wish all sorts of misfortunes might attend him: and, although she might have safely retired under his protection, some days before the place was besieged; yet, inflexible to all arguments, she protested that the lowest condition, and most rigorous treatment from the *Mungls*, would be more agreeable to her, than all the marks of friendship she could receive from the son of *Ayjeak*, her mortal enemy. Such were the sentiments of this implacable grand-mother; and the treatment she met with was such as her malice and bloody disposition deserved: for *Jenghiz Khân* had her sometimes brought into his presence when at table, and threw her scraps of meat he had eaten of, as if she had been a dog. *Her cruelty* They put to death her great grand-children, before she arrived at court, and left only the youngest alive to comfort her. Nor did that comfort remain with her long: for one day, as she was combing his head, a person came and snatched him from her arms. This, she said, was the most sensible loss she had till then felt, and her grief was indeed most bitter. The young princesses, her great grand-daughters, were not so unfortunate: for, not only their lives were spared, but they were married to *Mungl* lords of the first rank. Nay, prince *Tusbi* (or *Juji*) himself espoused *Khân Soltâna*, who had before been married to *Ozmân Khân*, prince of *Samarkant*. Such was the fate of this once great queen; who was led, as in triumph, some years after (L), through the same countries where she had governed.

AFTER *Hubbe Nevian* had left the fortress of *Ilâl*, he went directly to *Ray*, or *Rey* (the *Ray taken*, ancient *Ragau*, or *Rages*), where *Suida*, and the other two commanders, came to join him from *Khorassân*; of which they had reduced all the north and west parts, excepting *Nishabûr*; for the place, according to the capitulations granted them by the two generals, remained quiet, till Soltân *Jalâlo'ddin* took shelter there.

- THE city of *Rey* seemed able to make a vigorous defence: but the *Mungls* took it with a great deal of ease, by means of the dissention, on account of religion, which subsisted among
- f the inhabitants: for, being divided into two factions, one of which followed the doctrines of *Abû Hanifah*, and the other those of *Shâfay* (M), the Kâzi of the city, who was of the last party, went with the chief persons of his sect, and offered *Hubbe* the place, in the name of the *Shâfays*: who delivered him two gates, by which the *Mungls* entered. The other party, who had fortified themselves, made some resistance, more out of hatred to the *Shâfays*, than to the *Mungls* themselves. But the general forced them to yield, and, induced by the ill opinion which the Kâzi had created in him of the *Abû Hanîfa* sect, put them almost all to death (N). So that not above one half of the inhabitants of *Rey* were left alive.

(I) *Alâ'ghazi Khân* calls it *Ilân*.

(K) Hence, according to *Alâ'ghazi Khân*, the inhabitants obliged their governor *Nâiro'ddin* to go to the *Mungl* camp, and capitulate for them.

(L) *Abû'ghazi Khân* writes, that *Jenghiz Khân* or-

dered her and all her great grand-children to be slain, as soon as they arrived in his camp.

(M) Two of the four sects who were heads of the orthodox sect among the *Mohammedans*.

(N) At which, no doubt, their charitable brethren the *Shâfays*, or *Shafays* rejoiced.

Kom taken.

HUBBE and *Suida* remained for some time at *Rey*, invited by the beauty of that city, which was one of the four most considerable in all *Irak*; the three others being *Hamadân*, *Kom*, and *Ispâhân*. So soon as the season permitted to take the field, they again parted: *Hubbe* marched towards *Hamadân*, and *Suida* towards *Kazvîn*. The first being arrived at *Kom*, which he took in his way, and is twenty leagues distant, summoned the inhabitants to surrender: but although they did not submit to it, yet they made so little resistance, that they seemed intitled to the mercy granted to places which opened their gates. But the deputies of the *Shâsfays*, bearing an implacable hatred to the *Hanifabs*, whom they call *Rafezi*, or heretics, told *Hubbe* of *Kom* were very mutinous; adding, it was no wonder, since they followed the doctrines of *Abû Hanîfab*. In short, they so incensed him against them; that, under pretence one of his orders had not been well observed, he caused the greater part of them to be killed, or carried away slaves.

Hamadân makes peace.

HUBBE a few days after marched for *Hamadân*, and made great preparations to besiege it: but, when all things were ready to storm the place, he, all of a sudden, clapped up a peace with *Majedo'ddîn*, who commanded there. The army was the more surprised at this, because the inhabitants had appeared more insolent than others who had not been pardoned, and even committed some outrages against the *Mungls*. The general's enemies reported, that he had been corrupted; but his friends maintained, that he had only followed the orders of *Jenghîz Khân*. *Hamadân* (O) is fifty leagues distant from *Kom*. It was a great and populous city, and had often been the abode of kings. It had very strong walls, and a good castle, which is now in ruins. Its beauty at present consists in its gardens and fountains; which take their rise from the mountain *Alwend*, not far distant, and abounding with 1000 springs.

Other cities reduced.

FROM hence *Hubbe* led his troops to reduce other parts of *Irak*; and, in a short time, made himself master of *Dinewar*, or *Daynûr*, *Sâvan*, *Holwân*, *Nahawend*, and several other cities in that province: by which conquests he acquired much riches. As for *Suida Babadr*, who was gone to besiege *Kazvîn*, which is situate between *Rey* and *Abher*, on the confines of *Ghilân* and *Mazanderân*, he carried it by storm, and put to the sword 50,000 persons in this city, *Deylem*, and other neighbouring countries. All these expeditions were performed in the year of the *Hejrah* 618^f.

Hej. 618. A. D. 1221. General hunting,

MEAN while *Jenghîz Khân*, after the taking of *Termed*, to keep his soldiers in action during the winter, ordered a great hunting to be performed in the plains of that city. The huntsmen having marked the outward circle, which is called *Nerke*, the several officers with their troops took their posts round it. Then at the sound of martial instruments, they all set forward at once, moving towards the centre, driving the beast before them, which happened to be within the inclosed space: but it was forbidden to kill or wound any animal, whatever violence it offered them. At night they incamped, with all the order observed in war. Thus they marched for some weeks; when the beasts, finding themselves pressed by the circle contracting, ran for shelter among the mountains and forests; from whence they soon after fled on scent of the hunters, who opened the very burrows with spades, or sent in ferrets, to dislodge the animals. But, the compass of the ground still growing less and less, the beasts, for want of room, began to mix with one another; and, becoming furious, leaping on the weakest, and tore them to pieces. Nor was it without great toil and difficulty that the soldiers could drive them forward with their shouts. At length, when the troops were arrived at the inner circle, called *Jerk*, which inclosed a small spot of ground where all the animals might be seen together, the drums, timbrels, and other instruments, were ordered to strike up at once: the sound of which joined to the shouts and cries of the hunters, so affrighted them, that they lost all their fierceness; the lions and tigers grew tame as lambs; the bears and wild boars, like the most timorous creatures, seemed dejected and amazed.

at Termed.

THE Grand Khân, attended by his sons and principal officers, first entered the *Jerk* with his sword and bow, and began the slaughter by striking the fiercest beasts; some of which became furious, and endeavoured to defend their lives. Then retiring to an eminence, where a throne was set for him, he beheld the attack; in which none avoided danger, or gave back, let the event be what it would. When the princes and lords had given sufficient proof of their courage and agility, the young soldiers entered the circle, and made great havock among the poor beasts. At last the Khân's grandsons, attended by several young lords, approaching the throne, intreated him, in a speech, to give those which remained their lives and liberty; which grace he granted, and then sent back his troops to quarters, after the chase had continued four months.

^f FADHL. ap. La Croix, p. 272, & seq. ABU'LGH. p. 130, & seq.

(O) It is the *Ematha* of the Old Testament, and the *Ekkatana* of the Greeks; although by most geographers

held to be *Tauris*. *Al'Isfeda* affirms it to be *Ekkatana*; and its name bears affinity with *Ematha*, or *Amatha*.

- a IN the end of *March*, *Jenghîz Khân* broke up his camp; and, passing the *Amû*, marched in *Balk* besieged, haste towards *Balk*[§]; against which he had taken great disgust, for giving shelter to *Soltân Jalâlo'ddîn*; who from thence infested the *Mungls* with his troops, while employed in reducing *Great Bukhâria*. The inhabitants, unwilling to hazard a siege, determined to surrender; and the great lords of the country, who had retired thither, went with the city officers to meet *Jenghîz Khân*, carrying with them an immense quantity of rich presents. But he rejected their offers; and said, those people, who had so kindly received his enemy, could not have a sincere friendship for him. On this occasion he mentioned the troops they had raised for him, and sums advanced to pay them; with many other instances of their attachment to his interest. Then, reproaching them, said, “ought not you to blush with shame, for having so little love
b “for your natural prince, and so little aversion to the tyrants who have put him in irons? Is it
“thus you ought to treat those who, after having stripped *Omido'ddîn*, your sovereign, of his
“kingdoms, have cruelly put him and his son to death?”

MEAN time the *Mungl* army marched to the city; and the inhabitants, knowing it had been agreed to open the gates, suffered the van-guard to enter, without resistance, ^{and taken.} They were all ordered forthwith to go forth into the plain; where, the young people fit for slaves being set apart, the greater part of the old men were beheaded (P). After which the city was plundered, and the walls demolished. The *Mungls* were greatly enriched by the spoil of *Balk*; for it had always been a place of much trade. Moreover, it was full of monuments, of exquisite workmanship, and all things which could serve to adorn so great a city; having been the abode
c of many persons famous in all arts. The public buildings were spacious and regular, the karawânserays or inns, the mosques, and colleges, very magnificent. There were reckoned to be 1200 temples, besides small chapels, and 200 (Q) public baths, for foreign merchants, and other strangers.

BALK is situate eight leagues distant from the river *Jihûn*, or *Amû*, and four from the mountains; in a most fertile plain, planted with sugar canes and limon-trees. Its suburbs were <sup>The city de-
scri'ed.</sup> watered by the river *Dabak*, which falls into the *Amû*, about twelve leagues from the city; at present one of the three capitals of the *Uzbek Tatars* inhabiting *Great Bukhâria*: although *Balk* properly belongs to *Khorassân*, the adjoining province of *Irân*, or *Persia* at large.

- AFTER *Jenghîz Khân* had thus reduced *Balk*, he sent his son *Tuli* (or *Tawlay*), with an *Talkhân*, ^{its}
d army of fourscore thousand men, into *Persia*, to pursue *Soltân Jalâlo'ddîn*, and another large ^{strength.} detachment towards *India*; then marched himself to besiege *Talkhân*; a place extremely strong by its situation, and dependant on *Tokhârestân*. It was situated towards *Marû*, in *Khorassân*, which *Tuli* was ordered to besiege. The city formerly had been very flourishing: but there remained nothing of it then except the citadel; which being very large, they gave it the title of a city, or fortress. It stood on the top of the mountain *Nokrekûb*, or the *silver mountain*, from the mines of that metal which it contained; and was built by a prince of *Tokhârestân*.

- BESIDES the natural strength of the place, the garrison were provided with all sorts of stores, ^{Besieged, and,} and provisions for a long siege: whereas the *Mungls* had neither ground nor trenches to shelter them; making use of blinds to ward-off the darts and wild-fire. The besieged killed so great
e a number of them, that the *Khân* repented his having meddled with this place; yet, not able to bear a disappointment, and fearing, through his losses, that he had not troops enough to reduce it; he sent couriers for *Tuli* to return forthwith, under pretence of the excessive heats. Mean time he let his army rest for some weeks, and then ordered the rocks to be scaled on all sides, by means of grappling-irons, long nails, hooks, ladders, and ropes; in order to oblige the
f besieged to divide their forces. The *Mungls* made several attempts to get up, in which they ^{at length,} were frustrated by the watchful garrison, who killed great numbers of them: yet were they ^{taken.} supported in mounting the ladders with so many engines, that at length a good body of them got together on the top of the mountain. This so astonished the besieged, that, running hastily to repulse them, they imprudently left some posts unguarded; which the *Mungls* immediately
f seized, and entered the town. The garrison, returning in confusion to drive them out again, were overpowered and put to the sword by their stronger enemies; who, to revenge the death of their companions, and the hardships they had suffered during a seven months siege, exercised all the cruelties imaginable. Thus the fortress was taken without *Tuli*'s assistance, who did not arrive till after its reduction (R). Let us now see what conquests that prince made during his expedition in *Khorassân*^h.

§ LA CROIX, p. 260, & seq.
p. 121.

^h MIEKHOND. FADHL. ap. La Croix, p. 283, & seq. AEU'LOH.

(P) According to *Alâ'lgâzi Khân*, *Balk* was taken by storm, though without much difficulty; and all the inhabitants put to the sword.

(Q) Thus *Alâ'lgâzi Khân*; but *La Croix*, who men-

tions not the number of mosques. says, there were 1200 baths.

(R) *Alâ'lgâzi Khân* says, it was taken by means of the reinforcement which *Tuli* brought: and so says the *Chinese* history.

Marû surren-
dered.

TULI KHAN, after a long march into *Khorassân*, having learned that *Jalâlo'ddin* was gone a from *Nishâbûr*, according to his father's orders, returned to besiege *Marû* (S), *Shâh Jan*, or *Marû Shâhî Jebân*, which was very powerful, and then governed by *Bukha al Mulk*, put in by Soltân *Mohammed*, in place of *Mâsar al Mulk*, who was turned out on account of his father's disgrace. While *Tuli* was besieging the city of *Khorassân* (T), which is near to *Marû*, Soltân *Mohammed* let *Bukha* know, that he would do well not to oppose the *Mungls*, but get the best terms he could for the city. On these orders the governor abandoned the place, and retired to *Wazîr*, in *Karazm*: part of the garrison likewise dispersed themselves in the neighbouring fortresses. *Tuli*, being informed of all that had passed, sent two general officers with troops to take possession of *Marû*. At their approach, *Shaykh al Islâm*, father of *Bukha al Molk*, met them b with a numerous train, and magnificent presents, and delivered them the keys of the city. The *Mungl* generals, satisfied with this submission, turned their arms another way. Mean time *Bukha Turkman*, who had been captain of Soltân *Mohammed*'s guides, and, at the time of the commander of *Marû*'s retreat, had retired into a neighbouring forest, with the *Turkman*'s belonging to the garrison; returned to that city, soon after the departure of the *Mungls*, followed by *Tajiks*, *Turkmans*, and others, who had fled at the enemies approach. These men conferred on him the government of *Marû*, and obliged the inhabitants to acknowledge him in that quality. About the same time *Mâsar*, or *Mâjer al Molk*, who, since his dismissal from that post, had resided in the province of *Irâk*, being informed that Soltân *Mohammed* was dead, mounted a swift mule, and made all the haste he could to *Marû*; where *Bukha Turkman* refused him admittance: but *Mâsar* having found means, some days after, to get in by stealth, *Bukha*, upon c notice of it, immediately assembled the inhabitants, and declared; that, for love of peace and the public good, he was willing to resign the command to their old governor, and live among them as a private man: which proposal was gladly accepted of.

Seized by
Masar.

Bukha baffled.

MEAN time the *Mungl* generals, who marched to reduce *Mazânderân*, on their approach to the capital of that province, were met by the *Bukha al Molk*, removed thither from *Wazîr*; who, having informed them of what had happened at *Marû*, offered, in case they would let him have some troops, to do his endeavour to reduce the inhabitants to their obedience. On this proposal they gave him 700 horse, with whom he marched towards *Marû*: but being informed on the road, that *Mâsar al Molk* had augmented his forces in the city to 80,000 men, he dared not proceed any farther. However, he sent two officers to him with a letter, importing, that, as he d was not in a condition to hold out long against the *Mungls*, he summoned him to surrender up the city to him, who was sent for that purpose with troops by the generals: but *Mâsar*, instead of complying with the summons, ordered the two officers to be slain: which news reaching the party commanded by *Bukha al Molk*, they slew him, and turned back.

Mâsar surren-
ders.

MASAR was so rejoiced when he heard of *Bukha*'s death, that he gave a splendid entertainment on the occasion to the principal inhabitants of *Marû*. But his joy did not last long: for, next day, the governor of *Amûya* (U), a *Turkman* chief, came to acquaint him, that the *Mungls* were on their march towards him, by way of that place, with a powerful army. This was *Tuli* himself; who, having subdued the rest of *Khorassân*, came to pay a visit to *Marû*; where he e arrived on the first of *Mobarram*, in the year 618 (X). The inhabitants tried at first to keep him at a distance, by a vigorous sally; but, having lost above a thousand of their men in an hour's time, they returned, much chagrined. The siege having lasted three weeks, the prince began to be impatient; and, drawing out his whole army, divided it into 200 troops, placing those who were armed with bucklers in the front: but just as he was going to give the assault, *Mâsar al Molk* desired to capitulate. Thus *Abûlghazi Khân*: but *La Croix*, from *Mirkbond*, relates, that *Mejir* (the same *Mâsar*) tired the besiegers with frequent sallies; in one of which he cut in pieces above 1000 of the Grand Khân's best household troops. *Tuli*, to be revenged for this sensible loss, gave a general assault, which the besieged sustained with a most amazing resolution, and the *Mungls* were repulsed for twenty-two days successively. But as in this time the defendants were greatly weakened, *Mejir*, who found he could not hold out long, chose to f submit.

Inhabitants
massacred.

THE governor and another lord having gained over their party to approve of this measure, they sent presents to *Tuli*, and offered him the city. The prince treated those two better than they expected: for he gave them protection for their goods, and 400 of their friends, on condition that they delivered him a list of all the rich people. *Tuli*, having seized the treasure, and

(S) That is, *Marû king of the world*; so called by Soltân *Mâlek Shâh*, the third *Scijuk* king of *Irân*: who, on account of its fine situation, air, and soil, made it his residence, and was buried there. There is another *Marû*, surnamed *Al Rûdh*, or *Arrûdh*; that is, of the river, as being situate on the *Morg Ab*, to the south of the other.

(T) According to *Abûlghâzi Khân*, *Tuli*, before he besieged *Marû* (*Marwa*, or *Merû*), attacked and took

the city of *Khorassân*, which was near it; was very fair, and its inhabitants so wealthy, that they preserved themselves in a sort of independency, without submitting to any absolute prince.

(U) A city on the river *Amû*, three or four days journey to the north of *Marû*.

(X) That is, the 24th of February 1221.

- a all that could be found of any value in the city, ordered all the inhabitants to go forth into the fields: which took up the space of four days, they were so numerous. Then the tradesmen being separated from the rest, the latter were put to the sword; amounting to 120,000 persons, according to the account taken by one of his secretaries. This was the fourth time that *Marû* had been plundered, and each time above 50 or 60,000 inhabitants were slain. It stood in a sandy plain, which produced salt; and was rendered delightful by three rivers which watered it. It was equally distant from the cities of *Nisâbûr*, *Herât*, *Balk*, and *Bokhara*, being twelve days journey from each. The government was conferred on *Amir Ziyao'ddin*, a lord of that country; with orders to search for the inhabitants who might have concealed themselves, and put them in possession of their lands again, to cultivate them: but, after *Tuli's* departure, he
- b was slain by *Barmûz*, his lieutenant; and the country fell again into confusion.

AFTER the death of Soltân *Mohammed*, the army under *Hubbe Nevân*, and *Suida Rohadr*, *Nisâbûr* had subdued all the western parts of *Khorassân*, by taking a great number of cities; only *Nisâbûr* was left unmolested, having sworn fidelity to them at the beginning of their expedition, as has been already related: but the inhabitants, when they saw Soltân *Jalâlo'ddin's* great distress, not only supplied his troops with provisions, but also gave him money to raise forces. For all this was done so secretly that it came not to the knowledge of those generals; yet *Jenghîz Khân* got information of it by his spies: at which he was so enraged, that he immediately wrote to prince *Tuli*, to lay aside all his other designs, and go punish that rebellious city. On receipt of these orders, *Tuli* quitted the country of *Marû*, and marched to *Nisâbûr*; whose inhabitants, expecting no mercy, resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity¹.

- c PRINCE *Tafar*, who commanded the van-guard, having been killed in a sally at the beginning of the siege, *Tuli* ordered the army to encamp at *Tushanian*, a town to the east of *Nisâbûr*, for conveniency of making engines; which being finished, he battered the city with above twelve hundred at once. The defendants behaved like lions: but, after three days siege, a secret passage being discovered, by the falling of a wall, the *Mungls* entered by that way, and surprised the place; making a terrible slaughter of the inhabitants. The greater part of those who escaped the sword died in caves and vaults, which they had made to save themselves. An infinite number of young people were made slaves of, and the city itself, after being plundered, utterly destroyed to the foundations; walls, and buildings, and all. It is related, that they
- d spent twelve days in counting the dead; and that, including such as were slain in some other places dependent on *Nisâbûr*, one million seven hundred and forty-seven thousand persons were computed to have lost their lives. A thing which seems incredible, unless we suppose those other places to have been pretty populous; and comprise the city *Tûs*, twelve leagues to the north, which was taken and destroyed at the same time: but both these places soon after rose with new splendor out of their ruins. To the first was conveyed, by canals, the most excellent water, from the neighbouring mountains, which produce the finest turkoise stones. *Tûs*, or *Tbûs*, where the celebrated astronomer *Naffro'ddin*, surnamed *Al Tûsi*, was born, became one of the most beautiful as well as famous cities in the *Persian* empire. *Ismael Sîfi*, the first of the Shâhs, inclosed it with strong walls, fortified with 300 towers, and called it *Mashhad*, or the place of
- e martyrdom; on account of *Imâm Ridha*, or *Riza*, who was there slain. Afterwards *Shâh Abbâs I.* to keep the money in his kingdom, which was carried out in foreign pilgrimages, ordered his subjects to pay their devotions at that saint's shrine: and many *Persian* monarchs have their tombs there.

- WHEN prince *Tuli* had finished the sieges of these two places, he led his army towards *Herât* *Herât*, on a false information, that Soltân *Jalâlo'ddin* had retired thither. Whereas this prince had taken the road to *Bost*, in *Sejestân*; and had no thoughts of going to *Herât*, which was in the hands of a lord named *Mâlek Shams'o'ddin Mohammed*, who, in the absence of *Amîr Mâlek*, the Soltân's uncle, had surprised this city: in which he imitated the greater part of the other governors; who, during the confusion which the empire was in, set up for themselves: so that
- f *Jalâlo'ddin* was stripped of almost all his provinces by these usurpers. *Tuli* having arrived in twelve days at *Herât*, sent and summoned the governor to surrender: but *Shams'o'ddin*, who had armed 100,000 men, for defence of the place, instead of yielding, caused the envoy to be killed. After this, he made a furious sally on the *Moguls*, and continued to do the like for seven days successively; with such slaughter on both sides, that the blood streamed like rivers. *Tuli* lost that time above 1,700 officers, besides private soldiers: but on the eighth day, after a long and obstinate fight, *Mâlek Shams'o'ddin* was mortally wounded with an arrow; which having sunk the courage of the besieged, they retired in confusion, followed by the *Mungls*, who entered the city with them. *Tuli*, who headed them, took off his casque, and called out to the inhabitants

¹ MIRK. ap. La Croix, p. 292, & seq. ABU'LGH. p. 133, & seq.

to surrender (Y); telling them, he was the son of *Jenghiz Khân*; that they should be well treated, and pay but half the taxes which they paid to Soltân *Jalâlo'ddîn*. These proposals, having been liked by the inhabitants, were accepted by them: but the soldiers, rejecting them, were immediately disarmed by prince *Tuli*'s order, and all put to the sword, to the number of 12,000. After this he nominated *Mâlek Abû Bekr* governor of the city; and, with 60,000 men, set out for *Tal'ân*, whither his father had recalled him.

The city described.

HERAT (called also *Heri* and *Eri*) has always passed for a very strong city, and, at present, serves for a bulwark against the *Uzbeks*. The country in which it stands, is the *Ariz* of the ancients; and, according to *Mirkbond*, the famous *Persian* historian, who was a native thereof, it was founded by *Alexander the Great*. It was situated on the river *Ileri Rûdb*, within two leagues of a mountain, on whose top the worshippers of fire, called by the *Persians*, *Ghebbers* and *Atteshpereft*, perform their religious rites; in a place built out of the ruins of a famous temple, raised by the ancient Magi. The city and country is very populous, the air excellent, and the inhabitants generally honest, as well as courteous. Let us now go see what *Jenghiz Khân* is doing on his side. After the taking of *Talkhân*, that prince marched with his army towards *Bamîyân*, still waiting for news of *Jalâlo'ddîn*, and the troops he had sent towards *India*, in quest of him^k.

Jalâlo'ddîn's disguise.

THE Soltân having escaped out of the hands of the second party of *Mungls*, in his retreat from *Nishâbâr*, as hath been mentioned before^l, he, with much ado, got safely to the fortress of *Kâbera*; where, in despair, he would have shut himself up with his troops, and waited the coming of the *Mungls*, had not the governor convinced him that such a conduct was unbecoming a prince of his merit. This bold remonstrance awakening his courage, he went from thence to *Bost*, a city in the province of *Sejestan*, or *Sistân*, where he made a shift to raise about 20,000 men^m: but, when he had learned the strength of the *Mungl* army, he knew not what course to take. At length, roused by the extreme danger he saw himself in, he resolved to oppose his enemies at all hazards, and left *Bost*, with a design, if possible, to get into *Gâzna*, the capital of *Zâblestân*, twenty-four days journey distant, before the *Mungls* could arrive to take it; which design he effected, by the expedition he made on the road. In this city, which had been the metropolis of the *Gâzni* empire, a lord, named *Kerber Mâlek*, commanded during the absence of Soltân *Jalâlo'ddîn*: and although, a little while before, the people, as in other places, divided by the great lords, had thrown off their obedience, yet was that prince received with all the marks of the greatest affection; while he, dissembling his resentment, deferred to a more proper time the punishment of their disloyalty.

Bamîyân besieged.

JENGHIZ KHAN, having gotten information that *Jalâlo'ddîn* was at *Gazna*, hastened his march, in order to surprise him; but he was stopped in the way by the garrison of *Bamîyân*, which he had hoped to take without opposition. These people, who had long expected to be attacked, had ruined all the country for four or five leagues round the city; while the peasants had carried away the stones, and every thing else that might be of use to the besiegers: so that they had extraordinary difficulties to surmount. They had scarce begun to attack the place in form, when couriers arrived with news both of the defeat of his troops by Soltân *Jalâlo'ddîn*, and the revolt of *Herât*. This made him redouble his attempts; and, after he had detached forces upon those two expeditions, he caused a mount of earth to be cast up before the city, in a place where he designed to make the fiercest assault. Wooden towers were likewise built, equal in height to the walls, whereon to plant his engines, and covered with raw hides, to prevent the wild-fire of the besieged from sticking to them; on which occasion a great number of horses and cows were every day slaughtered.

Vigorously defended;

MEAN time many of the *Mungl* engines were beaten down by those from the city; and the garrison making an obstinate resistance, as their walls were exceeding strong, the besiegers at last began to be in want both of stones and wild-fire. This occasioned the assaults to cease, till millstones, flints, and other materials fit for battering, could be procured: and when they were renewed, the besieged made such furious sallies, overthrowing whole squadrons of the enemy, as well as towers, with their engines, that had not *Jenghiz Khân* been provided with so vast an army, he must have been forced to raise the siege. To increase his chagrin, just as he was returned to his tent, from making a fruitless attack, an express came with an account of the defeat of his general *Kûtûkû*, by the Soltân. The Khân, enraged, swore to be revenged on *Bamîyân*: but his fury cost the life of a son of *Oktây*; who, exposing himself, to please his grandfather, was slain with an arrow. The emperor, who loved him tenderly, because he discovered

^k NISSAVI. FADH. MARAKESH. ap. La Croix, p. 296, & seq. ABU'LGH. p. 138, & seq.

^l P. 412.

^m LA CROIX, p. 291.

(Y) This is *Alûighazi Khân*'s account; but, according to *La Croix*, the inhabitants, on the loss of their governor, sent to capitulate, and concealed *Shams'o'ddîn*'s

death from *Tuli*; who, supposing him still alive, and considering his bravery, granted them terms.

- a in him all the marks of good conduct, could not forbear mixing his own tears with those of the mother, who appeared almost distracted^a.

JENGHIZ KHAN, by this accident rendered more impatient than ever to reduce the place, ^{taken, and} lavished his treasure to encourage his soldiers; who, night and day continuing the assault, at ^{destroyed.} length ruining the walls in many places, and became masters of *Bâmîyân*, after the bravest of the officers and soldiers of the garrison had been slain in its defence. The mother of the young prince, who had been killed, entering with the *Mungl* troops into the city, and more deserving the name of a fiend than a woman, caused the throats of all the inhabitants to be cut, not excepting one. She even gave orders to rip up the bellies of women with child, for fear an infant should be left alive. In short, the cattle and all other creatures were killed, to gratify the rage of this blood thirsty monster. So that, ever since, *Bâmîyân*, whose buildings were also demolished, has borne the name of *Maubâlig*, which, in the *Mungl* language, signifies *the unfortunate town*. *Bâmîyân* was situated on a mountain, in the province of *Zâblestân*, ten days journey from *Balk*, and eight from *Gazna*. A strong castle has been since built on its ruins. At the foot of the mountain glides a river, which, having run through another mountain, falls at length into the *Amu*^b.

- It has been mentioned above, that while *Jenghiz Khân* was besieging *Bâmîyân*, two of his ^{The Mungls} generals had been defeated by Soltân *Jalâlo'ddîn*; we shall here therefore give the particulars of ^{defeated} those engagements. Two or three days after *Jalâlo'ddîn* had reached *Gazna*, as before has been related, he learned, that there were *Mungl* troops in that neighbourhood who besieged the city of *Kandabâr*, and had orders to watch his motions. At the same time *Amîn Mâlek*, lord of *Herât*, who was come out to watch theirs, with 10,000 *Turkish* horse, being not far off, the Soltân sent to invite him to assist in relieving that fortress. *Amîn Mâlek* hereupon joins *Jalâlo'ddîn* with his forces; and, it being resolved to attack the enemy in the dead of the night, the troops marched, and surprised the *Mungls*, who had already taken the town. They, finding themselves attacked on one side by the succours, and on the other side by the governor of the citadel, suffered themselves to be killed, in a manner, without making any resistance; so that very few escaped the sword of the *Karazmians*.

- THE Soltân, having repaired *Kandabâr*, returned to *Gazna*; where soon after he was ^{by the Soltân,} reinforced by 30,000 men more, brought by three *Turkish* lords of his father's court, who dwelt in this country in fortified places; and, lead more by the danger which threatened them, than affection for the prince, came to offer him their service. As soon as *Jenghiz Khân* heard of the slaughter of his troops before *Kandabâr*, he immediately dispatched the general *Kûtûkû* (Z), with 80,000 men, against *Jalâlo'ddîn*; who, on notice of their march, put himself at the head of his army to meet them; and came up with them just beyond a town called *Birwân*, within a day's journey of *Gazna*, where they were intrenching themselves. *Kûtûkû*, perceiving troops, flushed with the late success, advancing towards him with so much vigour, thought it best to defer fighting for a while: but when he saw they intended to attack him in his intrenchments, he marched out to meet them. The *Mungl* van-guard was at first defeated by *Jalâlo'ddîn's*, commanded by *Amîn Mâlek*; but being supported by fresh troops, they, in their turn, routed the *Karazmians*. The Soltân, on this, advanced immediately at the head of his main body, and attacked the *Mungls* in the center, where *Kûtûkû* himself was posted. The shock was terrible, ^{with great} and for some hours the victory doubtful: but at last the *Mungls* fled in disorder to the mountain ^{slaughter;} tains. A great number were slain, as well as taken prisoners: and, it is said, *Jalâlo'ddîn*, after reproaching these latter with their cruelties, caused nails to be thrust into their ears, to revenge the miseries which his subjects had so long suffered from the *Mungls* and *Tatars*. As soon as a party of *Tatars*, who were besieging *Wâla*, a fortress, some days journey from thence, heard of this defeat, they raised the siege, and made off with all expedition^c.

- THIS is the account given by *Nissâvi*, who wrote the life of *Jalâlo'ddîn*, and *Fadhlallah*; ^{joined by} but *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, from other authors, represents matters in a different manner. Soltân ^{Khân Mâlek;} *Khân Mâlek* (the same with *Amîn Mâlek*), governor of *Herât*, having been attacked, after his submission to *Zena* and *Suday* the *Mungl* generals, by *Togazar Kantaret*, as before related, on the news that Soltân *Jalâlo'ddîn* was arrived at *Gazna* (A) sent to offer that prince his service. At the same time *Jenghiz Khân* had detached one of his principal officers called *Ugar*, surnamed *Kalsban*, or *the merry companion*, with four other generals, *Sbanghi*, *Kûtûktû Noyân* (or *Nevîân*), *Tabajik*, and *Malkaw*, at the head of 30,000 men, to cut off the communication between *Gazna*,

^a NISSAVI in Jalal. MIRKHOND, FADHL. ap. La Croix, p. 301, & seq.

^c ABU'LE. ibid. p. 310, & seq.

^b NISSAVI, FADHL. ap. La Croix, p. 303, & seq.

(Z) *Abû'lghâzi Khân* names him *Kûtûktû Noyân*.

(A) In the translation of *Abû'lghâzi Khân* written *Gâmilan*. Some write *Gaznahan*, or *Gaznin*; by which

they seem to mean the territory in which it is situated, rather than the city itself.

Sāghil, *Kābul*, and the rest of the dominions of the *Karazm Shāh*. As these commanders thought it proper to divide their forces, the better to watch the motions of the enemy, *Kūtūktū Noyān*, who with his body of troops had advanced towards *Herāt*, by the way encamped near *Soltān Khān Mālek*: but that lord in the night marched off, and got safely to *Gazna*.

Defeat of Kūtūktū Noyān. TABAJIK and *Mālkaw*, on their side, had advanced with so little noise to the town of *Sāghil*, that it was very near being surprised by them, for want of keeping a good look-out. The *Mungl* generals, having missed so fair a hit, besieged the place in form: but while they used their utmost efforts to reduce it, *Soltān Jalālo'ddīn*, with his reinforcement from *Herāt*, fell upon them so unexpectedly, that he oblig'd them to fly, after they had lost above 1000 men, and go join *Kūtūktū Noyān*; whom he likewise pursued, and at length provoked to a battle. He gave the command of the left wing to *Soltān Khān Mālek*; that of the right to *Sefso'ddīn*, one of his father's old generals; and, putting himself in the center, charged the *Mungls* with so much vigour, that, after a very obstinate fight, which lasted from morning till near evening, they were constrained to fly, and leave a great number of their companions dead behind them.

The Noyān's stratagem. KUTUKTU NOYAN made use of a stratagem in this battle, which had like to have given him the victory; for he ordered all the felt caps and cloaks that were in the camp to be stuffed with straw, and ranged behind on the horses and camels of the baggage, as a kind of second line. This affair was so well managed, that the *Karazmians*, believing it to be a reinforcement sent from the Khān, were seized with fear, and had shamefully fled, if the *Soltān*, suspecting it a trick of *Kūtūktū Noyān*, had not taken pains to expose the deceit. Their courage being by this means revived again, they fell on the *Mungls* with so much impetuosity, that only a very few escaped, besides the three general officers^a.

Diffention among JENGHIZ KHAN, impatient to revenge these disgraces, as soon as *Baniyan* was reduced, marched his army with so much precipitation, that he hardly gave his soldiers time to refresh themselves. *Gazna* (then called *Daro'l Mālk*, or the royal city) being a very strong place, and provided for a long siege, the Khān directed his course thither, expecting to find *Jalālo'ddīn* there: but that prince had left the city fifteen days before (B), and might have stood his ground against his pursuer, if a vexatious accident had not happened in his army, after the battle of *Birwān*. When the booty came to be divided, the three *Turkish* lords pretended, that the most valuable spoils belonged to them, on account of the succours which they had brought. The troops of *Amīn Mālek*, who were united with the *Soltān's*, were for having the custom of war followed, and the booty to be equally divided. The quarrel began about a very fine *Arabian* horse, which one of the three *Turkish* commanders demanded, and the others refused to yield to him.

Jalālo'ddīn's generals. SOME say, that this dispute arose between *Soltān Khān Mālek* (otherwise *Amīn Mālek*) and *Sefso'ddīn Mālek*; which went so far, that the former gave the latter a lash in the face with his whip: that *Sefso'ddīn* complained to the *Soltān* of this insult; but, finding no hopes of obtaining such a reparation as would satisfy him, he quitted that prince in the night, with the troops under his command, who were of the *Kankli* tribe, and retired into the mountains of *Kermān*: that, on the other hand, *Soltān Khān Mālek* returned soon after to *Herāt*. However this matter was, the desertion of the auxiliary troops proved extremely prejudicial to *Jalālo'ddīn's* affairs; and the chief reason for his quitting *Gazna* was, to give his disunited troops time to rejoin him. He did all that was possible to bring the three *Turkish* commanders to hearken to reason: he wrote and sent to them several times; representing the ruin which must attend their separation, and the advantages which might arise to them all, if they rejoined him.

The Soltān overtaken. THEY at length suffered themselves to be persuaded by the sense of danger, but it was too late: for *Jenghiz Khān*, who was informed of what was in agitation, sent 60,000 horse to seize the passages, and prevent their joining the *Soltān*; who finding himself deprived of this powerful aid, retired towards the river *Sind*, or *Indus* (C). When he was arrived there, he stopped, in a part where the stream was most rapid, and the place confined, with a view both to take from his soldiers a desire of flying, and prevent the *Mungls* from bringing up all their army to engage at once. Ever since his departure from *Gazna* he had been tormented with a cruel colic; yet, at a time when he suffered most, hearing that the enemy's van-guard was arrived at a place called *Herder*, he quitted his litter, and mounted on horseback: then, marching in the night with his chosen soldiers, surprised the *Mungls* in their camp; and having cut them almost all to pieces, without losing one man, returned to his camp with considerable booty.

Battle at the Indus. JENGHIZ KHAN, finding by this that he had to do with a vigilant enemy, proceeded with

^a ABU'LGH. p. 123, & seq.

(B) According to *Abū'lghazi Khān*, the inhabitants of *Gazna*, having lost their courage, admitted *Jenghiz Khān*, without any resistance.

(C) Called by *Abū'lghazi Khān*, *Sir Indi*; as much as to say, the river *Indus*.

- a great circumspection. When he came near the *Indus* he drew out his army in battalia (D): to *Jagatay* he gave the command of the right wing; the left to *Oktay*; and put himself in the center, surrounded by 6000 of his guards. On the other side, *Jalâlo'ddîn* prepared for battle: he first sent the boats on the *Indus* farther off, reserving only one to carry over the Soltân his mother, the queen his wife, and his children: but unluckily the boat split, when they were going to embark; so that they were forced to remain in the camp. The Soltân took to himself the command of the main body of his army. His left wing, drawn up under shelter of a mountain, which hindered the whole left wing of the *Mungls* to engage them at one time, was conducted by his chief Wazîr; and his right wing by *Amin Mîler*. This lord began the fight, and forced the enemy's left wing to give ground; in spite of all the troops which sustained them. The right wing of the *Mungls* likewise wanting room to extend itself, the Soltân made use of his left as a body of reserve; detaching from thence squadrons to sustain the other troops, which stood in need of them. He also took on part of them with him, when he went at the head of his main body, to charge that of *Jenghiz Khân*: which he did with so much resolution and vigour, that he not only put it into disorder, but made a broad way to penetrate into the midst of it, to the place where the Khân had at first taken his station: but that prince, having had a horse killed under him, was retired from thence, to give orders for all the troops to engage.

- This disadvantage had like to have lost the *Mungls* the battle: for the report being spread all over the army, that the Soltân had broken through the main body, the troops were so discouraged, that if the Khân had not immediately rode from place to place to shew himself, they would certainly have fled. In short, what gained him the battle was, the orders which he gave to *Bela Nevân* to cross the mountain, if practicable, and attack the Soltân's left wing; which the Khân observed had been much weakened by the several detachments. *Bela*, accordingly, conducted by a guide, marched betwixt rocks and dreadful precipices; and, falling upon that disabled wing behind, soon overcame them.

- The victory is, by one author, attributed to a body of chosen horse, called *Peblevans*, who, supported by 10,000 fresh men, fell upon *Jalâlo'ddîn's* right wing, which was at that time victorious, and defeated them; driving them back upon his main body, against which *Jenghiz Khân* had renewed the charge. The Soltân's troops which were in all but 30,000 fatigued with having fought ten whole hours (E) against more than 300,000 men, were seized with fear, and fled. In this disorder his eldest son was taken prisoner. One part of the troops retired to the rocks, which were on the shore of the *Indus*, where the enemy's horse could not follow them. Many others, closely pursued by the *Mungls*, threw themselves into the river, some of whom happily crossed over; while the rest, placing themselves round their prince, continued the fight, through despair.

- MEAN time *Jenghiz Khân*, desirous to take *Jalâlo'ddîn* alive, forbore killing him (F); and, to prevent his escape, ranged his forces in form of a bow, of which the river represented the string (G). The Soltân on this occasion, considering that, as he had scarce 7000 men left, if he continued the fight any longer, he should certainly fall into the enemy's hands, began to think of his safety. He knew he had but one course to follow, and that a very dangerous one, which was, to cross the *Indus*; and yet he resolved to venture it, rather than suffer himself to be taken. But before he put this resolution in practice, he went to embrace and bid adieu to his mother, wives, children, and friends. *Jalâlo'ddîn* having, with tears in his eyes, broken from those dear objects of his affection, put off his armour and arms, excepting his sword, bow, and quiver: then mounting a fresh horse, he spurred him into the river; the furiousness of whose waves astonished the beast so much, that he went not in but by force: however, being once entered, he performed his duty to admiration, and carried his lord safely over. In gratitude for which service, the Soltân had him kept with care ever after; nor would, for the four or five years following, ride him in any dangerous action.

- WHEN he was in the middle of the river, he stopped to insult *Jenghiz Khân* (who was come to the water-side to admire his courage), and empty his quiver of arrows against him. Several brave *Mungl* captains would have thrown themselves into the river to swim after *Jalâlo'ddîn*; but the Grand Khân would not permit them, telling them, this prince would defeat all their

* MIRK. ABU'LK. FADHL. NISSAVI, ap. La Croix, p. 313, & seq.

(D) According to *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, he went in the night, and posted himself between the river and the Soltân's camp, in order effectually to cut off the passage of it.

(E) *Abû'lghâzi Khân* says, from sun-rise till noon.

(F) *Abû'lghâzi Khân* relates, that *Jenghiz Khân*, before the engagement, ordered *Kogur Kaljan*, and *Kotur Kaljan*, to watch *Jalâlo'ddîn*, and, if possible, take him alive.

(G) According to this account from *La Croix*, the passage to the river was open: but *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, who, as hath been observed in a former note, makes the Khân incamp between the Soltân and the river, relates, that the latter, seeing no more of his army left, made a last effort to break thro' the *Mungls*, and happily gained the river.

attempts. Then, putting his finger on his mouth, and turning towards his children, he said, a
 “ any son should wish to spring from such a father (H). He who dares defy such dangers as
 “ this prince has now escaped, may expose himself to a thousand others; and a wife man, who
 “ has him for his enemy, must be always on his guard.”

*Drowns his
family.*

MEHEMED NISSAVI, author of *Jalalo'ddin's* life, reports, that the Soltân, pierced with the shrieks of his family, who begged him to deliver them from being slaves to the *Mungls*, commanded them to be all drowned; and that his orders were immediately executed. But other historians, who have given a very full relation of all which passed in that battle, assure us, that *Jenghîz Khân*, presently after it, having caused to be brought before him the Soltân's wives, and all his children, ordered the males to be killed; among whom was his eldest son, then but eight years of age. After this, he had the treasure, which *Jalalo'ddin* had thrown b into the river, taken up by divers.

*Exploits in
India.*

THIS prince, as soon as he was landed safe in *India*, got into a tree, to pass the night secure from wild beasts. Next day, as he walked melancholily along the banks, looking to see if any of his people appeared, he perceived a troop of soldiers, with some officers, three of whom proved to be his particular friends. These, at the beginning of the defeat, had found a boat, in which they sailed all night, with much danger, from the rocks, shelves, and violence of the current. Soon after, he saw coming towards him 300 horse, who informed him of 4000 more, saved by swimming over two leagues from thence: the Soltân went to meet them, and promised to provide for their necessities. Mean time *Jamâlarrazad*, an officer of his household, who was not at the battle, knowing that his master and many of his people were escaped, ventured to load a c very large boat with arms, provisions, money, and stuff to clothe the soldiers, and cross over to him: for which great piece of service *Jalalo'ddin* made him great steward of his household; and surnamed him *Ektiâro'ddin*, that is, *the chosen*, or, *the glory of the faith*. And from this time things succeeded happily with the Soltân. He fought several battles in *Hindûstân*, and was at first victorious: he also made conquests and alliances. But at length the *Indian* princes becoming jealous of his prosperity, they conspired against and obliged him to repass the *Indus*. Others say, his return to *Persia* was voluntary, in order to recover what he could of his dominions, in the absence of *Jenghîz Khân*. But we must leave him at present, to return to the conqueror.

* FADHL. NISSAVI MARAKESH. ap. La Croix, p. 317, & seq.

(H) Or, as *Abûlghâzi Khân* has it, *One might justly give the title of happy to the father, who had such a son.*

C H A P. V.

Conquests in Irân, from the battle of the Indus, to Jenghîz Khân's return into Tartary.

*Persian Irâk
subdued.*

Hej. 619.
A. D. 1222.

THE victory at the *Indus* cost *Jenghîz Khân* 20,000 men; and since he sat down before a *Talkhân*, he had lost no fewer than 200,000. Yet he neglected not to send advice of his good success to the governors of provinces, and particularly to *Hubbe* and *Suida*: who having now finished the conquest of *Persian Irâk*, he ordered them to enter *Azerbejân*, the ancient *Media Atropatia*, in the spring of the year 619. They being then in winter-quarters at *Senoravend*, a city of that province, which they had taken by storm, sent immediately for a supply of troops from *Khorassân*. These troops, soon after their setting out, met with, and defeated, 3 or 4000 *Karazmian* horse, under *Takîn*, who fled to *Jorjân*, in *Tabarestân*, whither *Aynânje Khân* before-mentioned, was retired: the *Mungl* commander pursued; and, meeting them in the beginning of the said year, between that city and *Astarabâd*, after a sharp dispute, routed them. *Takîn* was killed; and *Aynânje Khân* fled to *Kayaso'ddin*, Soltân *Jalalo'ddin's* youngest brother, who b possessed *Khûjestân*, where he died soon after.

*Ardebil and
Taurus yield.*

THE two generals, having received this reinforcement, marched to *Ardebil*, or *Ardevîl*, a strong city, and of great trade, within two leagues of the mountain *Savelûn*; which, after some little resistance, surrendered at discretion. The *Mungls* killed the greater part of the people; and, after plundering, burnt the city. Since which, it was rebuilt; and is at present one of the finest cities in the *Persian* empire. From hence they went to *Tabriz*, or *Tauris*, the capital of *Azerbejân*, whose governor, being a man of courage, rejected all their offers. He fatigued them with infinite

a finite sallies, and drew them frequently into ambuscade. But at last, being forced to a pitch'd battle, was beaten: yet he escaped to the city, and might have held out a long time, if the inhabitants had not compelled him forthwith to make proposals to the *Mungl* generals, who readily consented to them; for fear the *Georgians*, who were esteemed the most valiant people of all *Asia*, should declare for the inhabitants. After this, being informed, that there were some commotions at *Ispáhan*, they returned to *Irák*: but the author of them having been slain by his party, they did not punish the inhabitants.

THE *Georgians*, expecting to be attacked in their turn by the *Mungls*, were resolved to prevent them; and, though it was the midst of winter, entered *Azerbeján*, in quest of the troops, which the two generals had left there: but finding more than they expected, and having been worsted in two rencounters, returned to *Teflis*, from whence they sent to ask assistance from all their neighbours; but none would lend them any. They, to be revenged, sent strong parties to molest all those who favoured the *Mungls*. Mean time *Hubbe* and *Suida* sent troops to oppose them; and, as soon as the season permitted, marching from *Irák*, with all their forces entered *Georgia*: but finding all the passages stopped, and that a few were able to defend them against a great many, did not think fit to attack them. However, on their return to *Azerbeján*, they took and plundered *Marâgha*, which, they were informed, had assisted the *Georgians*. This city was built by the Khalifah *Merwân*, and was very considerable, both for its trade and fine situation, about fifty miles south of *Tauris*. *Hûlâkû*, grandson of *Jenghíz Khán*, built there a magnificent observatory, in which presided the famous *Nasro'ddîn al Tústî*, mentioned before.

FROM hence they went to refresh themselves at *Ardebíl*; where advice arriving of a revolt at *Hamâdan*, *Hubbe* marched thither to appease it. The governor *Jamâlo'ddîn*, seeing himself forsaken by the rest of the seditious, sent the *Mungl* rich presents, with offers of submission: but the general insisted that he should surrender at discretion. He was going to comply; when a captain, named *Fakîbî*, put himself at the head of the troops which were in the city, and had the boldness to make a sally: but being repulsed and pursued, a great number of the enemy, entering promiscuously with his soldiers, seized the gates, and became masters of the place. On *Hubbe's* return, the two generals marched to reduce *Salmâs* and *Kâi*, or *Koy*, in the most western part of *Azerbeján*; which having taken and plundered, they turned their arms against *Nâkshivân*, a city of the province of *Al Rân*, or *Arrân*, situated between *Azerbeján* and *Armenia*. This place was treated like the others; yet with less rigour than *Pilkân* (or *Bilakân*): this being a well fortified city, as well as the place of greatest trade in all *Arrân*, it cost the enemy a great deal of time to take it; and they, in revenge, committed most cruel actions: but *Gânjeh*, another city (now the capital) of the same province, fared better; for, opening its gates without delay, no damage was done to the inhabitants.

HERE the *Mungls* being informed that an army of *Georgians* were advancing to attack them; it was resolved that *Hubbe* should put himself in ambuscade, with 5000 men, while *Suida* marched with the gross of the army, as if to give them battle: but that, as soon as the enemy appeared, he should leave his baggage, and retire hastily, to draw them on. This stratagem had the desired effect: so that, at the same time *Hubbe* came out of his ambuscade, *Suida* faced about; and the *Georgians* being charged both before and behind at once, 30,000 of them were cut in pieces. They who escaped spread a report through the country, that the *Mungls* were coming to besiege *Teflis*; which threw the inhabitants into the utmost terror. However, the soldiers, knowing the difficulty of the passages, ran to guard them; while the *Mungls*, disheartened at the many narrow lanes and turnings which they met with, immediately retreated.

IT is time now to go see what *Jenghíz Khán* was doing in *Khorassân*. This prince, after the battle with *Jalâlo'ddîn*, through the severity of the winter, was obliged to take up his quarters on the borders of *Hindustân*, and repose his fatigued army. When they were a little recovered, he ordered a hunting; but on the approach of spring, he sent out new troops to make new conquests. Fourscore thousand were detached toward *Herât* (which had revolted), under the command of *Ilenku Nevian*; and 20,000 under *Bela*, or *Bala*, marched towards *Multân*, in *India*, to oppose the Soltân, if he appeared on that side. *Oktay* was sent, with the troops under his conduct, to conquer *Gazna*; and *Jagatay* had 60,000 forces given him, in order to shut up the provinces of *Send* and *Kermân* against *Jalâlo'ddîn*. But the Soltân returned into the latter as soon as he heard that *Jenghíz Khán* was gotten into *Mogolîstân*; whither that prince prepared to march, upon advice that *Sbidaskû*, Khán of *Tangût*, had taken the city of *Kampion* from his governor, and that the *Kitayans* were inclined to revolt.

ON this news *Jenghíz Khán* sent orders to his brother *Utakîn*, and marched with the troops which remained with him, as far as *Kandahâr*, which he took. This city is very ancient, and the capital of a province of the same name. It carries on a great trade with the countries of

^a FADHL. ap. La Croix, p. 323, & seq.

^b See before, p. 292.

Send, India, and Persia; and some geographers place it in the one, some in the other, of which it is a strong frontier town. Here the Khân waited a long time, expecting to hear news from his armies.

Multân
reduced.

SOME time after the reduction of this fortress, *Multân*, a city of *India*, was subdued by *Bela Nevân*; who had orders to conquer *Labâr* also: but as he was informed there was, in that place, a stronger army than his own, he did not go thither. A *Patân* prince, named *Kobâdia*, had sent those forces; thinking he had more reason to provide against the *Mungls* than against *Jalâlo'ddin*. For although the Soltân was then in arms on his frontiers, yet he had only a few troops with him: nor had he done any thing, but made a slight irruption into the territories of a prince named *Râna*, who had insulted him, and whom he had killed.

Slaughter
at Herât.

ILENKU (A) executed the orders he had received concerning *Herât* with much cruelty. It has been already related, that the people of this country, after they had made peace with *Tuli Khân*, revolted, on the appearance of *Jalâlo'ddin*; killed the governor *Abûbekr*, with those of his party, and set up *Mubarezzo'ddin* in his room. This happened at the time when 30,000 malecontents joined that prince; which made them believe his affairs would take a prosperous turn. *Kûtûktû* received immediate orders to chastise them, but his defeat at *Birwân* prevented him: so that the Khân had been obliged to defer his vengeance till now. *Ilenkû* had orders to ruin all the country; and it employed him six months to execute his commission (B). The *Mungls* boasted that they had destroyed in this expedition above 1,600,000 persons; including the 30,000 malecontents, whom the general had orders to fight, and intirely defeated, though with much difficulty.

Gazna
besieged,

and taken.

OKTAY, whose orders were to punish *Gazna*, no sooner arrived in that country, than he exercised all sorts of cruelties. Not that this prince was naturally bloody, but he knew his father was so: and that he hated those people to whom he owed the loss of his armies. After he had subdued all the places of least strength, he sat down before the capital *Gazna*, then called *Dâro'l Mulk*, or *the royal city*, because it had been the metropolis of the *Gazni* Soltâns. This city was provided with all things necessary to sustain a siege; had a strong garrison, with a brave and experienced governor. The inhabitants, expecting no mercy from the Khân, who they knew had sworn their ruin, were resolved to make a desperate defence. They made frequent sallies on the besiegers; several times overthrew their works, and broke above a hundred of their battering-rams. But one night, after an obstinate fight, in which *Oktay* fought in person, to encourage his soldiers, who began to be daunted, one side of the city-walls fell down; and filling up the ditch, a great number of *Mungls* easily entered sword in hand. The governor, seeing all lost, at the head of his bravest soldiers, charged among the thickest of his enemies; where he and all his followers were slain. However, *Gazna* was not entirely ruined; nor did all the inhabitants perish: for after the plundering had lasted four or five hours, *Oktay* ordered it to cease; and taxed the people who were left alive at a certain rate, to redeem themselves and the city. This prince continued here till the whole province was reduced, and then went to rejoin his father in *Tartary*.

Jagatay enters
Kermân.

Sickly climate.

MEAN time *Jagatay* having entered *Kermân*, the ancient *Karamania* of *Persia*, took, by degrees, all the cities in that province. The Khân, who had been well informed of the unhealthiness of the country, gave him a particular charge to look after the soldiers. After he had reduced *Tîz*, one of the best cities, with some other places, which he destroyed, he proceeded to *Kelânjer*, a country bordering on *Hindûstân*; where intending to pass the winter, the soldiers, by help of their slaves, built houses, cultivated gardens; and kept flocks of sheep, as if they were to settle there. But when the scorching winds began to blow, to which they were not accustomed, almost all of them fell sick, and a great number died; while the greater part of those who lived became so weak and languid, that they were not fit for service. By this means the country of *Fârs*, or *Pârs*, which is the proper *Persia*; and that part of *Khûzestân* which belonged to *Kayaso'ddin*, Soltân *Jalâlo'ddin*'s younger brother, and contained several strong cities, escaped for this time the invasion of the *Mungls*. *Jagatay*, by removing his troops from one place to another, by degrees recovered them; and finding the slaves which his soldiers had taken were a burthen to them, ordered the throats of the greater part of them to be cut. Then having committed the care of the conquered countries to one of his lieutenants, he, pursuant to his father's orders, directed his course for *Bâlkh*, where the general rendezvous was appointed.

The Khân
returns

JENGHIZ KHAN, after taking *Kandabâr*, as before-mentioned, decamped, and continued to march towards the *Jibûn* or *Amû*. He passed the rest of the summer in a delightful

* FADHL. NISSAVI, ap. La Croix, p. 331, & seq. ABU'LG. p. 139.

(A) *Alû'ghâzi Khân* calls him *Ilziktey* (or *Ijiktey*) *Noyân*.

(B) According to *Alû'ghâzi Khân*, he divided his 80,000 forces into four bodies; and never ceased af-

faulting *Herât*, at so many different places, till he had taken it, after six days attack; and put to the sword all the inhabitants, excepting fifteen, and then demolished the walls.

a place, to the south of that river; where he informed himself concerning the antiquities of *Bâlkâ*, and particularly *Zeridesht Bebrâm*, or *Zoroaster*, the famous philosopher, who instituted fire-worship. Here he received letters from the Khân of *Tangût*; promising submission, and to become tributary, provided the Khân would pardon what was past. To prevent his forming any more enterprises, an answer was sent, that his offers were accepted. After this it was resolved to cross the *Amû*, in order to keep in awe all those who had any inclination to rebel. Then having sent notice to the generals, dispersed through the provinces, to set out immediately and follow him, he proceeded to *Bokhâra*. There again he had a conversation with the *Po't'hâra*, learned, about the *Mohammedan* religion, which they said consisted chiefly in five articles: *Hej. 620.*

1. The belief of one God, the Creator of all things, who had no equal: 2. In giving the poor one-fortieth part of their yearly income or gains: 3. In praying to the Deity five times every day: 4. In setting apart one month of the year for fasting: 5. In making a pilgrimage to the temple of *Mekka*, there to worship God. *Jenghiz Khân* told them he believed the first article, and approved of the three next: but was displeased with the last, saying, the whole world was God's house; and thought it ridiculous to imagine that one place should be fitter than another to adore him in. The *Mohammedan* doctors were no less offended with his opinion on this point, since it maintained there was no occasion for temples. *A. D. 1223.*

JENGHIZ KHAN continued at *Bokhâra*, to pass the winter; and then proceeded to *Samar-^{Hubbe and Suida}* *kant*, where he spent most part of the year: and intending to hold a general dyet the next year at *Tonkât*, sent mandates to the princes, governors, and generals, to repair thither. As *Hubbe and Suida* had instructions to return by the way of *Dârbend*, round the *Caspian* sea, they no sooner received his orders, than they entered *Shîrwân*, and took *Shâmakîya*, the capital, which they treated with rigour, for its resistance; and then, changing their measures, spared both the country and the people. This was all done to obtain of the king a passage by *Dârbend*: but that prince, fearing their design was to seize that fortress, and drive him out of his kingdom, denied their request, under various pretences; till at length the generals, finding they made use of intreaties to no purpose, proceeded to threats: which procured a grant to their demands, with officers to conduct them.

THE Mungl generals, in viewing *Dârbend*, admired at its natural as well as artificial ^{pass through} strength; and confessed it was not to be forced. There is, between the sea and the mountains, a space, about a quarter of a league wide, which is shut in by two walls, built of gravel and shells pounded together; a composition harder than any stone, and six foot thick. They are founded on the rock, and reach from the sea to the mountain; so that all passengers were obliged to pass through by the iron gates (C), which were in these walls. The space between them made a third part of the city, and is called *Shâbr-yânnân*, or *the city of the Greeks*, because built by *Alexander the Great*: another part is at the foot of the mountain: and the third on its declivity, near the top. The middle part is best peopled; and all three near two miles and a quarter in length, though not very broad. There is a kind of port, shut in by a chain, fastened to two forts, one on each side; and the whole is defended by a castle on the top of the mountain: but the trade is very inconsiderable^d.

THE orientals say, that, since *Alexander* led his army through *Dârbend*, none but that of *Jenghiz Khân* ever passed this way. The *Alani*, at present called the *Tatars* of *Dâghestân*, ^{Defeat the Dâghestâns.} were extremely surprised at the unexpected appearance of the *Mungls*; and, fearing they had some design on their liberty, spoiled the roads, and destroyed the provisions every-where. The generals, provoked, took and ruined their chief city *Tarku*. After this they surprised *Terki*, the capital of the *Cherkassians*, who were joined with them, as well as the *Kalmûk Tatars* (D), bordering on the *Wolga* and *Caspian* sea. However, foreseeing that, if these three nations raised all their forces, they should not be able to withstand them, the *Mungl* generals sent messengers to assure the *Kalmûk* tribes, that they were of the same nation with themselves; that they asked nothing, but to return to their own country; and desired them to be arbitrators of the war. The *Kalmûks*, moved by these reasons, and more perhaps by presents, recalled their troops: so that the *Alani* and *Cherkassians*, seeing themselves deprived of their assistance, soon lost courage, and gave way to their enemies.

THE generals, having crossed the *Wolga*, by favour of the *Kalmûks*, entered into *Kipchâk*, ^{Enter Kipjâk:} or *Kapshâk*: but being obliged to pass the winter there, as they arrived late in the year, their long stay gave rise to feuds between them and their hosts. Hereupon the *Mungls* fortified their camp, and sent to *Tusht Khân*, who was not far off, for assistance. That prince detached the greater part of his troops, who, having joined the others, in spite of the enemy, formed a con-

^d LA CROIX, p. 339, & seq. ABU'LG. p. 142.

(C) Thence called *Demîr Kâpi* by the *Turks*, and *Bâbâl-ab-avab*, that is, *the gate of gate*, by the *Arabs*. *Darband*, or *Derbend*, signifies in *Persian*, *the fastenings of the gates*, or *the shut-gates*.

(D) So called, doubtless, because they were *Pagans*: whereas the other two nations were *Mohammedans*, or *Christians*, at least.

Astrakhân
taken.

The Khân's
bounty.

Comes to Ton-
kat,
Hej. 601.
A. D. 1224.

Holds a dyet

with great
pomp.

considerable army ; which, without much trouble, constrained those people to submit. Mean a
time *Tuski*, being obliged to repair to court, left *Hubbe* and *Suida* to command in *Kipchik*
during his absence ; with orders to attack the *Nogays*, who had offended him, and were the
only people unsubdued in *Kipchik* : which that prince had reduced, having pushed his con-
quests as far as the borders of *Russia*. By means of the frozen rivers, the *Mungls* had an ear-
ly passage to *Astrakhân*, called *Haji Tarkan* by the *Mohammedans*, situate in an island of the
Volga, near the *Caspian* sea, which they subdued. The war lasted six months : at the end
of which the *Nogays* acknowledged *Tuski Khân* for their sovereign, and *Jenghiz Khân* for their
Grand Khân. The generals continued in this country till *Tuski* returned from the dyet, in
autumn 1224 ; and then left it with the troops they had brought thither.

If *Jenghiz Khân* was severe to those who offended him, he was kind and bountiful to such b
as did him any service, or were willing to oblige him. When he left *Samarkant* to go for
Tonkat, he freed the people of that province for several years from paying the usual tribute,
because their behaviour had pleased him : and to give the lords some particular marks of his
affection, he remitted to them, for their lives, the taxes due from the nobility to their prince.
This generous proceeding caused much joy in *Samarkant* : but it was damped with seeing the
queen *Turkhân Khâtûn*, followed by her ladies, and they by all the great officers of Soltân *Mo-
hammed*, who had been taken, led as in triumph before the Grand Khân's army ; who was going
to pass through those countries where she was still beloved. After them the Soltân's throne and
crown were borne in state.

THE Grand Khân, having crossed over the river *Sibûn*, or *Sir*, arrived at *Tonkat* the begin- c
ning of the year 601 : which city he had made choice of to hold the dyet in, because it was
agreeably situated, and was able to furnish all things necessary for so numerous an assembly.
The princes and generals being all returned from their respective expeditions, *Jenghiz Khân*,
with caresses, received his sons, who kneeled down, kissed his hand, and made him presents,
which were very considerable : but those of *Tuski*, or *Fuji*, were by far the best ; for, besides
other rare things, there were 100,000 horses, white, dappled-greys, bays, black, and spotted,
of each sort an equal number. In return, the Grand Khân opened his treasures, and loaded
them with gifts. After this he gave public feasts for a whole month : but the most sumptuous
banquet was on their return from a general hunting, in which several thousand beasts of all
kinds had been slain : the falconers furnished variety of birds. Their liquors, besides *balpe- d*
rinj, or metheglin, *griut*, or beer, and *kammez*, or *kimis*, were excellent wines from the
southern countries ; and sherbets, which they had learned to make from the *Persians*.

WHEN this great feast was ended, preparations were made for holding the dyet in the plain
of *Tonkat* : which, though seven leagues in length, could scarcely contain all the tents and at-
tendants of the great personages ; who, besides the governors, came from the most distant
provinces of *Kitay*, *Mogulistân*, *Karakitay*, *Turân*, and *Irân*. The greater part of them also
had brought thither their moveable houses. When the Khân's quarters were marked out,
which took up near two leagues in compass ; and the streets, squares, and markets were
appointed, they pitched the tents for his household. That set up for the dyet to sit in, would
contain at least 2000 persons ; and, to distinguish it from the rest, it was covered with white. e
It had but two gates, one named the imperial, for the Khân alone to enter at ; the other cal-
led the public gate ; which last alone had guards, and that only for grandeur. A magnificent
throne was erected for the emperor : nor did they forget to place on an eminence the black
felt carpet, on which that prince was proclaimed Grand Khân : which emblem of the poor
estate of the *Mungls* at that time, was held in great veneration by them, so long as their em-
pire lasted.

ALTHOUGH the luxury of the princes and chief lords of the *Mungls* was not come to the
height which it arrived at after *Jenghiz Khân*'s death ; yet there appeared a great deal of mag-
nificence in their dress, which resembled the *Turkish*, and in their equipages, especially their f
saddles, and other horse-furniture, which were set with precious stones and gold. On the top
of most tents were placed streamers of the richest silks, of divers colours ; which made a
charming shew. Although the affairs which were to settle in so vast an empire as that of the
Mungls was already grown to, were very many ; yet *Jagatay*, the keeper of *Jenghiz Khân*'s
laws, had put them in so good a method, that all things were regulated by them without any
trouble. From hence the Khân, who loved to speak in public, took an occasion to make
a speech in praise of those laws, to which he imputed all his victories and conquests ; recount-
ing them very minutely, one after the other. Then, as a farther proof of his greatness, he
ordered all the ambassadors, who had followed the court, as well as all the envoys and depu-
ties from the countries he had subdued, to be called in ; and having given them audience at
the foot of the throne, dismissed the assembly.

a AFTER this, *Tushî Khân*, among the rest, took leave of his father, in order to return to *Tashî returns* *Kipchâk*; the grant of which kingdom the Khân confirmed to him. On his arrival there, the two generals, *Hubbe* and *Suida*, put their troops into his hands, and returned to court; where they were received with honour; and allowed an hour every day, while *Jenghiz Khân* was on the road homewards, to recount to him the rarities they had seen in the countries which they had traversed in their last expedition; leaving his army to follow at leisure ^f.

HAVING finished the history of *Jenghiz Khân's* expedition in the west of *Asia*, from the writers of those countries, we shall now lay before our readers what has been transmitted to us concerning it, from the *Chinese* historians.

b THE people of the *Si-yu* having massacred certain persons sent by *Jenghiz Khân*; this prince ^{Bukhâria} was so enraged at it, that, after subduing the countries in the neighbourhood of *Kâshgar*, he ^{invaded} went and besieged *Wo-ta-la* (or *Otrâr*). In the third month of the year 1220 he took *Pu-wa*; in the fifth, *Sun-ke-san* (E); whose king, called *Cha-la-ting* (F) (or *Jalalo'ddîn*), quitted the city on the Khân's approach. *Pi-tû*, son of *Yelu Lyew-ko* (king of *Lyau tong*), though dangerously wounded, seeing *Chu chi* (or *Fuji*), an intrepid prince, engaged almost singly against a troop of the enemy, ran to his assistance; and, though quite surrounded, they broke through and escaped (G). Prince *Yelu Kobay*, a relation of *Pi-tû* (for there were many *Kitân* in the *Mungl* army), was made governor of the place. The *Wbey-hû* (H) had lined the banks of the river *Gan-mû* (I) with their best troops, covered with no fewer than ten intrenchments; they likewise covered the river with barks. But the general *Ko-pau-yu* burnt them with c shooting fiery darts; whose flame and smoke putting the *Wbey-hû* in disorder, the *Mungls* attacked their intrenchments on every side, and forced them (K).

IN 1221, the *Mungl* year of the serpent (L), the Khân subdued the cities of *Po-ha-eul*, or *Conquest* *Bokhâra*, and *Sye-mi-tse-kan*. *Chûchi* took *Yan-ki-kan* and *Pa-eul-ching*. During the summer ^{there} heats the Khân resided at the *Iron Gate* (M), a fortress to the westward of *Sa-ma eul-kan*, or *Samarkant*. There he received two famous embassies from the emperors of the *Song* and the *Kin* (then reigning in *Ma-ji* and *Kitay*), who made proposals of peace; but, being resolved to destroy those powers, they were not accepted. In autumn, *Pan-lo-ki* (N) (or *Balk*) was taken. *Jenghiz Khân* having ordered his general *Porchi* to instruct *Jagatay*, his second son, in the art of war, named that prince governor of great part of his eastern conquests. *Fuji*, d *Jagatay*, and *Oktay*, in the year 1221, took *Yu-long* and *Kye-she* (O). *Toley*, formed under A. D. 1221, the Khân himself, reduced *Ma-lu*, *Sha-ki-ko*, *Ma-lu Si-la-tse* (P), and other places. This year the Khân declared *Ho-lin* (or *Karakorum*) the metropolis of his dominions in *Tatary*; that is, the place where the general assembly of the princes, and chiefs of tribes, was to be held.

IN 1222, the emperor, resolving to besiege *Ta-li-han* (or *Talkân*), gave a great body of ^{and in Iran} troops to *Toley* (or *Tuli*), whom *Idikût*, king of the *Igûrs*, desired to accompany with 10,000 of his troops. *Toley*, who liked the *Igûrs*, was charmed to have their prince in his army, both because he had excellent officers, and was a great commander; having given many proofs of his valour and conduct, in conjunction with *Chepe*, against the *Wbey-hû*. These two princes e first took *Thîs*, or *Tîs*, *Nye-cha-u-eul*, or *Nishâbûr*. Afterwards they acquired a great deal of

^f LA CROIX, p. 353, & seq. ABU'LGH. p. 144.

(E) There is no determining, with any certainty, either what places these were, or most of the rest which follow; only *Sun-ke-san* is supposed, by *Gaubil*, to be *Khejend*; and the rather, because in a catalogue, or summary of the history of the *Lyau*, it is called *Ho-chang* or *Ko-chang*: but then the particulars, mentioned in the text, do not agree with those before related from the western historians of *Asia*.

(F) He is called also, *So-tan*, or *Su-on-tan*, and *Ko-fey-cha-que Su-on-tan*, that is, the Soltân of the kingdom of *Ko-fey-cha*; and thus the father, *Mohammed Karazm Shâh*, is confounded with his son. *Ko-fey cha* sounds like *Kapchâk*, or *Kaschâk*, especially as *que*, or *ke*, comes after it; although that seems to be the *Chinese* word for kingdom, and *Ki-cha* (or *Kin-cha*) is the term commonly used for *Kaschâk*, or *Kipchâk*.

(G) This seems to relate to the battle of *Karakû*, between *Fuji* and Soltân *Mohammed*. See before, p. 295.

(H) These *Wbey-hû*, or *Whey he*, as they are also called, seem to be *Mohammedan Turks*; and so named to distinguish them from the *Deist Turks*, who are, by the *Chinese*, called *Tu-que*, or *Tu-ke*. They extended themselves along the borders of *Little Bukhâria*, and were settled in many parts of it.

(I) This seems to be the *Amû*, or *Jihûn*, by the sound; but should rather be the *Sihân*, or *Sîr* (on which *Kho-jend* is situated), by the scene of action.

(K) There is no mention thereof in our account of this siege from the western historians; nor of *Timûr Mâlek's* brave defence in the *Chinese* history: yet this may be designed for a relation of it.

(L) This must be a mistake, for 1220 was the year of the *serpent*.

(M) There is a place in this country called *Kolûga*, or the *Iron Gate*: but the western historians do not say the Khân spent the summer there. Besides, *Kolûga* lies to the south or south-east of *Samarkant*.

(N) *Pan-lo-ki*, and *Termi*, or *Termed*, we are told, were taken by *Jenghiz Khân* in person.

(O) Those three princes, in 1221, made the expedition into *Karazm*; but there is no affinity between those names and *Karazm*, or any cities they conquered there.

(P) *Ma-lu*, is, doubtless, *Maru*, in *Khorassân*; of which name there are two places, as hath been observed before, p. 312, note S.

plunder in the kingdom of *Mu-lay* (Q). Then crossing the river *Shû shû-dan*, and taking the road of *Ye-li* (R), arrived at *Talkbân*, which by their assistance was taken and destroyed. *Jenghîz Khân*, being informed that *Jalâlo'ddîn*, king of the west, had joined *Mye-li*, marched at the head of his troops, and defeated the two princes; of whom the last was taken. But touching this event the *Chinese* authors differ; some say, *Jalâlo'ddîn* fled first to *Ha-la-be* (S) (or *Herat*), and then to *Han-yen*: and that, being beaten at both cities, he retired into the sea (T). Others, more rightly, affirm *Mye-li* to be king of the *Mohammedans*; and that, being hotly pursued by the *Mungls*, he entered the sea and died. All agree that he abandoned his money and jewels, which fell into their hands^g.

Death of Ka-
izm Shâh.

Kin-cha invaded. THE king of *Kin-cha* (U) having not only spoken disrespectfully of the emperor, but often given shelter to his enemies; the general *Suputay* asked leave, in 1223, to make incursions into his country. To him were joined *Chepe* and *Kosmeli*. They marched along the *Tenkîz Nor* (X), and made roads over mountains which seemed inaccessible. They ruined the cities of *Ku-eûl*, *Te-she*, *Wansha*, *He-lin*, and others; passing the *O-li-ki* (or *Volga*), in several battles, defeated the people of *Kîr-she*, *A-sû* (Y), and the *Wo-lo-tse* (or *Russians*), whose chief was named *Mi-chi se-la*. This lord was taken, and, at length, beheaded; the country of *Kin-cha* ravaged; and *Ho-han Ho-to-se*, prince of the *Kangli* (Z), routed near the city *Po-tse-pa-li*. At his return from this expedition, *Chepe* (A) died in great reputation^h.

Mungl slaugh-
ters.

THE *Chinese* history of the *Mungls* remarks, on occasion of their invasion of this country of *Kin-cha*, that, since the time they first issued out of their sandy deserts, they did nothing but plunder, kill, burn, and destroy kingdoms. It accuses them with all sorts of crimes, the greatest of which was that of extirpating royal families, root and branch; so that both men and spirits (says the history) burst with vexation, and called for vengeanceⁱ. Other *Chinese* authors relate, that, in the first fourteen years of the *Mungl* empire, there were slain 1847 myriads (or eighteen millions four hundred and seventy thousand people), by the founder *Jenghîz Khân*^k.

WHILE *Jenghîz Khân* passed the hot season at *Pa-lu-van*, whither his sons and generals repaired to him, they agreed on a form of government for the western conquests. And here it may be observed, that the emperor, besides the officers of war, first appointed *Ta-lu-wha* (or *Tagûrsi*), that is Mandarins who had seals, and determined civil matters.

Conquests in
India.

IN 1224 the *Khân* marched to a great kingdom in the east, called *Hin-tû*, *Intû*, or *Sin-tû* (B). Here coming to a narrow pass, called the *Iron Gate*, fortified by nature and art, it is said that several *Mungls* saw a monster resembling a stag, with green hair, a horn in his forehead, and the tail of a horse, who told them, that *their master must turn back!* *Jenghîz Khân*, surprised at this relation, asked his prime minister *Yelu-chu tsay* about it (C); who informed him, that the animal was named *Kyo-twan*; that he understood four languages, and, possibly, did not love slaughter. Hence he took occasion to exhort the *Khân* to return, and destroy no more people.

AFTER this, the emperor caused several *Indian* cities to be plundered; but finding his great officers weary of a war so far from home (D), resolved to take the road to *Tatary*. Several officers out of the west removed with their families, to settle in *Kitay*. *Jagatay* (one of the intrepids) his generalissimo. *Chuchi* (or *Fuji*) was sent into *Kincha*, where he soon after died, leaving his son *Pa-tû* (or *Ba-tû*), a young prince of great hopes, for his successor^l.

^g GAUBIL, hist. Genth. Kan, p. 35, & seqq.
^k COUPLET. Tab. Sinic. Chron. p. 74.

^h Ibid. p. 40, & seq.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 51.

^l GAUBIL, p. 42.

(Q) A corruption of *Molabedab*; the people called also *Ismaelians* and assassins; and their prince the *Shaykh al Jebâl*, or the lord of the mountain: they possessed part of *Jebâl*, or *Kûbestân*; that is, the mountain country, in *Persian Irâk*, and were extirpated some years after by *Hûlakû*, *Jenghîz Khân*'s grandson. Although the western historians mention *Rudin*, and other places, which belonged to these assassins, yet they do not speak of the assassins themselves.

(R) *Ye-li* seems to be *Eri*, *Heri*, or *Herat*, as it is variously written by authors.

(S) Or *A-la-be*; the *Chinese* geography says, this is *Herat*: but *Herat* seems rather to be meant by *Ye-li*, before-mentioned, which *Tuli* took in his way back to *Talkbân*; nor is it in the way to the *Caspian* sea.

(T) This is to be understood of the *Caspian* sea.

(U) Before called *Ki-cha*, which is *Kipchâk*, and fell to *Fuji*'s share.

(X) So the *Mungls* call the *Caspian* sea. *Nor*, with them, signifies *sea*, or *great lake*; the *Chinese* pronounce it *Tyen-ki-tse*.

(Y) This country, which furnished the *Mungls* with good officers, was not far from the *Caspian* sea.

(Z) He is said, by the western writers, to have been slain, on another occasion.

(A) Called by *D'Herbelot*, *Jebc Noyan*.

(B) That is, *Hind*, or *Sind*; both which names the orientals give to parts of the country which we call *Hindûsiân*.

(C) This shews the *Chinese* historians had but an obscure account of the *Khân*'s expedition to the *Indus* against *Jalâlo'ddîn*, whom they do not mention on this occasion.

(D) Several *Chinese* books say, that an army of *Mungls* was sent to *Arabia*, and took *Me-te-na*, or *Me-dina*.

- ^a THIS is the *Chinese* account of *Jenghîz Khan's* western expedition: which our readers may see is very difficult to reconcile with that given by the historians of the west of *Asia*, as it tallies neither with respect to the order of the conquests, their dates, nor the names of places; not to mention its scantiness, and other imperfections.

C H A P. VI.

Conquest of the kingdom of Hya, and progress in that of Kitay, till the death of Jenghîz Khân.

- ^b SOON after the dyet of *Tonkat* was dissolved, *Jenghîz Khân* set out with all his court (A); *Affairs of* obliging the captive queen to attend him continually, mounted on a chariot, and loaded *Lyau-tong*, with irons, as the proud monument of his victories in the west^a. But while the conqueror is on his journey to the east, let us return thither, and see what was doing during the time he was absent from his own dominions. The emperor had left the government of them all to his brother *Wa-che* (B), who managed affairs with great prudence and dignity. In 1220 the princess *Tyau-li* repaired to the regent's court, to notify the death of her husband *Lyew-ko*, king of *Lyau-tong*. *Wa-che* received her with magnificence, and sent her back, with troops, to govern in that country till the return of the Khân; which trust she discharged with great applause.
- ^c On the other hand, *Mûbûli*, his lieutenant-general in *China*, acquired much reputation in *and of Kitay*. the war which he maintained against both the emperor of the *Kin*, and the king of *Hya*. In 1218, *Chang-yau*, a general of the army, gathered a large body of troops to revenge the death of another general, his friend, murdered by an officer who was his enemy. Coming to *Tse-kin-quan*, a famous fortress in the mountains of *Pe-che-li*, he was attacked by *Mingan*, and fought bravely; but his horse falling, he was taken: and, being brought before the victor, refused to kneel to him; saying, As he was a general himself, he would rather die first. *Mingan*, admiring his greatness of soul, dismissed him with honour, and treated the other prisoner-officers well; yet, at the same time, ordered *Chang-yau's* father and mother to be put to death. The son, hearing this, after debating the matter with himself, to save their lives, offered to enter in the *Mungl* troops; and few officers were his equals, or did the Khân more service.
- ^d THREE months after, *Mûbûli*, accompanied by his son *Pûlû*, or *Polû*, recovered the places *Cities recovered* in *Shan-si*, which the *Kin* had taken back, and fortified. *Tay-ywen-fu*, the capital, sustained three assaults; but the officers, perceiving that they could neither defend the city, nor make a sally and cut their way through the *Mungls*, killed themselves. The officers of other places followed their example, rather than fall into the hands of *Mûbûli's* troops. The emperor of the *Song* (C), (or southern *China*), who had already declared war against the *Tatars* of *Nyu-che*, or the *Kin*, refused to make peace with them, and, by edict, exhorted his subjects to drive them out of *China*. Hereupon the *Kin* emperor sent his son and heir against the *Song*; which was carried on with various success.
- ^e In the beginning of the year 1219, *Chu-yu Kau-ki*, minister of the *Kin*, built a little city *Chang-yau's* within the inclosure of *Kay-fong-fû*, in *Ho-nan*, and fortified it very strongly. In *April*, *exploits*. *Chang-yau*, having been nominated to the command of a body of troops by *Mûbûli*, took several cities in the district of *Pau-ting Fu*; and then went to attack *Kya-gu*, the murderer of his friend, who was intrenched on a mountain: but not being able to force his works, he cut off his water; so that the other was obliged to surrender. *Chang-yau* tore out his heart, and sacrificed it to the manes of his friend. Afterwards, retiring with his people to *Man-ching*, a little unfortified city to the north-west of *Pau-ting Fu*, the *Kin* general, named *U-tsyen*, came and besieged him: but *Chang-yau*, after ordering all the useless men to mount the

^a LA CROIX, p. 361.

(A) According to the *Chinese* history, he was accompanied by two of his sons, *Oktay* and *Tuli*; by king *Idikâr*; by the prince *Pi-tû*, *Wâ-chen*, *Po-yau-bo*,

son of the prince *A-la-u-tse*; with the generals *Suputay*, *Chaban*, *Kosmeli*, *Ko-pau-yu*, and others.

(B) By the western writers called *Utakin*.

(C) Named *Ning-tsong*, the thirteenth emperor.

walls, sallied with the bravest of his soldiers, and cut his way, with great slaughter, through a his enemies. Having escaped this danger, he found himself surrounded by a body of reserve. At the first onset two of his teeth happened to be knocked out with an arrow: but becoming rather more furious, although he had lost almost all his men, he broke through them; and, with the few soldiers who were left him, plundered four little cities which were in his road. After this, receiving some reinforcements, he acquired fame by the conquests which he made in the districts of *Cbing-ting Fû*, and *Pau-ting-Fû*, in *Pe-cheli*.

Korea made tributary.

THIS same year, the *Mungls*, by their arms, made *Korea* (D) tributary; and, at the end of it, the *Kin* emperor put to death his prime minister *Kau-ki*, who was accused of being, by his bad advice, the cause of all the evils which the empire suffered. In August 1220, *Mûbûli*, arriving at *Man-ching*, near *Pau-ting Fû*, sent a party to the pass of *Tau-ma-quan*, a fortress b in the mountains. These having beaten a detachment of the *Kin*, the governor of *Cbing-ting Fû* submitted, and delivered that important place to *Mûbûli*; who ordered his army to set at liberty all the prisoners they had made, forbidding slaughter and plunder under the severest penalties ^b.

Conquests in Shan-tong,

THE *Kin*, after the death of *Kau-ki*, took proper measures for defending their dominions. He was succeeded by *Su-ting*, who had both experience and skill in military affairs. This minister had found means to set on foot an army of 200,000 men in *Shan-tong*; with which he frustrated the designs both of the *Chinese* emperor, and the king of *Hya*, in *Shen-si*, who were forced to raise the siege of *Kong-chang Fû*. The army, which the *Kin* had in *Shan-tong*, being encamped at *Whang-ling-kan*, the general sent 20,000 foot to attack *Mûbûli*, c who lay near *Tsi-nan Fû*, the capital of that province, which he had taken. The *Mungl* general, having had notice hereof, went to meet this detachment, fought, and defeated it. Afterwards he attacked the enemy's army drawn up on the river side, making his cavalry dismount; and, after a furious battle at close fight, routed them; an infinite number being drowned in the flight.

Shan-si, and Shen-si.

MUHULI, after this victory, made several conquests, and sat down before *Tong-chang Fû*; but perceiving it would hold out too long, raised the siege, and left troops to block it up. In May 1221, the garrison, falling in want of provisions attempted to withdraw; but the officer who commanded the blockade intirely defeated them, killing seven thousand, and then took possession of the city. *Mûbûli*, from *Tong-chang Fû*, marched to *Tay-tong Fû*, d in *Shan-si*; then, passing the *Whang-bo*, forty leagues west of that city, entered the country of *Ortûs*, and spread terror through the kingdom of *Hya*: so that its king saw the best course he had to take, was to do whatever the *Mungl* general would have him. He committed no hostilities this year against *Hya*, but attacked the *Kin*. He blocked up *Tan-gan*, a city of *Shen-si*; but found it too well fortified and provided to be quickly taken. He slew more than 7000 of the enemy: subdued *Kya-chew*, which he fortified, and some other places. His design was to seize the posts, which might facilitate the taking of *Tong-quan*, in order to go and besiege *Kay-fong Fû*.

Mûbûli's death,

IN 1222 *Mûbûli* made many conquests in the district of *Ping-yang Fû*; and the year following, attacked *Fong-tsyang Fû* in *Shen-si*. The *Mungl* general, after this, repassed the *Whang-bo*; and, having driven the *Kin* out of several posts in *Shan-si*, as well as recovered *Pû-chew* (a city a league and a half east of that river, which the enemy retook the year before), he set out upon another expedition; but fell sick at *When-bi-hyen*: and perceiving himself near his end, sent for his brother *Tay-sun*, and earnestly recommended to him the taking of *Pyen-king* (E), as a matter of great importance; being much grieved that he had not done it himself. After these words, he expired, aged fifty-four years; forty of which he had served in the army with success.

and character.

MUHULI was considered by all the *Mungls* as the first captain of their empire; and *Jenghiz Khân* had an entire confidence in him. The great dignity to which he was advanced did not lessen his military ardor; and in all the grand enterprises he underwent as much fatigue as the meanest soldier. The *Khân*, before he was proclaimed emperor, retreating to his camp by night, after a defeat; and, not able to find it, for the snow which had fallen, being much fatigued, lay down upon some straw to sleep: hereupon *Porchi* and *Mûbûli* took a covering, and held it over him all night in the open air. This generous action gained them much reputation, and rendered their families in great esteem among the *Mungl* princes.

IN September 1224, *Sun*, the emperor of the *Kin*, died, and was succeeded by his son *Shew-su*; who the next month made peace with the *Hya*.

^b GAUBIL, p. 42, & seqq.

(D) Called by the *Tatars*, *Solgho*; and by the *Chinese*, *Kau-li* and *Chau-tsyen*.

(E) A city seventeen leagues south-south-west of *Ping-yang Fû*.

a In the beginning of the year 1225, the emperor *Jenghiz Khân*, having passed through *Tartary* (F), arrived at the river *Tula*, after near seven years absence in the west; and it is easy to judge what impresson his return made in the minds of the neighbouring powers, whether friends or enemies. *Tyau-li*, queen of *Lyau-tong*, came to meet that monarch, with the princes her nephews. That lady, who had much wit, fell on her knees to acknowledge *Jenghiz Khân*, and make him compliments on his great conquests. The emperor, in his turn, consoled her on the death of the king, her spouse; praising the manner in which she governed her kingdom, and promised his protection to her whole family. *Tyau-li*, after returning thanks, prayed him to nominate *Pi-tu* king of *Lyau-tong*. The Khân could not help admiring the justice and prudence of this lady: for *Pi-tu* was son of *Lycw-ko*, by another b venter, but his mother was dead; and *Tyau-li* had several children by the same king. As *Sben-ko*, the eldest, had all the qualifications proper for governing, the emperor was for having them reign in conjunction; but the queen, persisting in her request for *Pi-tu*, the monarch nominated him; and had the goodness to relate to her the many brave actions he had done in the west. The emperor kept *Sben-ko* at his court; and ordered a great lord to conduct the queen and the new king into *Lyau-tong* c.

LI-TE, king of *Hya*, had given shelter to two great enemies of the *Mungls*, of which the Khân loudly complained: but that prince, far from making satisfaction, took those obnoxious persons into his service. At this new provocation *Jenghiz Khân* marched in person; and, in February 1226, took *Yetsina* (G). After this, the *Mungls* forced all the fortresses, which were very numerous, between that city, *Ning-hya*, *Kya-yu-quan* (H), and *Kan-chew* (I). *Sû-chew* (K), *Kan-chew*, and *Si-lyang Fû* (L), were also taken. The king of *Hya* died in July, of grief, to see his dominions become a prey to the *Mungls*. In November the Khân took *Ling-chew*, to the south of *Ning-hya*; and then encamped thirty or forty leagues to the north of the former.

OKTAY, his third son, accompanied by general *Chaban*, went into *Ho-nan*, and laid siege to *Kay-fong Fû*, capital of that province, and then the residence of the *Kin* emperor: but they were obliged to raise it. However, in 1227, marching into *Sben-si*, they took most of the fortresses that were in the districts of the metropolis *Si-ngan Fû*; then advanced towards the places and forts which the *Kin* had in the departments of *Fong-isyang Fû* and *Han-chong Fû*. d *Oktay* having gone into *Tartary*, and left the command to *Chaban*, the *Kin*, who concluded his designs were to re-enter *Ho-nan*, offered new proposals of peace to *Jenghiz Khân*; which being rejected, they made a last effort. They resolved to think of nothing now but how to defend themselves the best they could in *Ho-nan*: they fortified the passages of the *Whang-ho*, and the principal cities: they furnished *Tong-quan* with a great number of troops; and set on foot an army of 200,000 chosen men, commanded by the best officers they had.

JENGHIZ KHAN, having in the spring left an army to besiege *Ning-hya* (then called *Hya-and in Hya: chew*), capital of the kingdom of *Hya*, sent a great body of troops, who seized the countries of *Koko Nor* (M), *Qua-chew*, and *Sha-chew* (N). The Khân, at the head of another body, made himself master of *Ho-chew* (O) and *Si-ning* (P): then, after cutting in pieces an army e of 30,000 men, he went and besieged *Lin-tau Fû*, which belonged to the *Kin*. This city he took, with several others; and then, proud of so much success, went to pass the summer heats on the mountain *Lu-pan* (Q) in *Sben-si*.

LI-HYEN, king of *Hya*, who succeeded *Li-te*, being reduced to the last extremity in

c GAUBIL, p. 45, & seqq.

(F) The historians of the west of *Asia* say, that, after leaving *Tonkât*, he passed through *Turkestan*, and the kingdom of the *Naymans*; then entered into *Karakitay*; and some months after went to *Karakorum*, the seat of his empire; but give us no particulars of his journey, more than the *Chinese* authors.

(G) *Yetsina*, or *Azina*, *Eychina*, *Echina*, or *Ejina*, was a considerable city of the kingdom of *Hya*; the same *Marco Polo* calls *Ezina*. The *Chinese* geography places it to the north of *Kan-chew*, and north-east of *Sû-chew*, 120 leagues from the former; but that distance (says *Gaubil*) must be too great. It is at present destroyed: it stood on a river of the same name, called also *Echina*, which runs by *Sû-chew*, and a branch of it by *Kan-chew*.

(H) A fort at the west end and gate of the great wall of *China*.

(I) *Kan-chew*, according to *Gaubil*, is the *Kampion* of *Marco Polo*: it seems rather to be *Ning-hya*, since thereby is intended the capital of *Tangût* by the oriental

historians; from whom *La Croix* composed his history of *Jenghiz Khân*.

(K) Or *So-chew*, is the *Suchure*, or *Suk-kir*, of *M. Polo*, according to *Gaubil*.

(L) Then a great city, now a fortress called *Yong-chang-wey*. *Gaubil*.

(M) The true pronounciation is *Hûbû Nor*, or the lake *Hûbû*. These countries are, at present, possessed by the *Eluth Mungls*, or *Kalmûks*.

(N) Near *Qua-chew*, to the west of it. It is the *Sachion* of *M. Polo*, about 120 miles north-west of *Khya-yu-quan*, and in lat. 40° 20' long. 20° 40' west of *Pe-king*.

(O) A city in *Sben-si*, fourteen or fifteen leagues to the north-west of *Lin-tau-fû*.

(P) First, *Si-ning-wey*, now *Si-ning-chew*; a city in *Sben-si*, to the south of *Kan-chew*, and near the country of *Koko Nor*.

(Q) *Lu-pan*, about latitude 35° long. 10° 45' west of *Pe-king*.

Ning-hya,

The kingdom
destroyed.

Ning-hya, surrendered at discretion, in June, and set out for *Lu-pan* (R), to humble himself a before the *Mungl* emperor: but he had no sooner left the city than he was slain. The place was intirely plundered, and a cruel slaughter made of the inhabitants, the plains being covered with dead bodies: they who escaped the sword, fled to the mountains, woods, and caves^d.

THIS is the account given in the *Chinese* history of the destruction of *Hya*, called *Tangût* by the more western writers; who, doubtless for want of good information, relate this great event with different circumstances; as may appear from the history of the *Hya*, to which we refer our readers^e. However, they add some other matters, which claim a place here.

Jurjeh Turks
submit.

After the defeat given to the army of *Shidasku*, king of *Tangût*, *Jenghîz Khân* marched against the *Turks* of *Jurjeh*, who had assisted him: but as they submitted to pay a yearly tribute, and receive garrisons into their towns, and also to furnish the victor with some troops, the emperor proceeded no further. There he received news from *Bâghdâd* of the *Khalîfah's* death: on which advice he ordered new levies to be raised, and, in the interim, secured himself, not only of the countries dependent on *Tangût*, as *Ergbinul*, *Sinqui*, and *Egrikaya*; but also of the neighbouring territories, and particularly of the city of *Sikion*, distant from *Pe-king* but fourscore days journey: which otherwise might have given him great uneasiness when he was entered into the *Southern China*.

Death of
Tushti.

AFTER this good success, he passed the winter in this fruitful country of *Tangût*; removing his camp from time to time, chiefly towards the borders of *Turkestan*. But, while his court was filled with joy, news came from *Kipjak* of the death of his eldest son *Tushti* (or *Juji*); which, by degrees, threw the *Khân* into a deep melancholy, and hindered him from relishing any diversions. Things even became so indifferent to him, that he appeared scarcely at all affected with the news they brought him of a great victory, gained by his lieutenant in the west, over *Jalâlo'ddîn*. This *Soltân*, as soon as he was informed that the emperor was at a distance from *Persia*, returned from *India* into *Makrân*, with some troops. From thence he went to *Shîrâs*, and afterwards to *Ispâban*; into which his friends introduced him secretly, and there augmented his little army. From thence he proceeded to *Bâghdâd*: but not being well received, he beat the troops which the *Khalîfah* had sent against him, and retook *Tauris*.

AFTER this he marched against the *Georgians* with 30,000 men: and, at his return to *Azerbejân*, advanced against the *Mungls*; who, having passed the river *Amû*, in the beginning of the year 623, came to meet him with more numerous forces. Both armies coming to a battle, *Jalâlo'ddîn's* was defeated; and this was the victory of which *Jenghîz Khân* had received advice.

Soltân Jalâ-
lo'ddîn,

THE *Mungls*, on this advantage against the *Soltân*, made themselves masters of *Tauris*; while that prince, rallying his forces, harrassed his enemies, and had sometimes the better of them. He afterwards laid siege to *Aklât* (S), the capital of *Armenia*; whither the *Khalîfah* sent an ambassador to him with presents. From thence he passed into *Anatolia*, to oblige the *Seljuk Turks*, who possessed that country, to render him the same respect they had done his father: but he was there defeated by *Alao'ddîn Kaykobâd*, *Soltân* of *Koniyab* (or *Iconium*), in conjunction with the other princes of *Rûm*; who yet did not pursue him after the battle, because they were willing that he should keep the *Mungls* in play. He accordingly gave them no small diversion; but, at last, they came upon him by surprise; and having intirely routed his forces, plundered his camp. After this misfortune he fled to *Mabân*, in the confines of *Azerbejân*, where he lived a whole winter, without being known: but being at last discovered, he retired into *Kûrdestân*; where he was killed, four years after *Jenghîz Khân's* death, by a native of that country, in the house of one of his friends, where he had taken refuge.

and Shidasku.

So soon as the spring of the year 1226 was come, and the emperor's troops were arrived at the place of rendezvous, in order to enter *Manji*, or the *Southern China*; an officer repaired thither, sent by *Shidasku*, to acquaint the *Khân*, that, in case he would forget what was past, his master would in person wait on him. *Shidasku* made this step, for fear the *Mungls* should attack his fort of *Arbaka*, to which had retired after his defeat. The envoy, however, was well received at the court of *Jenghîz Khân*, who, in an audience, said to him: "You may assure your master, that I will no more think of what is past between him and me; and that I will grant him my protection (+)." Yet the last order he gave before he died was, that *Shidasku*, as soon as he came to court, should be put to death; which order

^d GAUBIL, p. 49, & seqq.

^e See hereafter, vol. III.

(R) One history says the *Khân* was at *Tsing-cha-i*, dependent on *Kong-chang Fû*, when *Ning-hya* was taken.

(S) A city near the lake of *Vân*, on the north side, often mentioned before; called also *Eklât*, and *Kalât*.

(+) *Alûlgâzi Khân* says, the *Khân* received the envoy with much civility, and dismissed him with all sorts of good words; but put himself under no positive promise, with regard to his master.

a was accordingly executed on him, his children, and his attendants, on their arrival there eight days after ^f, as will be set forth in its place ^g. Let us now return to the Chinese historians.

JENGHIZ Khân, having thus put an end to the kingdom of *Hya*, after it had continued ^{for 200 years} near 200 years under its own princes, intended also to complete the conquest of the empire of the *Kin*. But the beginning of the year 1227, he fell sick, on the mountain before-mentioned; and, finding death approach, on the 18th of *August* (T), sent for the generals of the army, and declared prince *Toley*, his fourth son, regent of the empire, till the arrival of his brother *Oktaï*, whom he nominated for his heir and successor. Then, recommending union among them, he said, with regard to the war against the *Kin*: that, as the best of their troops guarded *Tong-quan*, and they were also masters of the mountains to the south, it would therefore be difficult to attack and vanquish them, without the assistance of the *Song* (or *Chinese*); who, being their mortal enemies, he advised his officers to demand a passage through their territories, in order to attack the *Kin*: that, entering by the cities *Tong* and *Teng* (U), they should march directly and besiege *Ta-lyang Fû* (X): that this would oblige the *Kin* to call their troops from *Tong-quan*; and that, as they would be fatigued by the length of the journey, they might be attacked with advantage. Having spoken these words, he died, aged sixty-six (Y), after a reign of twenty-two years; and was buried by *Toley* in the cave of *Ki-nyen* (Z), a mountain to the north of the great *Kobi*, or sandy desert, in *Tartary* ^{and death}.

c THE historians of the west of *Asia* give a somewhat different account of his death and sepulchre. According to them, the physicians ascribed his sickness to the bad air of the marshy countries, where he had for a long time resided; and to the grief which the death of his son *Tushî* had occasioned.

His illness having seized him near a forest in the road to *Ching*, the camp was ordered to remain there; and *Jenghiz Khân*, judging, by the pains he felt, that his life was in danger, notwithstanding all the care taken by his physicians and astrologers, resolved to dispose of his dominions, and name a successor. To this purpose he ordered his sons, and their children, with the other princes of the blood, to come into his presence: then, raising himself upright, with that majestic look which had always gained him both awe and respect, d told them, he found himself departing; and added, "I leave you the greatest empire in the world: but, if you will preserve it, be always united; for if discord steals in amongst you, be assured that you will be all ruined." After this, he asked those who stood by, Whether it was not proper that he should make choice of a prince who was capable to govern so many kingdoms after him? Hereupon his sons and grandsons fell on their knees, and said; "You are our father and our emperor, and we are your slaves; it is for us to bow down our heads when you honour us with your commands, and to execute them."

The princes then rising from the ground, he named prince *Oktaï* for his successor, and declared him the Khân of Khâns, by the title of Khân; which he gave him, and which his successors have retained (A). They all bowed the knee a second time, and cried, "What e the great *Jenghiz Khân* ordains is just; we will all obey him; and if he pleases to command us even to kiss the rod, with which we have merited to be chastised, we will do it without disputing it." The emperor gave to *Jagatay*, *Mawara'nabr* (or *Great Bukharia*), and several other countries, by a written instrument, to prevent any difference that might arise between him and the rest of his heirs; and the dominions so granted took the name of *Ulûs Chagatay*, that is, the country of *Chagatay*. He also commanded *Karashar Nevân* to accompany this prince into his new dominions, and pursue *Jalâlo'ddin*, in case he ventured to invade them. The last order *Jenghiz Khân* gave was concerning *Shidasku* ^{Oktaï nominated}.

^f LA CROIX, p. 375, & seqq.
CROIX, p. 378, & seqq.

^g See vol. III.

^h GAUBIL, p. 51, & seqq.

ⁱ LA

(T) One history puts his death seven days later, at a place called *Sali-chwen*; the Chinese word *Chwen*, denoting the *Sali* to have been a place full of fountains, lakes, and hills.

(U) *Tong-chew* and *Teng-hyen*, cities of *Ho-nan*, depending on *Nan-yang Fû*, and bordering on the province of *Hu-quang*; by which, and *Shen-fû*, he counselled them to enter *Ho-nan*. *Gaubil*.

(X) At present *Kay-fong Fû*, capital of *Ho-nan*.

(Y) All the Chinese histories agree as to the years of this Khân's age and reign. *Akûlghazi Khân* says, he lived sixty-five years, and reigned twenty-five in quality of Khân: *La Croix* agrees with him as to the

years of his reign, but assigns seventy-three for those of his age.

(Z) The Chinese history of the *Mungls* says, that this cave was the usual burying place of *Jenghiz Khân*'s successors. Several *Mungl* lords, of his posterity, at *Pe-king*, affirmed the place of his burial to be on the mountain called *Han*. Lat. 47° 54' long. 9° 3' west of *Pe-king*.

(A) Some authors say, there was no change made in the title of Khân; and possibly not: for *Gaubil* says *Kohân*, or *Kahân*, is the *Mungl* word which answers to that of *Hân* (or *Khân*). See *Souciot, Observ. Math.* &c. p. 188.

His burial:

It was no difficult matter to conceal his death; because when any great person among the *Mungls* is sick, some signal is put a-top of the house, to give notice that none should visit him; and centinels are placed at a good distance from their lodgings, to hinder any from approaching, but those who are sent for (B). After this execution, *Jenghîz Khân's* death was published, which threw all the court into extreme sorrow (C). His body was interred with great magnificence, in a place which he had chosen for the purpose: it was under a very beautiful tree, where, in his return from the chace, a few days before he fell sick, he had rested himself with much satisfaction. A very noble monument was afterwards erected over his grave: and the people, who came to visit the tomb, planted other trees round it, in such delicate order, as rendered it in time one of the finest sepulchres in the world (D). Historians make no mention of men being slain at the grave of this monarch; nor is this barbarous custom countenanced by any law: yet it is certain that this inhumanity was exercised at the funerals of the emperors who succeeded him. The attendants, who accompanied the funeral pomp, put to death those whom they met in the way, in a persuasion (E) that they were predestinated to die at that time: and even cut the throats of the finest horses.

character and genius:

JENGHIZ KHAN, besides all the virtues requisite in great conquerors, had a genius fit for forming grand enterprizes, a consummate wisdom and prudence to carry them on; a natural eloquence of speech to persuade; a patience proof against all difficulties, and able to surmount all obstacles. His temperance was admirable, and his understanding large, with a penetrating judgment, which made him always choose the best of whatever was proposed in an instant: yet it must be confessed, says our author, that he was cruel and bloody, and treated his enemies with too much rigour¹. The great genius of this prince appears in some measure from the discipline which he established among his troops; whereof we have already given an account².

wisdom and prudence:

When he was about taking the field, every one of his subjects knew how much he was to furnish towards the equipage of the army. He punished vice and crimes with as much rigour as he rewarded virtue and commendable actions. He was not satisfied to choose strong men for the wars, it was necessary also that they should discover some parts; and out of the bravest of those, he made his officers. He usually appointed the best footmen among the captives to take care of the horses; and employed the dullest to look after the sheep. So many good regulations gave him an easy conquest over the neighbouring countries, where there was not the like disposition. He was likewise accustomed, once a year, to assemble all his officers, as well civil as military, and examine whether they had the capacity requisite for the well discharge of their employments; never failing to bestow large praises where they were due³.

his religion:

JENGHIZ KHAN, with regard to his religion, was a deist; as hath been already observed. The first time he entered *China*, he gave orders to exclude the Bonzas from being any way concerned in either the army or the court: for he was inclined to destroy them; because, says the *Chinese* history of this prince, it was difficult to say exactly in what his religion (F) consisted.

his wives,

JENGHIZ KHAN had a great number of wives (G); many of whom bore the title of empress. All these wives were distinguished by their palaces: and these palaces, called *Ordû*, or *Ortû*, were to the number of four. The first and most considerable of the empresses was *Hyu-chen*, daughter of *Te-in*, lord of the *Honkirat* (or *Kongorat*) tribe: whose sons, *Oktay* and *Toley*, were therefore preferred to the rest. The Khân excluded the princes of the family, born of *Chinese* women, from inheriting the crown⁴.

THIS is all that has been transmitted to us from the *Chinese* history concerning the wives of *Jenghîz Khân*. The more western historians mention five, who were esteemed above all the rest. The first, *Guzi Suren* (H), daughter of the Khân of the *Naymans*, who was his first wife. The second, *Purta Kujin* (I), daughter of the Khân of *Kongorat*, the same with *Hyu-chen*, before-

¹ LA CROIX, p. 382, & seq. ABU'LGH. p. 145. & seq. ² GAUBIL, p. 53.

³ See before, p. 272, 275.

⁴ ABU'LGH. p. 146,

(B) *Abûlghazi Khân* says, that the sons of *Jenghîz Khân*, pursuant to his order, kept his death concealed; and, having assembled a great army, went and besieged *Tangut*; which falling into their hands, after a very obstinate resistance, they put to death *Shidasku*, with a good number of his soldiers, and carried the rest into slavery.

(C) His sons spent three months in mourning, according to *Abûlghazi Khân*; and *La Croix* says, that the news of his death being spread all over the empire, the court was filled with Khâns, and great lords, both tributary and allied, who came to comfort the afflicted princes; and that this resort of sovereigns lasted at least six months.

(D) According to *Abûlghazi Khân*, this place was

called *Burkhân Kaldin*; and that all his descendants, who died in those provinces, have been interred there.

(E) Rather under a pretence; for it does not appear that the *Mungls* believed predestination.

(F) From hence the author of that history seems to have been of the sect of *Fo*: for the religion of *Jenghîz Khân* seems not to have differed from that of *Konfusius*, with respect to the Deity.

(G) *Fadhlallah* says, he had near 500, besides concubines. *La Croix*.

(H) In *Abûlghazi Khân's* history she is called *Kariz*, or *Kariju*, and ranked as his third wife. He makes her also the widow of *Tayyau*, Khân of the *Naymans*.

(I) Or *Borta Kuin*, as in *Abûlghazi Khân*, who ranks her as the first wife.

mentioned. The third, *Obâljîn*, or *Ovisulujîn*, daughter of *Vang Khân*, king of the *Kara-its*.

- a The fourth, *Kubku Khatun* (K), daughter of the emperor of *Kitay*: and the fifth, *Kulan Khatun* (L), daughter of *Dairafon*, a *Mungl* Khân, of the *Merkit* tribe: which lady was an extraordinary beautyⁿ.

JENGHIZ KHAN had a great number of children; but the *Chinese* history mentions only six *and children* sons and three daughters. *Chuchi* (*Fuji*, or *Tusbi*), the eldest son, was a great captain; active, full of fire, and delighting in war. *Chagatay* (or *Jagatay*, and *Zagatay*) was universally beloved for his wisdom and affability. *Ogotay* (*Ugoday*, or *Oktay*) was endowed with much prudence and greatness of soul; was courageous, and loved justice. *Tolcy* (or *Tuli*) was *His favourite* beloved by his father, and generally esteemed by the *Mungls*. Of *Uluche* and *Kolye-kyen*, the *sons*:
b two last (M), nothing remarkable occurs. The three princesses were married to *Idikât*, Khân of the *Igûrs*, *Poyabo*, and *Po-tu*, as hath been already observed: and the heirs of the three sons-in-law of the Khân usually married the daughters of the *Mungl* emperors^o.

THE western *Asiatic* historians ascribe the first four sons of *Jenghîz Khân* to *Purta Kujin* (or *Hyu-chen*); whereas the *Chinese* history makes her the mother of only two of them. These four alone seem to have been vested with power and command; the rest, who are scarcely mentioned, though all princes of the blood alike, had only some petty governments or lordships conferred on them. *Tusbi*, or *Fuji*, Khân, was master huntsman of the empire (N), the *their employ-* most considerable post in it; as hunting was the prime exercise among the *Mungls*. He chose *ments*.
c *Zagatay*, or *Jagatay*, to be chief judge, and gave him the title of director of the *Yassa*, or laws; which were put into writing. *Oktay*, from his wisdom and prudence, was deemed worthy of the post of chief counsellor (O); nor did his father undertake any thing of moment without consulting him. All military affairs were committed to *Tuli*'s (or *Taulay*'s) care; the generals depended on, and received the Grand Khân's orders, from him^p.

BEFORE we conclude the reign of this conqueror, it is incumbent on us to perform our pro- *Larus of Jen-* mise^q, to insert the *Yassa*, or laws, above-mentioned; which were made by him, and esta- *ghîz Khân*; blished in a dyet held for that purpose, at *Karakorum*, in the year 1205: they are in substance as follow.

- d “ 1. To believe, that there is but one God, the Creator of heaven and earth; who alone gives life and death, riches and poverty; who grants and denies whatsoever he pleases; and who has over all things an absolute power.”

TEMUJIN seems to have published this law (P) merely to shew his belief of the Deity; for, far from ordaining any punishment or persecution against those who were of other religions, he forbade molesting any person on account of his faith; leaving every body at liberty to profess that which he liked best, on condition that he believed there was but one God: for even some of his own children and princes of the blood were *Christians*, *Jews*, and *Mohammedans*.

“ 2. THAT the heads of sects, the religious, the criers of the temples, and those who wash the dead, should, as well as physicians, be exempted from all public offices.

- e “ 3. THAT none whatsoever should, under pain of death, presume to cause himself to be *as to polity* proclaimed Grand Khân, without having first been duly elected by the Khâns, commanders, and other *Mogul* lords, lawfully assembled in a general dyet.

“ 4. THAT no heads of tribes should use any titles of honour, which they affected to have, in imitation of the *Mohammedans*; or that any should give to his successor any title but that of Khân, with two *a*'s. He desired also, that, for the future, all his subjects should style him simply Khân.” This was ever after observed by all who spoke to him: but in writing to him, they always added some other of his titles, as most powerful, invincible, &c.

“ 5. THAT peace should never be made with any king, prince, or people, till they were intirely subdued.

ⁿ MIRK. MARAKESH. ap. La Croix, p. 139.
ABU'LGH. p. 96.

• GAUBIL, p. 52.

^p MIRK. ap. La Croix, p. 140.

^q See p. 279.

(K) *Abû'lghâzi Khân* names her *Kizu*, or *Kiju*, and places her the second.

(L) *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, besides the three before-mentioned, names *Milu* and *Singan* for the fourth and fifth: which two last were, he says, descended from a *Tatar* family, and two sisters; the second of whom he married after the death of the first.

(M) According to *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, the *Mungl* emperor, besides his four sons by *Purta Kujin*, had five others by the rest of his wives; but he mentions not their names.

(N) *Abû'lghâzi Khân* says, he governed the œconomy of his father's court.

(O) According to the same author, *Oktay* had the management of the treasury, and received the accounts of the governors of provinces.

(P) Although this law had been long observed by the *Tatars* in its purity, and is at this day by many of them; yet superstition by degrees introduced idolatry, by a distinction between a celestial and a terrestrial God; which was pretended not to be contrary to their law-giver's intention. The terrestrial god was placed in their houses, in form of an image, and covered with felt, and named *Natigay*; accompanied with others, which they said were the images of his wife and children. *La Croix*.

and warfare,

“ 6. THAT the troops should always be divided into tens, hundreds, thousands, and ten
“ thousands; as very commodious for the speedy raising of forces, and making detachments.

“ 7. THAT the soldiers, when going to take the field, should receive their arms from the
“ officers, and return them at the end of the campaign: that they should keep their arms
“ clean, and in good condition, and shew them to their commanders when preparing to give
“ battle.

“ 8. THAT none, on pain of death, presumed to pillage the enemy, before the general
“ grants leave: but that the meanest soldier should have the same advantage as the officer;
“ and remain master of all the booty he was found possessed of, on condition he paid to the
“ Khân's receiver the duties or share specified by the laws.

game and
meats,

“ 9. THAT from the month which, with us, is *March* to *October*, no person should take
“ stags, deer, roebucks, hares, wild asses, nor certain birds; to the end that the court and
“ soldiers might find sufficient game during the winter, in the huntings they were obliged to
“ make.” As *Temijîn* was sensible, continual exercise was necessary to keep soldiers in good
order, he appointed hunting, as most proper for that purpose.

“ 10. THAT in killing beasts none should cut the throat; but, tying the legs, rip up the
“ belly, and pluck out the heart.

“ 11. THAT the blood and entrails of beasts might be eaten.” Before this the *Moguls* were
forbidden to eat them: but as *Temijîn* was returning one time from an expedition, wherein
provisions fell short, the soldiers met with a great quantity of entrails, left by people, who had
newly killed beasts taken in hunting; and, being pressed by hunger, eat them, the Khân him-
self partaking; who, considering how useful this food might be to his troops on the like occa-
sions, took off the prohibition, by a law.

12. THE privileges and immunities granted to *Tarkâns* were regulated in the manner
already related.

industry and
honesty,

“ 13. To banish idleness out of his dominions, he obliged all his subjects to serve the public
“ in some kind or other. They who went not to the wars, were to work so many days, at
“ certain seasons, on the public structures; or do some other work for the state; and one day
“ in the week was to be employed particularly in the service of the Khân.

“ 14. THE law against thieving was, that he who stole an ox, or any thing of equal price,
“ should be punished with death, and their bodies cut asunder, in the middle, with an han-
“ ger: that those who were guilty of lesser thefts should receive seven, seventeen, twenty-seven,
“ thirty-seven, and so on to seven hundred blows, with a cudgel, in proportion to the value
“ of the thing stolen.” But this punishment might be bought off, by paying nine times the
value. The exactness with which this law was observed secured all the Grand Khân's subjects
from being robbed.

servants and
slaves,

“ 15. THEY were forbidden to use for servants any of their own nation: to the end they might
“ addict themselves to war, and be obliged to take care of the captives they should make,
“ whom they were to preserve for their own service.

“ 16. IT was forbidden, on pain of death, to all *Moguls* and *Tatars*, to give meat or drink,
“ or to lodge or clothe, another person's slave, without permission from his master. All per-
“ sons who should meet with a fugitive slave, were likewise obliged, under the same penalty,
“ to seize and bring him back to his master.”

marriage,

17. By the law concerning marriages it was ordained, “ That the man should buy his wife;
“ and not marry with any maid to whom he was a-kin, in the first or second degree: but
“ in all other degrees it was permitted; so that a man might marry two own sisters. Poly-
“ gamy was permitted, and the free use of their women slaves.” This at last occasioned that
great liberty which every man took, to have as many wives and slaves as he could maintain.

adultery,

“ 18. Adulterers were condemned to death; and a man was permitted to kill them when
“ surprised in the act.” According to *Marco Polo*, the inhabitants of *Kaindu* murmured
against this law; because it was a custom with them to offer their wives and daughters to their
friends when they came to see them, in token of respect and affection. They presented sever-
al petitions to *Temijîn*; intreating, that they might not be deprived of this privilege. The
prince, yielding to their importunities, left them to their shame, and granted what they desired:
but, at the same time, declared, that he looked on those people as infamous.

posthumous con-
tracts,

“ 19. To cultivate amity among his subjects, he extended the ties of relationship very far.
“ He permitted two families to unite, although they had no children living; by writing a con-
“ tract between the son of one and daughter of the other, though both dead, and performing
“ the ceremony in their names (Q). After this they were reputed married, and the families
“ became truly allied, as if they had been really married.

* LA CROIX, p. 80, & seq.

“ 20. IT

(Q.) This custom is still in use among the *Tatars*; ing the figures of the pretended married couple, and
but mixed with superstitious circumstances. After draw- some animals, on the contract, they throw it into the
fire;

a “ 20. IT was forbidden, under severe penalty, for any persons to wash themselves, or even
 “ their clothes, in running waters, during the time it thundered.” Thunder, in antient *Mogu-^{fear of thun-}*
listan, and the neighbouring countries, was so dreaded by the people, because it often did them ^{der.}
 mischief, that, as soon as the noise of it was heard, they threw themselves desperately into
 rivers and lakes, and were often drowned. *Temûjîn*, finding that he lost many of his best sol-
 diers by this extraordinary fear, made this law, by which they were made to believe, that, by
 disturbing the waters, they caused exhalations which occasioned the thunder; and that it would
 not do them half so much harm, if they withdrew from any water. All observe this law still,
 excepting the *Mohammedan Tatars*, who look upon it as a superstitious custom, which contra-
 dicts one of the principal injunctions of their religion, which is to wash in any water; and with-
 b out which washing they cannot be saved.

“ 21. SPIES, false witnesses, sodomites, and forcerers (R), were condemned to be put to
 “ death.

“ 22. HE published most severe ordinances against governors who failed of doing their *Checks on gov-*
 “ duty: but principally those who commanded in far distant parts. If their conduct was blame- ^{vernors.}
 “ able, they were punished with death; and if their fault was but slight, they were obliged
 “ to repair in person, to justify themselves, before the Grand Khân.” Which must have been
 extraordinary checks.

MANY other laws were published, which are not specified in the authors before us (S): but *The Yassa* ⁷⁸⁷
 these, which were doubtless the principal, remained in full vigour during the reign of *Temûjîn*, ^{verenced.}
 c and his successors. *Timûr Beg*, or *Tamerlan*, himself, who was born 111 years after this prince,
 caused them to be observed through all his empire; and the *Krim Tatars*, as well as others,
 to this day, religiously keep them. *Marakeshi* affirms, that they were all the contrivance of
 the Grand Khân himself: but others say, they were only copied from those which the orien-
 tals heretofore ascribed to *Turk*, the son of *Japhet*, the great ancestor of all the inhabitants of
Tatary.

* LA CROIX, p. 84, & seq.

fire; being persuaded, that all this is carried by the
 smoke to their children, who thereupon marry in the
 other world. *La Croix*.

(R) Yet there were forcerers in the time of *Jenghîz*
Khân, and his immediate successors (if we may believe
 the missionaries and other writers) as well as now.

(S) *La Croix* says, in the authors which he had transf-

lated: but he can hardly mean oriental writers only;
 since, in this account of the *Yassa*, he has made use also
 of *Europeans*, without well distinguishing one sort from
 the other. There is a collection of laws in the *Levant*,
 intituled, *Yassa Jenghîz Khâni*: but *La Croix* had not
 seen it.

BOOK V.

*The history of Jenghîz Khân's successors in Mogulestân,
or the country of the Moguls.*

CHAP. I.

The reign of Oktay Khân, second emperor of the Mungls.

A. D. 1228.
2d Khân, Oktay.

AS soon as *Jenghîz Khân* was dead, *Toley*, or *Tuli*, who was regent in *Oktay*'s absence, sent officers to notify the same to the princes of his house, and generals of the army. Mean while the war against the *Kin* was carried on with more vigour than ever: *Ho-chew* (A), in *Shen-si*, had held out a long time, animated by the bravery of *Chin-in*, the governor, who at length, finding the city ready to be forced by the enemy, advised his wife to provide for her safety: that lady answered resolutely, that, as she had shared with him the honours and pleasures of life, she would die with him, and immediately took poison. Her two sons, and daughter-in-law, followed her example. *Chin-in*, after causing them to be interred, slew himself, and the city was taken. The *Kin*, commanded by a prince of the blood, defeated the *Mungls*, and killed 8000 of them in the beginning of the year 1228.

He is acknowledged,

A. D. 1229.

THE regent, after he had buried his father, went to meet *Oktay*. However, the grandees and generals not knowing but *Toley* intended to make himself emperor, dared not give that title to his brother. After waiting at the river *Kerlon* till the arrival of *Jagatay* (B), the princes of the imperial house unanimously agreed to adhere to *Jenghîz Khân*'s will; and, by the advice of *Yelu Chu-tsai*, a general assembly of the great lords and princes was appointed to meet at *Karakorum* (C), on the 22d of August 1229. That day being come, *Jagatay* and *Toley*, attended by the princes of their house, the chiefs of tribes, and generals of the army, went, and kneeling before *Oktay*'s tent, with a loud voice wished a long and happy reign to prince *Oktay*; a ceremony never used before on the same occasion by the *Mungls*. The new emperor made *Yelu Chû-tsai* his prime minister, and imparted every thing to his brother *Toley*; those two princes having had an intire affection for each other^a.

with much unwillingness.

THE western historians of *Asia*, on the subject of *Oktay*'s succession, say: that, in 627, two years after *Jenghîz Khân*'s death, his sons *Jagatay Khân* and *Taulay Khân*, with the children of his son *Fuji*, being assembled in presence of all the great officers of the *Mogul* empire, *Belgatay Noyân*, and *Iljiktey Noyân*, two of the principal court lords, caused the last dispositions of the late emperor to be publicly read; and, pursuant to the tenor of them, required *Ugaday* (or *Oktay*) *Khân* to accept of the sovereignty: but he declined it; saying, that, as he had a paternal uncle and two brothers living, he would rather that one of them would take that trust upon him (D). But after the assembly had spun out forty days, without being able to unfix

^a GAUBIL, hist. Gentch. Kan. p. 53, & seq.

(A) This city was called *Si Ho-chew* or *Ho-chew* of the west, to distinguish it from the other cities of that name. At present it is called *Min-chew*, being a considerable fortress, twenty leagues south of *Lín tau Fû*. *Gaubil*.

(B) One history says that *Oktay* would have given up the empire to *Jagatay*, but that he would not accept of it. *Gaub.*

(C) By the *Chinese* called *Ho-lin*. *Gaubil* informs us

in this place, that there was a dissertation at the end of his history of the *Ming* emperors, to prove that *Ho-lin* is the same with *Karakorum*, the capital of *Jenghîz Khân*'s empire: but no such thing has been published.

(D) According to *La Croix*, p. 383. *Oktay* protested he would not act as sovereign, till the dyer ordained by the law had been held: and they had examined whether he was capable of reigning.

a the resolution of *Ugaday Khân*; his brothers, determined to comply with their father's will at any rate, laid hold of him by the arms, and placed him, in some measure whether he would or not, in the imperial throne. The new Khân, having been obliged, in this manner, to submit to the officious zeal of his brothers, and all the grandees of state, gave a great feast to the whole assembly, and distributed magnificent presents to those who were at it. After this, he applied himself effectually to remedy all the irregularities which had crept into the government during the two years (E) interregnum^b.

WHEN *Sherw-su*, the emperor of the *Kin* (who reigned in *Kitay*), understood that *Oktay* was seated on the throne of the *Mungls*, he sent envoys into *Tartary*, who, under pretence of complimenting him on his advancement, proposed conditions of peace: while *Oktay*, resolving b to continue the war, would not hearken to them; and ordered his great general *Chela-wen* (F) to invest *King-yang-fu*, in *Shen-si*. But this place being well fortified, and furnished with provisions, that general did not think fit, in the depth of winter, to lose his time before it.

THE *Chinese* history assures us, that, when *Oktay* ascended the throne, the *Mungls* had neither fixed laws nor customs for government (G). The officers appointed to rule the several countries, put people to death at pleasure, and often massacred whole families. Hereupon *Yelu Chü-tsai* drew up laws, which the emperor caused to be rigorously observed.

THIS prince resolved to inform himself concerning the countries which were subject to him in *Tartary*, *China*, and the west: and this year they began to settle the quantity of silk, money, and grain, which the *Chinese* families, or the inhabitants of *Kitay* under his obedience, were to pay annually. They likewise ascertained the number of horses, oxen, and sheep, which the *Mungls* were to be taxed at: and the males above fifteen years of age were numbered in the western parts of the empire, in order to determine what they ought to pay: for which purpose *Oktay* sent a *Chinese*, well versed in business, to examine into the state of those conquered countries. This prince, from the first, gained the love of his *Chinese* subjects, by giving to *Shen-tyen-che*, and *Lyerw-he-ma*, the command of the *Chinese* troops in *Pe-che-li* and *Shan-tong*. These two lords, with *Yen-she*, were declared generals of the army. They had distinguished themselves under *Mübilü*; and their troops yielded in nothing to those of the *Mungls*.

AMONG the officers of the tribe of *Que-lye* (or *Kara-it*), whose lord was brother of *Toley* (or *Prime minister*), *Vang Khân*, prince of those people (H), was *Chin-hay*, a lord recommendable for his valour, integrity, and wisdom. He drank with *Jenghiz Khân* the water of the river *Pan-chuni*; was d in all his battles with the confederate *Tatar* princes; and followed him in his expeditions, both into *Kitay* and the west of *Asia*, where he acquired great reputation. *Oktay* chose this illustrious person not only to be one of his generals, but also as minister of state, in conjunction with *Yelu Chü-tsai*.

AT this time the country of *Kin-cha* (or *Kipjak*), with others to the north, north-east, and north-west, of the *Caspian* sea, were governed by *Patü* (or *Batü*), eldest son of *Chuchi* (or *Fuji*); and *Jagatay* held a great part of the western conquests: while other princes of the imperial family ruled over the great regions of *Tartary*, and elsewhere. But all these princes depended on *Oktay*; and the several generals, governors, commissioners, and others, who e served under them in their respective departments, were recalled, turned out, or changed, at the pleasure of the emperor^c. This distribution is pretty conformable to what the western historians relate: they say, that *Jenghiz Khân*, in his life-time, divided his dominions among his children; and that, after his death, they remained in the same situation: that *Kapshák* (or *Kipjak*), remained to *Batü*: that *Jagatay* had for his share *Great Bukharia*, with *Karazm* and *Turkestan*: that *Tuli* had *Khorassan*, *Persia*, and *India*: and that all the rest fell to *Oktay*; namely, *Mogulistan*, *Katay* (or *Kitay*), and the other countries eastward to the *Tartarian* sea^d.

IN the same year, the kings of *Mu-lay* (I) and *Industan* came in person to *Karakorum*, to

^b ABU'LGH. hist. Turks, &c. p. 148, & seq.
CROIX, hist. Gengh. p. 385.

^c GAUEIL, ubi supr. p. 56, & seq.

^d LA

(E) *La Croix* says, the public affairs did not suffer during this interregnum; *Jagatay*, the guardian and expounder of the laws, made them to be observed with so great exactness.

(F) He was of the *Chalar*, or *Jalayr*, tribe, and one of the four intrepids, mentioned before, p. 272.

(G) If *Jenghiz Khan* had enacted laws with that solemnity which is mentioned by the western Asiatic writers, how is it possible the *Chinese* historians could be ignorant of it, especially as the *Mungls* themselves must have had a hand in composing them? Or do the writers suppose they had no laws because they had not the *Chinese*? Or lastly, do they mean that the *Mungls*

had no particular set of political laws, distinct from the *Yassa* of *Jenghiz Khân*.

(H) He succeeded his brother as prince of the *Kara-its*, having joined *Jenghiz Khân*'s party, when he found his brother *Toley* had undertaken to destroy that conqueror's family, and gave his daughter in marriage to his fourth son *Toley*, or *Tuli*. His name was *Akimpü*, as is mentioned hereafter.

(I) *Mu-lay* is the kingdom where *Toley* made great ravages while his father besieged *Talkhân*. *Gauhil*.—It seems to mean the country of the *Molabedab* (called also *Ismaelians* and assassins), in *Mazanderan* and *Kubestân*.

make their court to *Oktay*. The lord also of the country and city of *Issepalano* (K) came to a submit himself.

State of the
customs.

JENGHIZ KHAN, after his return from the west (L) finding himself without a provision either of rice or silks, several of the great lords would persuade him, that the conquered lands in *Kitay* could be of no use, unless the inhabitants were all destroyed; but that, in case those useless people were once out of the way, their country might be turned into pastures, which would prove of vast advantage. This furnished *Yelu Chû-tsay* with a proper occasion to let the *Mungls* see the knowledge he was master of. He explained to *Jenghîz Khân* the method which ought to be taken to render the conquest of *China* useful. Although, said this minister, we have only a small part of that empire, yet if things be well ordered, the cultivated lands, the salt, the iron, the profit of the rivers, and other commodities, might produce to the emperor fifty *van* of *lyang* (M), or *Taëls*, forty *van* of *tan* in rice, and 800,000 pieces of silk; all which might be done without incommoding the people.

Regulations
purposed;

JENGHIZ KHAN was surprised at this discourse of *Yelu Chû-tsay*; and thenceforth understood that a conqueror ought to think of something else than to render himself famous by the massacre of enemies: that indeed he should have warriors to fight; but that there was need of magistrates to govern, peasants to till the ground, merchants to carry on trade, officers to take care of the revenue of the empire, and likewise men of learning. Prince *Oktay*, who had relished the discourse of that sage minister still better than his father, as soon as he became emperor, committed to his care the management of the taxes. *Yelu* divided *Pe-che-li*, *Sban-tong*, *Sban-si*, and *Lyau-tong*, into ten departments, each of which had a custom-house in the principal city: the other cities were made subordinate to that, and magistrates appointed to govern the people.

and established.
A. D. 1230.

OKTAY took pleasure in acquainting himself with the rules of good government: he was desirous also to know the ancient history of *China*; and even that of *Kong-fu-tse*, or *Konfusius*, and *Che-w-kong*. The minister gratified his prince in all he sought for; and his regulations, with regard to the customs, were published. They began to put them in execution the beginning of the next year. 400 pounds of salt yielded 40 *lyang*: they took a tenth out of wine, silk, rice, and corn, for the emperor; and one thirtieth part for lesser wares. After these orders were issued, *Oktay* went with his brother *Toley* to make a great hunting on the river *Orkhon*; and in summer they removed to the river *Tamir*.

Capital of
Shen-si,

THE KHÂN had already commanded *Kin-tau* (now *Si-gân Fû*), the capital of *Sben-si*, to be attacked; and that great city was at length taken. In July, he, with his brother *Toley*, marched southward, with a formidable army, resolving to destroy the dynasty of the *Kin*. The *Mungls* entered *Sben-si*, and destroyed no fewer than sixty important posts: but were baffled before *Tong-quan*. Hereupon the army divided into two bodies: *Oktay*, with one of them, repassed the *Whang-ho*, to go into *Sban-si* (N); while *Toley*, accompanied by prince *Mongko* (or *Mangû*), his eldest son, prince *Kew-wben-pû-wha*, third son of *Pye-li Kitay* (O), *Jenghîz Khân*'s fourth brother, and other princes, went to invest *Fong-tsyang Fû*, in *Sben-si*. *Lyew-he-ma*, already mentioned, and *Ko-te-hay*, son of the general *Ko-pau-yu*, were in this detachment: but *Gan-char* was the principal commander under *Toley*, and the general who distinguished himself most. As *Toley* attacked the place vigorously, the army which was at *Tong-quan* undertook to succour it: but that prince rendered all their attempts fruitless; and having defeated the *Kin* in a battle which continued the whole day (P), the city was taken in April 1231.

besieged and
taken.

A. D. 1231.
New measures
taken.

ONE of the *Kin* officers, who had surrendered to the *Mungls*, waited on *Toley*, and convinced him that he lost time, as well as men, in attacking the enemy by *Tong-quan* and the *Whang-ho*. He assured him, that the proper way was to pass through the country of *Han-chong Fû*, in *Sben-si*; and then he might, in less than a month, enter *Ho-nan*, by the cities of

* GAUBIL, ubi supr. p. 58, & seq.

(K) This probably, is *Esfarayn*, or *Isfarayn*, in *Khorassân*; for *Isfaban* is the Chinese word for *Isfahân*. *Gaub.*

(L) By western countries the *Chineses* understand all those to the west of *Hami* (or *Khamil*), and *Turfân*.

(M) *Van* is 10,000, and a *Lyang* about six shillings and eight pence *English*.

(N) *Abûlghazi Khân* says, p. 150, that *Oktay*, in his expedition into *Kitay*, in the first year of his reign, took a great city, situate on the river *Kara Mûran* (doubtless the *Whang-ho*), by assault, after forty days siege; and all the inhabitants were killed, or made slaves of, excepting 10,000, who escaped in boats.—But there is no depending on what the western writers of *Asia* say, with regard to this prince or his successors. *Gaubil*,

p. 63, note (1), says, the *Whang-ho* is the *Karamoran* of *Polo*.

(O) This is not a proper name, but a title, signifying the regulo, or prince, of *Kitay*. *Pye-li*, or *Pey-li*, is a regulo of the third order or degree.

(P) To this place may be referred what we meet with in *Abûlghazi Khân*, who tells us, that *Oktay*, after his expedition, advanced farther into *Kitay*, and sent his brother *Taulay* before, with 10,000 men: but having been surrounded by an army of the enemy, consisting of 100,000 forces, must infallibly have perished, if he had not ordered one of his magicians to make the *Tsada* (or *Jada*); that is to produce a boisterous winter-season in the midst of summer. By this means *Altûn Khân*'s army being enfeebled, they were all cut to pieces, excepting 5000, who escaped.

Tang

a *Tang* and *Teng*. *Toley*, liking this advice, sent to consult *Oktay Khân*, who approved of it; the rather, for its having been conformable to the sentiments of *Jenghîz Khân*^f. Hereupon he assembled his generals, and ordered them to be in readiness in *January* next, declaring, that he intended to reduce *Pyen-king* (Q), the capital of the *Kin* empire. At the same time he gave *Toley* orders to seize *Pau-ki*, a city some leagues to the south-west of *Fong-tsyang Fû*; then to march towards *Han-chong*, and demand passage from the generals of the *Song*.

At this time the enemies of *Yelu Chû-tsay* endeavoured to ruin his credit with *Oktay*. The principal among them were *Wa-chin*, chief of the *Hongkirat* tribe, the emperor's maternal uncle; and *She-mo-hyen*, a great officer of state. These two represented to *Oktay*, that it was dangerous to trust all the authority with a stranger, such as was *Yelu*; and charged him with a thousand crimes. This minister had persuaded the emperor to name Mandarins for the police, the revenues, and the army; who should be independent of each other, and accountable to the emperor, or such ministers as he shall appoint for that purpose. He likewise advised that money, silks, and other rewards, should be given to the great lords, instead of cities and provinces; which the *Khân* was inclined to bestow on them, having promised to distribute the conquered countries among them. *Yelu* represented how dangerous such a measure would be to the royal authority, and ruinous to the people.

THE *Khân*, persuaded that his scheme was right, rejected the accusations of *Wa-chin* and *She-mo-hyen*, which he gave them to understand proceeded from jealousy and envy. *Wa-chin* was confounded at the emperor's answer: yet his great birth, joined to much power and reputation, would have daunted a minister less resolute than *Yelu*; who still stood firm, and continued to press *Oktay* to appoint Mandarins for the above-mentioned purposes. He proposed *Ching-hay* and *Nyen-bo* to be placed at the head of affairs: but these lords, who had a great deal of merit, and were good military officers, fearing *Wa-chin*, intreated *Yelu* not to persist in proposing measures to the emperor which so greatly displeased the grandees. But that minister desired them to let him go on his own way; promising that they should not suffer for any faults of his.

SOME time after, a very strong accusation having been lodged against *She-mo-hyen*, *Oktay* referred him to be judged by *Yelu Chû-tsay*, who told his majesty, that *She-mo-hyen* had no other fault but that of being too proud; and that, when the war was finished, they might examine what punishment he deserved. The emperor admired this conduct of his minister; and told his courtiers, that *Yelu* was the example which they ought to imitate. He afterwards caused the registers to be brought, whereby it appeared, that the gold, the silver, the silks, and other things received for his duties, were conformable to what *Yelu* had proposed the year before. The *Mungl* lords were surprised at this; and they who had so violently persecuted him changed in his favour. Hereupon the *Khân* committed to his management all affairs in general, and likewise delivered to him the great seal^g.

MEAN time *Toley*, pursuant to the emperor's orders, assembled all his troops at *Pau-ki*; and sent *Sû-pû-han* to the governor of *Myen-chew*, in *Shen-si*, to demand passage: but this governor put that officer to death; and, by so doing, caused the ruin of an infinite number of people, who were subjects of the *Song* emperor his master. *Toley*, enraged at this action, declared that he would make the author repent it. He decamped in *August*; and, having forced the passages, put to the sword the inhabitants of *Wha-yang*, and *Fong-chew*, two cities in the district of *Han-chong Fû*. Then, after he had cut steep rocks to fill deep abysses, and made roads through places almost inaccessible, he came and besieged that city. The people, on his approach, fled to the mountains; and more than 100,000 perished, in a place called *Shau*.

TOLEY, after the taking of *Han-chong Fû*, divided his troops, consisting of 30,000 horse; of which one part went westward, to *Myen-chew*. From thence, after opening the passages of the mountains, that detachment arrived at the river *Kya-ling* (R); which they crossed on rafts, made of the wood of demolished houses: and then marching along its banks, seized many important posts. They proceeded as far as the city of *Si-shû-i*; and having destroyed more than 140 cities, towns, or fortresses, returned to the army. The second detachment encamped between *Han-chong Fû* and *Yong-chew*, where they seized an important post in the mountains; which are called *Tau-tong*, six or seven leagues to the north-east of *Han-chong Fû*. On the other side, the emperor *Oktay* advanced in *October* towards *Pû-chew*, a city of *Shan-si*, in the district of *Ping-yang Fû*; which, after a vigorous defence, being taken, he prepared to pass the *Whang-ho*.

TOLEY, after surmounting infinite difficulties, arrived in *December* on the borders of *Ho-nan*; and made a shew as if he designed to attack the capital of the *Kin*. His entrance, by a

^f See before, p. 329.

^g GAUBIL, p. 59, & seq.

(Q) Now *Kay-feng Fû*, the capital of *Ho-nan*.

(R) It falls into the great *Kyang*.

passage so little suspected, filled every-body with such astonishment, that all fled before him, without the least resistance. On this advice, the emperor of the *Kin* assembled a great council, wherein several lords proposed to furnish the court, and other principal cities, with good soldiers; to supply the capital with grain and forage; to quit the field, and oblige the people to shut themselves up in the cities. These grandees pretended, that *Toley* had ruined his army by his extraordinary march; so that they must either die with hunger, or be forced to retreat. At this discourse the emperor cast a great sigh, and protested that he would rather perish than thus see his people abandoned, after what they had suffered during twenty years for his service. Hereupon he ordered his generals *Hota*, *Ilapûa*, and others, to march at the head of the army against the enemy; and they accordingly advanced in the same month to *Teng-chew*, in the district of *Nan-yang Fû*^a.

Toley repulsed.
A. D. 1232.

TOLEY, having crossed the *Han* on the 31st of *January* 1232, resolved to attack the *Kin* army, at the same time when they were debating whether they should pass that river to fight the *Mungls*. The *Kin* generals ascended the mountain *Yu*, near *Teng-chew* (S), to observe the land; and placed the cavalry to the north of that mountain, and the infantry to the south. The *Mungls*, without losing any time, marched forward in a line, and then stopped a moment. *Hota*, judging it difficult to attack them, was for deferring the battle: but the *Mungls*, advancing, sent a body of horse to fall on the *Kin*, who stood firm. After this the *Kin*, in their turn, charged their enemies three times; and seeing them open a little, attacked both their right and left wing at once. This obliged them to give way; but they retired in good order. Hereupon *Hota* was for pursuing them; saying, *Toley* had with him no more than 30,000 men; and that his soldiers seemed not to have eaten any-thing for three days: but *Ilapûa* was of opinion that there was no occasion for being so hasty; since, as he said, the passage of the *Han* was cut off, and the *Whang-ho* not frozen.

Surprises the Kin.

THE *Mungls* having gotten out of sight, the scouts brought the *Kin* generals word, that they had hidden themselves behind a wood; where they made not the least noise, but ate their victuals in the day, and were on horseback all night. *Hota* and *Ilapûa* were departed for *Teng-chew*, when they received this news: but, presently after, they saw the *Mungls* issue from the forest, and range themselves in order of battle. The *Kin* generals, much surprised at this, were going also to draw out their forces in a line. This was only a feint of *Toley*: who, during that time, sent a detachment of horse to seize the heavy baggage of the enemy: which accident obliged *Hota* and *Ilapûa* to retire to *Teng-chew*, where they arrived not till night. They concealed their loss, and sent the emperor word they had gained the battle. This good news filled the court at *Kay-fong Fû* with joy; and the people, who had retired into that city for its defence, left it again, to return to the country: but a few days after, the van-guard of the *Mungls*, who had been sent by the emperor *Oktay*, appeared in the field, and carried off a great number of those who had quitted the capital.

The capital besieged.

IN *January* 1232, the Khân passed the *Whang-ho* at *Pe-pû*, near *Ho-tsin-byen*, in *Shan-si*; and the borders of *Shen-si* being not well guarded, he entered *Ho-nan*, and came to *Ching-chew*, eleven or twelve leagues west-south-west of *Kay-fong Fû* (T), where he encamped. From thence he sent his general *Suputay* (or *Suida*), to invest that capital, which was then 120 *li* (U) in compass; and having only 40,000 soldiers to defend it, they brought in 40,000 more veteran troops, with 100 old officers, from the neighbouring cities, besides 20,000 peasants. At the same time the emperor caused a discourse to be published in the city, which made the inhabitants shed tears, and encouraged them to defend the city to the last. *Oktay* heard of *Toley's* entrance into *Ho-nan*, with extreme joy, and ordered him to send succours to *Suputay*ⁱ.

Toley defeats

As soon as *Hota* and *Ilapûa* (X) heard that the court was besieged, they departed immediately, with 150,000 horse and foot, to relieve that great city. As *Toley* detached no more than 30,000 cavalry to stop their march, *Hota* ordered them to be attacked; while the *Mungls* fought retreating, and disappeared: but in the evening, when the *Kin* were preparing to encamp, they saw the enemy coming upon them; and at the same time *Toley* caused the roads to be embarrassed with a great number of trees. The *Kin* arrived within eight miles of *Kun-chew* (at present called *Yu-chew*); and not being able to enter, on account of the heavy snow which had fallen, were forced to stop, in order to eat, and repose themselves, after the great fatigues which they had suffered for three days before. At the same instant a courier arriving, commanding *Hota* to march forthwith to the assistance of the court, that general caused the march to be sounded. One part of his army opened its way through the trees; the other, composed of the gross of the troops, struck off to the mountain *San-fong*, near *Yu-chew*.

^a GAUBIL, p. 62, & seq.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 63, & seq.

(S) *Teng-chew* is nine leagues to the south-west of *Nan-yang Fû*, in *Ho-nan*.

(T) Then called *Pyen-king*.

(U) These are *li*, whereof 250, not 200, go to a degree.

(X) Here, and in another place, called *Alipûacha*.

TOLEY,

a TOLEY, who had assembled all his detachments, on the seventh of *February* caused this latter *th. Kin gene-* body to be attacked on all sides. The *Kin*, enfeebled with hunger, which they had suffered *erals,* for some days past, at first defended themselves; but the *Mungls* repeating their attacks, they were put to a general rout. Several *Kin* officers alighted, and, charging their enemies sword in hand, were slain. *Hota* dismounted likewise, with design to fight: but not seeing his companion *Ilapûa*, he got again on horseback; and, followed by 100 others, took the road to *Kun-chew*, which *Toley* had ordered to be left open. Hereupon that prince, having received a reinforcement from *Oktay*, during the action, pursued the run-aways; and, being joined soon after by the *Khân* himself, they both went to besiege *Kun-chew*, which was quickly taken, *Hota* having been slain in the first attack^k.

b His colleague *Ilapûa* was taken in the battle of *San-fong*; and being a good officer, as well *Some taken;* as universally beloved, *Toley* made him great offers to enter into his service: but he modestly *and* declined them; saying, *I am one of the principal Kin generals, and desire to die upon his master's territories.* Which request was, with reluctance, granted him, and he was slain. *Ho-shang*, a *put to death,* prince of the imperial family of the *Kin*, and a great commander, whose courage, magnanimity, and many noble actions had rendered him famous, to avoid perishing with the multitude, hid himself, after the rout of *San-fong*: but having been discovered by some *Mungl* horse, he desired them to carry him to *Toley*, to whom he pretended he had something to say. They treated him very civilly: and, being brought to the prince, was asked his name and quality. *I am,* answered he, *of the imperial family, and named Ho-shang. I am general of the troops called the faithful, and have beaten yours (Y) three times. I was not willing to die with an obscure croud. I would have my fidelity appear in the light; and posterity will do me justice.*

TOLEY, finding it in vain, by courtesy and great promises, to gain over this commander, gave him up to the soldiers; who cut off his legs, because he would not kneel; and opened his mouth from ear to ear, to hinder him from haranguing. He died satisfied, that he had laid down his life for his sovereign. Several *Mungls*, charmed with his loyalty, performed in his favour the ceremony of pouring mare's milk on the ground (Z); and wished they might have such a man among the *Mungls*: supposing that he would rise again.

In *February*, the *Kin* troops, which guarded *Tong-quan*, and the neighbouring posts, received *The Kin arming* orders to come to the relief of *Kay-fong Fû*, and bring provisions which were embarked on the *Whang-bo*; but presently after fell into the hands of the enemy. The troops which marched out of *Tong quan*, and the neighbouring posts, amounted to 110,000 foot, and 15,000 horse: an infinite number of people followed this army, to try to save their lives. Nothing could prove more unlucky than this effort which was made by the *Kin*. Several inferior officers yielded to the *Mungls*, with the troops which they commanded. *To-shan*, and *Na-bo-jun*, who led the army, not being able to keep the plain, took to the mountains, where they suffered all sorts of miseries. In the day the sun melting the snows, the mire rendered the roads impassable: at night the frost fell; so that one could not make a step without slipping, and perhaps breaking a limb^l.

c THE more vigorous among them continued their march, leaving behind the weaker people; *miserably per-* such as children, women, old men, and others reduced to the last extremity, with whom the *ishes.* lesser roads were filled. The *Mungls*, being informed of this disorder, sent troops, who put to the sword all such as could not keep up with the rest, and then pursued the army; which faced about at the mountain *Tye-ling*, in the district of *Ho-nan Fû*, in order to receive the enemy: but these troops, who were in a manner half-dead, not being able to hold their arms, dispersed themselves. Their generals *To-shan* and *Na-bo-jun*, followed by some horse, endeavoured to escape; but were all intercepted and slain. The *Mungls* took advantage of these distractions, to reduce *Ton-quan*, and other posts: but the valour of the governor of *Quey-te Fû* obliged them to raise the siege of that city.

f IN *March* the *Mungls* planted their *Pau* (A) against the city of *Lo-yang* (or *Ho-nan Fû*), *Lo-yang be-* where there were only 3 or 4000 soldiers, who had escaped from the rout of *San-fong*. The *sieged.* general who commanded them, not being able to make any sallies, for a distemper which afflicted him, threw himself headlong from the wall into the ditch, and died. The governor of the place was gone to the relief of the capital, and had left in his room an officer named *Kyang-shin*, who rendered his name immortal by the defence which he made. He procured from the merchants a great quantity of silks to make banners, which he erected on the walls: he likewise placed on them his worst soldiers, and put himself at the head of 400 brave men, whom he ordered to go naked. These he led to all attacks; and the word which he used on such occasions was, *cow-* *Kangshin's* *ards retire.* He invented engines to cast large stones, which required but a few hands to play *bravery.*

^k GAUBIL, p. 65, & seq.

^l Ibid. p. 66, & seq.

(Y) He had defeated *Chi-lan when, Sapatay* (or *Suida*), and other generals.

(Z) A libation, or sacrifice, in use among the *Mungls*.

(A) An engine to cast stones.

them; and aimed so true, as to hit at 100 paces distance. When their arrows failed, he cut those, shot by the enemy, into four pieces, and, pointing them with brass half-pence, put them into a wooden tube; from whence he discharged them against the *Mungls*, with as much force as bullets are shot by a musket. These brave nudes, followed by other soldiers, appeared at all the attacks, and made as great an outcry as 10,000 men could do. In this manner *Kyang-shin* fatigued the *Mungls* so grievously for three months, that they were obliged to raise the siege, though no fewer than 30,000 strong.

Peace proposed to the Kin. OKTAY KHAN having resolved to return into *Tartary*, he summoned the *Kin* emperor to become tributary, and deliver up to him twenty-seven families, which he named; among the rest, the wife, children, and slaves, of the late general *Ilapîba*. The emperor *Shew-su*, glad of the occasion, named Mandarins to negotiate the peace. But *Suputay*, seeming not to know anything of the treaty, pushed on the siege with double vigour^m, and presently filled part of the ditch: while the governor, for fear of obstructing the conference, forbade his soldiers to shoot at the *Mungls*. This bred great confusion in the city; and the emperor issued hastily out of his palace, with seven horsemen. It rained heavily; and the prince was already bespattered over with dirt, by those who passed along, when the prime minister, with a troop of Mandarins, arrived. They would have covered their monarch, to shelter him from the rain; but he said he would be exposed to it as much as his soldiers. The people, perceiving the king was there, fell on their knees, and wept, as if all had been lost. Presently after, fifty horsemen came to inform him, that the ditches were half-filled up, and none were allowed to defend them. The king answered, that he lived solely for the good of his people, and would therefore become subject and tributary to the *Mungls*. He added, that he would send the prince his son for a hostage. *If, after that, says he, Ta-che (B) do not retire, it will be time to defend ourselves.* The hostage was accordingly sent the same dayⁿ.

Suputay disappointed. MEAN time *Suputay* redoubled his attacks, and the *Kin* began to defend themselves vigorously. They shot bullets, made of all sorts of stones: and although the *Mungls* had none in that form, yet they had mill-stones, broken in several pieces, which they played off day and night, by means of their *Pau*. With these they beat down the towers and battlements: they even broke the thickest pieces of timber in the neighbouring houses; which therefore the inhabitants laid over with horse-dung and straw, covering the whole with felt, and other soft materials, to deaden the force of the stones. As the *Mungls* then made use of *fire-pau* (C), they set the houses in a flame, which spread so swiftly, that it was difficult to extinguish it. The walls of this city were built by the emperor *Sbi-tsung*, of the *Chew* dynasty (D); who had them covered with a kind of earth, brought from the country of *Hû-lau* (E), which formed a mass as hard as iron, and proof against bullets. The *Mungls* raised walls around those which they besieged, 150 *li* in circumference, furnished with large ditches, towers, and battlements. They likewise placed guards at every thirty paces distance.

Continues the siege; AT the beginning of the siege, the defendants made, before the gates of the city, other gates, which went in zig-zag, and gave admittance to no more than three men a-breast. But experience shewing, that this was a hindrance to their sallies, and gave the *Mungls* notice of them; the *Kin* made a fally by a canal, which passed under the ditch, with design to blow up *Suputay's* batteries: but this attempt did not succeed; nor was that general to be surprised. They had in the city *fire-pau*, which shot pieces of iron in the form of bombs (F). This bomb was filled with powder, which, being fired, made a noise like thunder, and was heard 100 *li* distance. The ground where it fell appeared burnt, or scorched, for about 2000 feet round; and if the fire happened to reach the iron cuirasses, it pierced them through. When the *Mungls* lodged themselves at the foot of the walls, in order to sap them, they kept covered in chambers made under ground, so that those upon the walls could not hurt them. The besieged therefore, to dislodge them, let down these sort of bombs by iron chains; which, as soon as they came into the ditches or subterranean chambers, took fire by a match, and destroyed the enemies. These

^m See before, p. 338.

ⁿ GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 68, & seq.

(B) One might also use the word *Tatan*, which is a name given the *Mungls*.

(C) There are two sorts of *Pau*, or engines; *She-pau*, or *stone-pau*, and *Ho-pau*, or *fire-pau*. *Gaubil* dares not translate either by the name of cannon, because he cannot say they were like ours: nor is he sure that the bullets were shot off in the same manner: although he is satisfied the *Chineses* have had the use of powder upwards of 1600 years.—They sometimes made use of wooden tubes, or guns, to shoot stones, as was done at first in *Europe*.

(D) He began his reign in the year of *Christ* 954, and reigned six years.

(E) *Gaubil* knew not where this country is.

(F) Although we venture to call these pieces of iron, bombs, *Gaubil* would not. He observes, that although the *Chineses* had the use of powder so long, yet it does not appear, that they made very frequent use of it in sieges. Possibly, says he, they, for some time, lost the art of using artillery, or bullets: and the kind of bombs here spoken of were the invention of private persons, which did not pass into common use.

a iron bombs and halberds, charged with powder, which they darted, were what the *Mungls* dreaded most.

IN sixteen days and nights, during which the attacks continued without intermission, above *is forced to re-* a million of people were slain on both sides. Upon this *Sûpûtay*, finding that he could not *fire.* force the place, to come off with honour, sent the governor word, that he should forbear any

further hostilities, since he was now satisfied a negotiation was on foot. The besiegers, glad of this notice, sent that general abundance of refreshments and presents; after which he withdrew, to encamp between the river *Lo* and the *Whang-bo*. But *Kay-fong Fû* was no sooner rid of this calamity, but as great an evil as war, the plague, succeeded; which, in fifty days, destroyed an incredible number of people. When the contagion was ceased, the emperor

b *Shew fû* bestowed large rewards on those who had defended the city, and performed several acts of humiliation°. He made several good regulations in his court; and the peace, so happily restored, might have continued, if two unlucky accidents had not renewed the war.

QUE GAN-YONG, a *Mungl* lord, having, in *July*, reduced *Sû-chew*, together with some *Receives orders* other cities in *Kyang-nan*, and assumed the government of them; *Achûlû*, one of the *Mungl* generals, displeased at his proceedings, sent troops to take possession of those places. *Gan-yong* not only opposed this design, but even slew the officers sent by *Achûlû*; after which he declared for the *Kin*, and joined several of their officers, in *Shan-tong*, against the *Mungls*.

c The *Kin* emperor, deceived by false hopes, took *Gan-yong* into his service, and gave him the title of prince. After this, *Oktay Khân* having sent an officer with a train of thirty persons, without doubt, says our author, to treat of peace, the *Kin* commanders slew them all: nor did *Shew-fû* punish them for it (G). Hereupon *Sûpûtay* gave the *Khân* an account of what had passed; and, not doubting but he should receive orders to renew the war, made preparations for that purpose. *Oktay* accordingly sent his commands to him and the other generals, to continue hostilities: and being informed, about the same time, that the *Koreans* had slain his officers, he sent an army thither to chastise them^p.

THE *Kin* emperor had ordered the generals, who commanded his troops in different bodies, *The capital* to join, and come to the assistance of his capital: but the several parties, being met by the *Mungls*, before their junction, were all defeated, so that *Shew fû* was obliged to employ the peasants and common people as soldiers. The inhabitants were taxed likewise to give three

d parts in ten of the rice which they were possessed of, and enjoined to declare how much they had. This order was executed with rigour: and a poor widow, who had lost her husband in the war, was condemned to be bastonaded, for having mixed mugwort-seed with six measures of rice: which thing she had declared. The people, terrified with this example, threw great in great quantities of grain, which they had not discovered, into the bog-houses and common-sewers, for *distress.* fear of being punished. Mean time, the scarcity becoming very great in the city, the emperor ordered broth to be made, and given to those who were in most distress. One, who had arrived to the degree of doctor, happening to say, that the famine might have been avoided, if they had not exacted the rice tax with so much rigour, he was informed against, and had much ado to get off.

e In *September*, this year (H), died prince *Toley*. He was the fourth son of *Jenghîz Khân*, *Toley's death and character* and was admired, when a youth, in the wars against the *Kin*. In the western expedition he commanded great bodies of troops; and did a thousand actions worthy of the greatest heroes. At his return, he signalised him in the war which ruined the kingdom of *Hya*. After his father's death, he governed the empire with much glory for two years: and, although he might have kept a large part of it for himself, he strictly adhered to the will of *Jenghîz Khân*. His extraordinary march from *Tong-syang Fû*, in *Shen-si*, by way of *Han-chong Fû*, into *Honan*, and the manner in which he defeated the great armies of the *Kin* with a few troops, gained him much reputation among the *Chineses*, *Tatars*, and captains of the west, who were in his army. His great merit was enhanced by his uncommon modesty, his filial respect for his father, and

f the empress his mother; and by an inviolable attachment to the interest and glory of his brother *Oktay*.

THESE two princes left *Ho-nan* in *April*, to visit *Ching-ting-fû* and *Yen-king* (I). Then *brotherly af-* passing into *Tartary*, through the great wall by the gate of *Kû-pe-kew*, in *May*, the *Khân* fell *section.*

° See before, p. 338.

^p GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 71, & seq.

(G) It was not unlucky accidents, but the fault of the *Kin* emperor, which renewed the war. This shews all his pretended humility and love to his people was hypocrisy. The moment the evil which threatened him was removed, he forgot what was past, and provoked his formidable enemy by new acts of injustice.

(H) It is so put in the history of the *Mungls*, inserted in the *Nyen-i she*; and in the elogy of *Toley*, inserted in

the *Nyen-i-tse*: but the *Tong-kyen Kangmû* places his death in *October*. *Gaubil*. *D'Herbelot*, from the *Persian* historians, says, p. 760, that *Toley* died in *Jenghîz Khân's* life-time. *La Croix* says, his death happened in 1229, three years after his father.

(I) This city was the seat of the *Kin* emperors, till taken by *Jenghîz Khân*. It lay to the south-west of *Pe-king*; at present about a league distant.

dangerously ill. *Toley* on this occasion fell on his knees; and, writing his name in a sealed billet, prayed heaven to save his brother's life, and offered to die in his stead. *Oktay* being recovered, *Toley* followed him to the sources of the river *Tula* and the *Onon* (or *Sagbalian*); where that great prince died, at the age of forty, generally lamented by his family, the chiefs of tribes, and officers of the army.

Wife and children.

TOLEY married *Solu bu-tyey-ni* (K), daughter of *Akiapû*, chief of the tribe, and brother of *Toley*, prince of the *Ka-ra-its*. She was a princess of great merit, and had had by him eleven sons. 1. *Menko*. 2. *Churko*. 3. *Hûtûû*. 4. *Hû-pi-lay* (or *Kublay*). 5. Not named. 6. *Hu-lye-bû* (or *Hulakû*). 7. *Alpuko* (or *Aribuga*). 8. *Pocho*. 9. *Moko*. 10. *Swituko*. 11. *Sue-pye-tay*. The first and fourth were emperors. The sixth made himself famous in the wars of *Persia* and *Syria*; and the seventh (L) for the disturbances which he raised in *Tartary*.

Peace with the Song.

IN *December* the *Mungls* made a treaty with the *Song* emperor (then reigning in southern *China*); who engaged to join them with his troops, on condition of having the province of *Ho-nan* delivered up to him, as soon as the *Kin* dynasty was destroyed: in which he sought rather to be revenged on the *Kin*, for the mischiefs they had done to his ancestors, than his own real interest. However, this alliance was a deadly blow to the emperor *Shew*; who, in

A. D. 1233. Distress of the Kin.

January 1233, found himself in a very great plunge. Several bodies of troops, in their way to the court from different parts, were defeated by the *Mungls*; and the provisions carried away, which were going to supply *Pyen-king*: so that this capital was in great distress. On the other hand, *Sûpûtay* appearing resolved to besiege it, the *Kin* emperor held a council, wherein a Mandarin proposed marching to fight the *Mungl* general; and shewed, that, as things were circumstanced, one battle would needs determine the fate of the empire. But this advice was rejected, as well as several others, proposing to remove to this or that city; of which the chief was *Quey-te-fû*, in *Pe-che-li*; a place very strong by situation, but very ill provided^a.

Emperor goes out.

WHEN the council broke up, the emperor *Shew* appointed officers to command at the four sides of the city walls, and made a discourse, to encourage them in the defence of their country; declaring, that he would put himself at the head of the army: but this resolution was disapproved of by most of the officers, who were unwilling to go out of a city, which was very ill provided, threatened with a siege, and where they left their families. However, *Shew*, without regard to their representations, marched out of the place, passed the *Whang-ho*, and encamped near the city of *Chang-ywen*, or rather *Chang-wan*: but as soon as he had crossed that river, a violent wind arose, and hindered part of his troops from passing; which were afterwards beaten. For all this, he sent the best part of those which were with him to besiege *Wey-chew* (now *Wey-whew*, to the south-west of *Kay-song-fû*). The general *She-tyen-che*, being informed of this, assembled the troops in *Pe-che-li*, *Shan-tong*, and other parts; and sent the governor word, that he would soon relieve him. Accordingly, with his usual bravery, he marched to attack *Pesa*, general of the *Kin*. The fight was bloody: but, at length, *Pesa* was compelled to fly, and his army cut in pieces.

His army destroyed.

The capital besieged.

THIS sad piece of news was carried to the emperor, at such time as he knew *Sûpûtay* was on the road to besiege his capital. Hereupon he, in haste, repassed the *Whang-ho*, followed by a few of his officers, and retired to *Quey-te-fû*. From thence he sent for the empresses and queens to come to him. They accordingly set out; but the arrival of *Sûpûtay* obliged them to re-enter the city. As for his troops, they dispersed as soon as he had left them. The return of the *Mungls*, and retreat of their emperor, joined to the defeat of the whole army, filled all the people with terror. The western wall was guarded by a general named *Tsû-li*; who, being of a wicked disposition, went to the ministers, and demanded to know, what course they intended to take, at a time when the emperor had abandoned his capital, and wanted to withdraw his family also. One of the ministers answered, "that they ought to fight and die generously for their prince." "That would be well", replied *Tsû-li*, "in case so doing would remedy the evil": and then retired.

Tsû-li's villainy.

Soon after, *Tsû-li*, followed by some officers of his party, cut off the heads of the ministers and ten great lords; giving out, that he did it purely to save the lives of the people. After this he went to the palace, and obliged the empress-mother to declare a prince, whom he named, to be regent. He took to himself the post of prime minister, and general of the army; giving the other employments to his two brothers, and the officers who assisted him. In 1233,

^a GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 73, & seq.

(K) The same who is called *Sarkatna* by the *Persian* historians, as mentioned in *D'Herbelot*, p. 760, who has been led by them into several mistakes; as that about the death of *Toley*, before-mentioned: and, p. 381, he says, that prince was declared by his father, king of *Khorassân*, *Persia*, and the *Indies*. *Gaubil*.

(L) According to the *Teng-ken Kang-nû*, *Toley* had but six sons; 1. *engko*. 2. *Chûcû-kô*. 3. *Hûtûû*. 4. *Hû-pi-lay*. 5. *Hu-lye*. 6. *Olipûko*. Such disagreement there is even among the *Chinese* historians. *Lu Croix*, p. 399, from the *Persian* authors, says, *Toley* left eight sons; and that only four of them are mentioned.

- a *Tsu-li* resolved to surrender the city to the *Mungls*; and did it in a very extraordinary manner. Having assumed the equipage belonging to a king, and dressed his people in magnificent habits, he, at the head of a great number of officers, went out to meet *Sûputây*, who was preparing to form the siege; and, paying him the reverence of a son to his father, promised him fealty. The *Mungl* general, at the head of his troops, with much honour, received this traitor: who, on his return to the city, demolished the battlements of the walls, and blew up the towers, with all other defences. He set a guard upon the princes of the blood; and took to himself the wives and daughters of the grandees who had followed the emperor to *Quey-te-fû*. Then, seizing the treasures of the city and palace, his vanity prompted him to raise a stone monument, inscribed with his own fine qualities, and the manner in which *he had saved the lives of the people*: but he could not compass his design^r.

WHILE *Tsu-li* was turning all things upside-down at *Pyen-king* (or *Kay-fong-fû*), *Pu-cha-queen* was acting much the same at *Quey-te-fu*. This general, after the death of *Wan-yen* (M),^{tor} or *Pesa* (whom *Shew* was obliged to sacrifice to the demands of the soldiery), was touched to the quick, to see that the emperor consulted *Ma-yong*, his enemy, rather than him. *Shew* endeavoured to reconcile them, but to no purpose; and, at the same time, shocked at the insolence of *Pu-cha-queen*, who had rose from nothing, ordered him to be closely watched. The officers, who were intrusted with this affair, having betrayed the secret to *Pu-cha-queen*, this latter, in despair, ordered *Ma-yong*, with 300 officers and 3000 soldiers of the palace, to be slain. He even presumed to send persons to seize a Mandarin belonging to the emperor, with an intent to put him to death. The prince, provoked at this new insolence, said, he would defend that officer; and that he was almost the only one who was left about him. Presently after, *Pu-cha-queen* enters with his sword in hand, and tells the emperor, that those whom he had put to death were rebels. *Shew*, complying with necessity, pretended to believe what he said; and was forced to publish the supposed crimes of those who had been slain. The emperor, for want of courage to put this rebel to death, submitted to his demands, and suffered the authority to remain in his hands.

- MEAN time *Tsu-li*, going on with his game at *Pyen-king*, exercised a thousand cruelties, to get money from private persons: and the famine was so extreme, that, in eight days, above a million of people died. In *April* he seized all the princes and princesses of the blood, a great number of officers, physicians, and workers in silk and other manufactures. He likewise brought out the royal ornaments, jewels, precious stones, and other treasures: then, putting the empress-mother, the empress, queens, and concubines of the palace, in thirty-seven chariots, went and delivered them all to *Sûputây*: who put to death all those who were of the race imperial; and sent to *Holin* (or *Karakorum*) the imperatrices, the queens, and their attendants. This general, at the same time, intreated *Oktay* to put to death all the inhabitants of *Pyen-king*, in revenge for the numbers of men he had lost before that city in 1232: but *Yelu Chitsay* interposed; alleging, that they had not at this time resisted so long as to deserve so cruel a punishment. Hereupon the emperor ordered *Sûputây* to put to death the princes of the blood, and spare the rest (N): by which means the lives of fourteen hundred thousand families were saved; reckoning inhabitants, and those who took shelter there.

Tsu-li, being informed that *Sûputây* was preparing to take possession of the capital, got every thing ready for his introduction: and, receiving him at the entrance of the city, conducted him to the palace. After this, returning to his own house, he was much surprised to find it full of *Mungl* soldiers; who plundered it, and carried away all his treasures. He complained of this injury, and even shed tears; but nobody regarded him: nor was *Sûputây* himself displeased to see a traitor to his country so justly punished. Let us now return to see what is doing at *Quey-te-fû*.

- IN *May*, the *Kin* emperor proposed to *Pu-cha-queen*, to surprise the camp of the *Mungls*, commanded by *Te-mûtay*; under pretence, that the *Mungls* had taken prisoner the empress-mother, in order to treat with them. *Pu-cha-queen*, who wanted neither address nor valour, one night, while a negotiation was on foot, went with 400 choice soldiers; and, slaying the outguards, pierced to the middle of the camp, and either slew, or pushed into the river, above 3,500 men: then, setting the camp on fire, returned, without losing one man. The general *Te-mûtay* himself, surprised in such a manner, had much ado to escape^s.

PU-CHA-QUEEN, puffed up with this success, had the insolence to shut up the emperor, with some of his domestics, in a great hall. *Shew*, on this occasion, shed tears; and said to those about him, "that the dynasties did not continue for ever; and that kings were not exempt from the tribute due to death." He added, "that it grieved him to find he did not know the persons he ought to make use of, as well as to see himself imprisoned by a slave, whom

^r GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 76, & seq.

^s Ibid. p. 78, & seq.

(M) The term or title *Wan-yen* denotes his being a prince of the blood.

(N) He likewise ordered, that, for the future, those general massacres should not be practised.

" he

“ he had loaded with favours.” Hereupon three trusty officers prevailed on the emperor to consent to get rid of that traitor, at any rate. They advised his majesty to send for him, under pretence of consulting whether it was proper to remove the court to *Tsay-chew* (now *Ju-ning-fû*), in *Ho-nan*: and, as he entered the chamber, one of them gave him a stroke with his sword on the side, which was seconded with another by the emperor. For all this, *Pû-cha-quen* ran back, in order to escape; but the officer who had given him the first wound pursued and killed him. This was in *June*. The troops, on this news, took up arms: but the emperor went out in person to appease them, and gave an account of the whole affair.

At this juncture the general *Tachar* took from the *Kin* the city of *Lo-yang* (or *Ho-nan-fû*), where commanded the brave *Kyang-shin*: who, finding, after incredible efforts, that there was no keeping the place, took a troop of choice soldiers, and attempted to break through the middle of the *Mungl* army: but was taken, with all his men. *Tachar*, who had conceived the highest idea of this brave commander, promised him the first military post, if he would turn his face to the north, and make only one genuflexion, to salute *Oktay*. But it was all in vain: and when the soldiers by force turned his face towards *Tartary*, he presently turned to the south, to salute the *Kin* emperor his master. *Tachar*, seeing him inflexible, caused him to be slain. The *Chinese* history heaps elogies on *Kyang-shin*, and another officer, called *Tse-lye*, who commanded in conjunction with him. The *Mungls* took the son of the latter at *Pyen-king*, and brought him before *Lo-yang*, to oblige his father to surrender: but *Tse-lye* answered the summons only with a shower of arrows. As soon as he heard of *Tsû-li*'s treason, it gave him so great concern, that he immediately lost his speech, and soon after died.

AFTER the death of *Pu-cha-quen*, the emperor *Shew* left troops and a governor at *Quey-te-fû*, and departed for *Jûning-fû*, with 4000 attendants. When he arrived at *Po-chew* (O) the people wept, and fell on their knees: to whom the prince, with a mild air, said, “ that they ought not to set any value upon him; but call to mind the obligations which they owed his ancestors.” The multitude, still shedding tears, cried aloud, *Van-fwi*; that is, *ten thousand years*: which is one of the names given by the *Chinese* to their emperors, expressing a desire they have that he should reign a long time. Having staid one day at *Po-chew*, he entered a temple, which he found abandoned, five or six leagues to the south of that city; and was heard to say, with a sigh, *all my people are destroyed*. When the inhabitants of *Ju-ning-fû* beheld their prince so sorrowful, his face emaciated, and his person ill attended, it set them weeping; and the principal among them coming to fall on their knees before him, he, with much affability, made them rise, nor could forbear shedding tears.

THE emperor *Shew* appointed prince *Whan-yen Hû-sye-hû* for his captain-general and prime minister. He was a person of great merit and approved fidelity. He was day and night on horseback: he sold all he had to buy arms, provisions, and horses; and made choice of 10,000 soldiers, whom he exercised continually. The emperor's presence, and distance of the *Mungls*, drew much people to *Tsay-chew*: while the *Kin* monarch, as if quite out of danger, began to think of building a palace, and marrying a wife. But *Hû-sye-hû* drew that prince out of the false security in which he began to live. He let him know, that there was no great quantity either of provisions, stores, or silver, in the city; and persuaded him to think of nothing else, but to fortify the place, and defend it.

TWENTY thousand *Chinese*, under *Men-kong*, detached from the *Song* army, commanded by *She-song-chî*, having already joined *Tachar*, the two generals, in *August*, took several cities in *Ho-nan*; after which, the next month, they came to invest *Ju-ning-fû*. *Tachar*, perceiving, by the two first attacks made on the city gates, that he was likely to meet with a long resistance, ordered trenches to be dug, and a wall raised; in which he was assisted by *Meng-kong*. The garrison, affrighted at the works which were going forward to invest the place, would have surrendered; but *Hû-sye-hû*, and the emperor himself, by their speeches, so revived their courage, that they all took a resolution to perish in defence of their prince.

IN *December*, there not being men sufficient to defend the city, and make sallies, *Hû-sye-hû* picked out the strongest women; and, dressing them in men's clothes, made them carry wood, stones, and other necessaries, to the walls. After this he made an unsuccessful sally; and *Meng-kong*, having cut off the retreat of his troops, learned from the prisoners, that the city was in want of provisions. The *Chinese* general gave notice of this to *Tachar*; and advised him to guard against the despair of the besieged; who, when reduced to extremities, might make a general sally, and so escape by some opening. In *December*, *Tachar* sent general *Chang-jau*, with 5000 men, to attack an angle, where he received several dangerous wounds; and had been slain,

* See before, p. 340.

GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 80, & seq.

(O) Three or four leagues from *Quey te-fû*; at present destroyed.

- a with all his soldiers, if *Meng-kong* had not come to his assistance, and taken him out of the thickest of the enemies troops.
- His principal fortification about *Ju-ning-fu* was a tower, called *Chay-tan*, on a redoubt, sixty *hundred* feet distant from the river. The latter was taken by assault : but the troops dared not approach the tower, upon a report, that the foot of it was defended by a dragon, and the upper part filled with flying darts. *Meng-kong* one day gave his soldiers wine, and told them, that the darts from the tower did harm to none but those who were at a distance ; but that they who went near to it, had nothing to fear. He likewise assisted *Tachar* in making drains, to carry off the water into the river *Ju*. After this, both the generals with their troops passed over dry, and attacked the south walls. In the night 500 choice soldiers sallied, with design to burn the engines, and camp of the besiegers : but these latter, getting timely notice of it, cut them all in pieces. After the general had forced the walls of the south, they gave a general assault to those of the west, and forced them likewise : but were much surprised to see an inner-wall, with chevaux-de-frise, and a ditch ; where the illustrious *Hu-fye-hu*, with the choicest of the troops, fought for three days and nights, without being forced.
- THE emperor *Shew*, beholding things in this desperate state, spoke to those who were about him in the following manner. “ I was the heir appointed for ten years, and have since then *The emperor's bravery.* reigned ten years more. I do not perceive, that I am guilty of any great faults (P). I do not fear death. I see that most of the dynasties terminated in brutish princes, who were either drunkards, debauched, or covetous. You know I am not such an one, and yet in me the dynasty of the *Kin* ends. This is what I behold with grief. The princes, under whom the dynasties perished, have commonly been abused, or insulted, imprisoned, or treated after an unworthy manner ; but I tell you to-day that the like shall not happen to me.” After he had said these words, he distributed all his precious moveables, put on an ordinary habit, and invited his best troops to follow him. He went out of the east gate, and made extraordinary efforts, either to die with his arms in hand, or to escape. The besieged, who watched, expecting some such desperate attempt, made a resolute stand, and drove the emperor back into the city. On his return, he caused most of the remaining horses to be killed, to support the troops, who had often eaten the prisoners, and those who returned wounded from the sallies *.
- THE first of *January* 1234, *Tachar* and *Meng-kong* made great rejoicings in their camp, to celebrate the first day of the *Chinese* year ; while the besieged had nothing before their eyes but *The besieged distressed ;* the most dismal objects. The soldiers, made prisoners at the breach by the *Mungls*, informed them, that there had been a famine for three months in the city ; where, after the inhabitants had boiled the leather of their saddles, boots, and drums, to make food, they had slain the old and feeble men, with many prisoners, and wounded soldiers, to eat their flesh : that the troops, who remained in a condition to serve, gathered the bones of dead men and animals, to make broth of them and dried herbs. They added, that most of the private men were inclined to surrender. *Meng-kong*, having learned these particulars, ordered his soldiers to put a bullet in their mouths, to keep them silent ; and, taking advantage of a thick fog, attacked the western side with his whole army. He made five breaches, and employed rope ladders : but, after an attack, which continued from morning till evening, and in which he lost abundance of men, was obliged to retire. On the other hand, the besieged having lost the greater part of their officers and soldiers, there remained for defence of the city no more than a few officers, at the head of the Mandarins of letters (Q) ; and some soldiers, half-dead with hunger, sustained by the example of *Hu-fye-hu*. *repulse the Mungls.*
- THE night following, the emperor *Shew-su* assembled the lords of his court, and told them, that he would transfer his fallen throne to *Cheng-lin* (R) (or, as others write, *Shing-lyen*), a prince of the blood ; who, at the emperor's pressing instances, at length accepted of it. *Shew*, after bestowing praises on him, said, *If you escape, you will continue our race, and restore the renversed crown.* Next morning, while the Mandarins performed the ceremony of acknowledging *Cheng-lin*, the *Song* and *Mungl* troops mounted the south walls, and forced 200 men, who defended them, to surrender. The Mandarins who were about the new emperor, at this news, flew to succour them ; but found the standards of the enemy planted on the ramparts. Mean time, the south gate being abandoned, *Meng-kong* and *Tachar* entered with their troops. Prince *Hu-fye-hu*, with 1000 soldiers, stopped them in one of the streets, and fought with an intrepidity which made *The city taken.*

* GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 83, & seq.

(P) Princes imagine often, that they cannot commit faults. Could he have committed greater faults than those which brought on the renewal of the war, to the destruction of himself and his people ?

(Q) The *Kin*, like the other nations who have conquered *China*, or part of it, adopted the laws and cus-

toms of the *Chinese*, who have both civil and military Mandarins, or commanders, as the *Portuguese* term them.

(R) He was the brother of general *Pesa*, defeated by *She-tyen-che*, near *Wey-wohey-fu*. *Gaubil*.—Doubtless the same who was afterwards put to death, as before related.

the enemy wonder at him. The emperor *Shew-su*, seeing all irreparably lost, got hastily into a house; where he lodged the seal of the empire; then, causing sheafs of straw to be set round the mansion, entered into it, and ordered the people to set fire to it as soon as he was dead. After this he slew himself (S): and his orders were executed.

The emperor's death.

HU-SYË-HU, who still fought like a lion in the streets, when he heard of his master's death, went and drowned himself in the river *Jû*; the officers with him, and 500 soldiers, followed his example. Mean time, while the new emperor *Chang-lin*, attended by some Mandarins, performed the Chinese ceremonies for the death of his predecessor, and gave orders for burying his ashes on the bank of the river, the confederate generals, seizing the palace, divided the spoil^y; and, the same day, *Chang-lin* was killed in a tumult: which put an end to the dynasty of the *Kin*, whose beginnings were so glorious and successful^z.

The Song proceedings

offend the Mungls.

AFTER the taking of *Ju-ning-fû*, the *Song* and *Mungls* agreed to settle the limits of the two empires. *Ho-nan* was to be delivered up to the former, as soon as the war should be finished: but, without either waiting for the expiration of the term, or giving *Oktay Khân* notice, they introduced their troops into *Kay-fong-fû*, *Lo-yang*, or *Ho-nan-fû*, and other considerable cities, in *June* and *July*; without the precaution however of furnishing them with provisions. The *Mungls* complained of these hasty proceedings; and *Sûpûtay*, who had encamped to the north of the *Whang ho*, repassed that river, and resolved to be revenged on the aggressors. A great part of the garrison of *Lo-yang*, who were out in search of provisions, were cut in pieces by a detachment of the *Mungls*; and the governor obliged to surrender for want of them. As *Sûpûtay* seemed resolved to march towards *Kay-fong-fû*, the *Song* general, being destitute of all manner of necessaries, abandoned the place: and on these occasions the *Song* shewed but little conduct. The *Song* emperor (T), either to satisfy the *Mungls*, or because his officers had not done their duty, ordered them to be punished, by lowering their degrees in the rank of Mandarins.

IN *December*, *Oktay Khân* recalled *Sûpûtay* into *Tatary*, to consult him about some new military expeditions. At the same time he sent an officer to *Hang-chew*, in *Che-kyang*, the court of the *Song*, to complain of certain proceedings: on the other hand, the Chinese sent a lord, to continue the peace. The *Khân's* answer is not mentioned; but the event shewed, that he was not well content.

Several expeditions.

A. D. 1235.

IN spring 1235, and the 7th year of his reign, *Oktay* ordered the encamping place of *Ho-lin* (or *Karakorum*) to be inclosed with walls; and to build the palace (U) called *Wan-gan*, five *li* (or furlongs) in circumference. In the first months of the year he sent an army into *Korea*; and, having levied more than fifteen hundred thousand good troops, resolved to render his name immortal by great conquests. He sent *Sûpûtay* with 300,000 men, to ravage the countries to the west, north and north-east of the *Caspian* sea. In this army went *Patû* (or *Batû*), eldest son of the late prince *Chuchi* (or *Fuji*), *Mengko*, eldest son of *Toley*, *Quey-yew*, eldest son of the emperor himself, with several other princes (X), and lords of tribes: among others were *Lyang-bû-tay*, son of *Sûpûtay*, the general, and *Mangusar*, of the *Chalar* (or *Jalayr*) tribe, and family of *Che-lau-wên* (Y).

The Song attacked.

KOTOVAN, the emperor's second son, with the general *Chabay* (Z), was ordered to attack the *Song* in *Se-chwen*. Prince *Kuchû*, his third son, with the generals *Temutay* and *Chang-jau*^a; prince *Pitû*, son of *Lyew-ko*, late king of *Lyau-tong*, besides other *Mungl* and *Kitan* princes, with the general *Chaban*, were commanded to march towards the borders of *Kyang-nan*. The *Song* emperor sent his best officers to the frontiers; and, notwithstanding his great power, began

^y See the *Kin* history, vol. III.

^z GAUBIL, ubi supra, p. 85, & seqq.

^a Or *Chang-jaw*.

(S) He hanged himself in the same house, which was called *Tseu-lan-lu-yen*; and the place where it stood is still shewn at *Ju-ning-fû*, named, in the history of the *Mungls*, *Tsay-chew*, a city of *Ho-nan*. *Abûlghazi Khân* says, that it was not known for certain (among the western writers) what became of *Altân Khân* (by which general name he calls the emperors of *Kitay*): but that it was believed, he threw himself into a great fire, which he had caused to be made for that purpose.

(T) Named *Li-tsung*, One of his first queens, being in great favour, obtained high employments for her brother *Kya-tse tau*, who soon became prime minister; and, by his bad conduct, as well as incapacity for affairs, ruined the empire of the *Song*, who reigned in *South China*.

(U) *Abûlghazi Khân* says, in this year he ordered a magnificent palace to be built in the country of *Karakum* (or *Karakorum*), and sent for the most able painters in *Kitay*, to adorn it: that he enjoined all the princes and great officers of the empire to build handsome houses

about it: that he made a fine fountain there, ornamented with a tiger spouting water, in full proportion, all cast in silver: that at some distance from the palace he made a park, two days journey in compass; which he stocked with deer, and other game, for hunting; and inclosed it with pales twelve feet high. Our author adds, that *Oktay* caused *Herât*, the capital of *Khorasân*, in *Persia*, which had been destroyed by his father's orders, to be rebuilt.

(X) *Abûlghazi Khân* places among them *Pâdur*, son of *Jagatay*; and says, they were sent against the *Russians*, *Jerkas* (or *Cherkas*), *Bulgars*, the country of *Tura*, and the *Bashkbirs*. He makes them return after seven years absence; but in the reign of *Oktay*.

(Y) Who was one of the four intrepids. *Mangusar* had distinguished himself in the army of *Toley*, in the years 1231 and 1232. *Gaubil*.

(Z) Of the hord of *San-tuffe*. He drank the water of *Panchuri* with *Jenghîz Khân*.

a to fear the consequences of so many formidable armies coming to attack his dominions : for they consisted of excellent *Chinese* and *Tatar* troops, commanded by old captains trained to war, and almost always conquerors. *Wang-shi-hyen*, an officer of reputation among the *Kin*, who commanded in *Kong-chang-fû*, in *Shen-si*, a strong city, well provided both with troops and stores, knowing that *Kotovan* was to pass that way, went out to meet, and offered him his troops. The prince hereupon took him under his protection, left him governor of the city, and gave him a considerable military post ^b.

In 1236, the army of prince *Kuchû* made great ravages in the province of *Hû-quang* : in *January* they took the city of *Kyang-lin* (at present *King-chew*) ; and in *March*, *Syang-yang*, *Hû-quang* : where they got a great booty in money and warlike provisions ; for the officers of the *Song* fall-
 b ing at variance, one of them, through malice, set fire to the magazines of the suburbs ; which gave the *Mungls* an opportunity of becoming masters of the city. The inhabitants of *Te-gan*, another city of *Hû-quang*, were almost all put to the sword in *August* ; and in *October*, the *Mungls* lost their general, prince *Kuchû*, who was greatly beloved by the emperor his father. *Telu-chû-tsay* had already persuaded *Oktay* to repair the hall of *Konfufius*, or, to speak more properly, the palace, where this ancient sage is honoured. That prince had likewise caused a great sphere to be made, and a palace built, to teach the *Chinese* sciences. At his minister's request, he also set free many *Chinese* literati and doctors, who had been made slaves in *Hû-quang*. In *February* this year, the *Mungls* introduced silk or paper-money, which had been
 used before by *Chang-tsung*, sixth emperor of the *Kin*. ^{A. D. 1236. Paper money.}

c PRINCE *Kotovan*, having passed *Kong-chang-fû*, prepared to attack the city of *Myen*, in the *Shen-si* district of *Han-chong-fû*, in *Shen-si* ; into which, after forcing the passages, he entered with
 an army of 500,000 men, consisting of *Chineses*, *Mungls*, *Tatars*, and strangers from the west. *Tsau yew-ven*, governor of *Myen*, one of the best officers belonging to the *Song*, after being driven from the fort and pass of *Syen-jin*, near the city of *Fong*, in the district before-mentioned, with 10,000 choice men, passed the river in the night, and put his troops in ambuscade, in a place called *Lew-ki*, with orders to beat their drums and light fires within, while they cried without *kill, kill*. *Tsau-wan*, *Yew-ven*'s brother, had the boldness to attack general *Ta-bay*, who began to appear with 10,000 horse and foot, while the troops in ambush lighted fires. *Yew-ven* divided his forces into three bodies, and, followed by 3000 soldiers,
 d advanced towards a gorge of the mountains, called *Kitovan* ; where he posted in the most difficult places 800 stout horse ; who, though surrounded by the enemy, stood their ground, resolved to die.

As the wind and rain obstructed their march, the officers intreated him to stop ; but *Yew-ven* ^{Terrible battle :} refused, and arrived at *Long-wey-few* : while his brother *Tsau-wan* having joined him, a great battle was fought between the *Song* and the *Mungls*, with such slaughter, that the blood ran for two leagues together. At break of day, the *Mungl* forces being joined by general *Tabay*, the little army of the *Song* was surrounded, and great havock made on both sides. *Tsau-yew-ven*, seeing all lost without resource, resolved to sell his life very dear : *It is the decree of heaven*, said he, *I must die*. After this he slew his horse, giving abusive language all the while to the
 e *Mungls*. Then, with sword in hand, he charged a great body of the enemy ; in which brisk attack he was slain, with his brother, and almost all his soldiers. The *Mungls* lost a great number of men in this action. The battle was fought in *July*, near *Yang-ping*, a fort to the west of the city *Pau ching*, which last is two or three leagues to the north-west of *Han-chong-fû*.

AFTER the defeat of general *Tsau*, prince *Kotovan* entered *Se-chwen*, and encamped near *Se-chwen* *Ching-tû-fû*, the capital of that province : most of whose cities fell into the hands of the ^{reduced.} *Mungls* ; who yet could not reduce *Ho-chew*, *Quey-chew*, *Lû-chew*, and *Shun-king-fû*. In *October*, a detachment of his troops went and besieged *Ven-chew*, as it is still named ; a city belonging to the *Song*, in the district of *Kong-chang-fû*. *Lyew-jû-i*, who commanded in the place, finding no hopes of being relieved, after he had fought night and day for some time,
 f assembled his domestics, and advised them to poison themselves. Among the rest, a child of six years old fell on his knees ; and, having desired he might have leave to do the like, took the cup, and died courageously. Afterwards *Lyew-jû-i*, and his two children, slew themselves ; and more than 40,000 people, soldiers and inhabitants, chose to follow his example, rather than surrender ^c.

MEAN time *Kew-when-pu-wha* ravaged great part of the countries which are on the borders ^{Success in} of *Kyang-nan*, *Hu-quang*, and *Ho-nan* ; then marched towards *Whang-chew*, a considerable *Hû-quang* : city in *Hu-quang*. In *November*, *Meng-kong* put himself at the head of an army of the *Song* ; and, advancing towards *King-chew*, destroyed more than twenty posts where the *Mungls* had left troops. General *Chaban* had laid siege to *Ching-chew*, a city in *Kyang-nan*, on the *Kyang*,
 g at present called *I-ching-kyen* : but was obliged to raise it, through the activity of the governor

^b GAUBIL, ubi supra, p. 88, & seq.^c Ibid, p. 91, & seqq.

Kyew-yo, who made great destruction of the *Mungls* by his ambuscades, by his engines for casting stones, and by setting fire to their quarters almost every-where.

Check at Gan-tong, A. D. 1237. In May 1237, *Meng-kong* appearing in view of the city of *Wbang-chew*, then besieged by *Kew-when-pû-wba*; this prince, whose army was fatigued, thought it better to withdraw his forces, than venture a battle. After this, he gave orders for investing *Gan-tong*, now *Shew-chew*, in the district of *Fong-yang-fû* in *Kyang-nan*: but this siege succeeded with him no better than the former. *Tû-kew*, the governor, in his frequent sallies, burnt twenty-seven intrenchments, which the *Mungls* had made over the ditches, after they had filled them up. He likewise rendered ineffectual their bombs: while *Lu-ven-te*, an excellent officer, and native of the place, during the confusion, in which the attack of their trenches had thrown the enemy, broke through their troops with some brave soldiers, and got into the city; where, in conjunction with *Tû-kew*, he, by his vigilance and activity, obliged them to raise the siege, after sustaining great loss of men.

and Lu-chew. A. D. 1238. CHAHAN, who had charge of the engines, and other instruments made use of before *Gan-tong*, resolved, in 1238, to raise the siege of *Lu-chew*, a strong city in *Kyang-nan*. To effect this, he gave out, that he had with him 800,000 men; that he would build barks on the lake *Tsau*, and, after taking *Lu-chew*, ravage the countries along the *Kyang*. Chahan caused the city to be surrounded with a rampart of earth, secured by a double ditch. Mean time *Tû-kew*, who had previously thrown himself into the place, having ordered infinite bundles of herbs to be steeped in oil, and cast into the *Mungl* intrenchments, at the same time shot stones down upon them from a tower seven stories high. The *Mungls*, attacked in this unexpected manner, could neither defend themselves from the shot, nor extinguish the fire, which spread on all sides. *Tû-kew* at the same time made a general sally; so that the *Mungls*, being surprised, were constrained to retreat, for fear of seeing their whole army perish. The *Song* pursued them for above three miles; and this was one of the greatest checks which the *Mungls* had as yet received. *Lu-ven-te*, the son of *Tû-kew*, possessed all the defiles, so that the enemy were obliged in September to retire towards the north.

Mungls baffled A. D. 1239. In *Hû-quang*, general *Meng-kong* every-where beat the *Mungls*; and, in March 1239, retook *Syang-yang*, which he fortified, as well as *Fan-ching*, situated over against it: representing to the emperor his master the importance of those two posts, and determined always to have a great army in the neighbourhood. The forces of *Kotovan*, after taking great spoil in *Se-chwen*, retired to the borders of *Shen-si*. The *Song*, taking advantage of this retreat, retook *Ching-tû-fû*, capital of that province, and assembled there a great body of troops. *Ta-hay Mongu*, the *Mungl* general, hereupon re-entered *Se-chwen*, defeated the *Song* army in a pitched battle near *Ching-tû-fû*; seized the metropolis, and set forward to penetrate into *Hû-quang*, by way of *Quey-chew*. *Meng-kong*, on this advice, furnished all the posts on the borders of *Se-chwen* and *Hû-quang*, with men and provisions; then caused all the passages of the *Kyang* to be guarded; and, having ordered a great number of barks to be prepared, in December began his march. This general rendered ineffectual the *Mungl* enterprises, and gained great honour by the reduction of *Quey-chew*; which was a place of great importance to the *Mungls*, situate on the north side of the *Kyang*, and on the borders of the two before-mentioned provinces.

Customs farmed. SINCE the conquest of *Ho-nan*, *Yelu-chû-tsay* had raised the customs of the countries of *China*, subject to the *Mungls*, to 110 *Van* of *Lyang*, or *Taëls* in silver. *Gautû-lauman*, a *Whey-bû* (Z), offered 220 *Van* for those customs. The minister opposed a bargain which tended to ruin the people: but his arguments not prevailing, he, in anger, gave a heavy sigh, and said openly; that the misery to which they were going to reduce the *Chineses*, would be quickly followed by the greatest evils.

Meng-kong's exploits. A. D. 1240. In 1240, *Oktay Khân* ordered his eldest son *Quey-yew* to return into *Tatary*, with the detachment which he commanded in the west: where, it is said, he made great conquests, without mentioning the countries which he subdued. The same year *Meng-kong* became famous by the great advantages which he obtained over the *Mungls*. He burned the magazines of provisions which they had at *Ju-ning-fû* in *Honan*: and the wood which they had laid up at *Teng-chew*, in the same province, for building barks; he likewise recovered the booty and slaves which they had made in *Hû-quang*, and secured in the city *Swi-chew*. After these great advantages he visited the frontier posts, and trained to war a great number of peasants, whom he furnished with arms and officers: in short, he had the glory to see all the countries between *Se-chwen* and the rivers *Kyang* and *Han* filled with husbandmen; who were in a condition to defend their lands, fill their magazines, and form, in a short time, bodies of troops.

Oktay fails sick. In February 1241, *Oktay Khân*, after a great hunting near the lake *Kye-kye-chay-ha*, was taken very ill: hereupon the empress *Tolyekona*, apprehending that he would not live long, sent

^d GAUBIL, p. 93, & seqq.

(Z) By *Whey-bû* are meant the *Mohammedans*.

a for the minister *Yelu-Chû-tsay*, to consult him on the occasion. *Chû-tsay* told her boldly, that the emperor had bad counsellors : that avarice reigned at court ; that employments were sold, and the prisons filled with honest men ; whose only crime was their disapproving of the unlawful means which were practised to get money ; while persons of no worth, and loaded with a thousand crimes, were in place. The empress took measures to free the prisoners, when her husband began to mend ; a general amnesty was published ; and in October the Chinese were allowed to become inferior Mandarins in the tribunals.

THE emperor loved wine passionately, and *Chû-tsay* had often warned him against it : but *His death* : although that prince took his advice as the effect of his zeal, yet he did not forbear the practice. In November the grandees invited him to a hunting ; and, contrary to the minister's remonstrances, he went. The fifth day, being come to the mountain *U-lye kû-bûlan*, he sat up all night drinking, by the persuasion of *Gautû lauman* ; which debauch cost him his life : for he died next morning, aged fifty-six, after a reign of thirteen years. He nominated for his heir and successor his grandson *She-lye-men* (A), the son of his third son *Kû-chew*, who died in *Hû-quang*, in 1236 ; as hath been before related.

OKTAY (or, as the *Mungls* call him, *Ogotay*) was a prince of courage, much prudence and greatness of soul. *Yelu-Chû-tsay* had inspired him with a love for the sciences, and application to the affairs of government. This Khân had a great authority over the princes, as well those of his family, as such who were his vassals : he loved good order, and had much integrity. *his character :*

OKTAY had several wives who bore the title of empress. The first, *Polaba*, of the house of *Hong-kila* (or *Kongorat*), by whom he had no issue. The second *Gang-whey*, who brought up prince *Miengko* (or *Mangû*), eldest son of *Toley* and (B) *Sarkutra*. The sixth was *Tolyekona* (C), a princess, who, besides the advantages of her person (D), was endowed with an uncommon share of wit and address. By his several wives he had seven princes (E) ; and one princess, married to the prince of *Honkila* ^{*his wives :*}.

THE western historians of *Asia* seem to have been but little acquainted with the actions of *Oktay Khân*, or his successors ; especially if we may judge by what has been communicated from them by *European* authors. Besides the remarks already inserted in the notes, we learn from them, that, in the year 1225, he sent *Argun Aga* into *Kherassân*, as governor ; and the Amîr *Azzoddîn Mokaddem Herâwî*, surnamed *Jamebâf*, to rebuild *Herât*, and cause the land to be again cultivated, in 1238 ^{*great liberality.*} : that Soltân *Alao'ddîn*, the *Seljukian*, who reigned at *Konîyah*, or *Ikoniûm*, in *Anatolia*, sent a celebrated embassy to congratulate him on his accession to the throne of the *Mungls* ; and that *Oktay*, in return for his civility, was pleased to offer him an employment in his palace ^{*b*} : which compliment *Alao'ddîn* did not at all relish. It is added, that this prince was so generous and liberal, that he bestowed more than ten millions of gold in presents ^{*c*}. We shall illustrate this part of his character, as well as his justice, by some instances related by *Abû'lghazi Khân*.

A POOR smith, having made six iron skewers, went to the market in order to sell them ; and, observing *Ugaday Khân* to pass by, held them up that he might see them. The Khân hereupon sent to ask what he meant by that motion ? The smith answered, that they were six skewers, which he had a mind to make him a present of. The Khân accepted of them ; and, in return, gave him so many dinârs, or crowns of gold. *An instance.*

AN indigent person, who had neither wives nor children, having waited on *Ugaday*, one day gave him to understand, that he had an inclination to fall into some little way of trade, but wanted money to carry it on. Hereupon the Khân ordered 200 dinârs of gold to be given him out of the treasury. Some court lords, who were present, would have dissuaded the Khân from this bounty, on a suggestion, that the man, having no family, the money, after his death, would pass to strangers. But *Ugaday* did not countermand the order ; saying, *Another.*

^f GAUBIL, ubi supra, p. 96, & seqq.
^d D'HERBEL, p. 684. art. Oclai Khân.

^e LA CROIX, p. 397.

^h See before, p. 214.

(A) *Shiramon*, or *Siramon*, as he is called by the more western writers.

(B) She is called by *Abû'lghazi Khân*, *Sturkhotni Beghi Jehan*. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 158.

(C) This princess was of the tribe of *Naymachîn*, and is the same whom *D'Herbelot*, p. 358, calls *Turakinah Khâtûn* ; which last word is *Mogul*, and signifies queen, or empress. That author believes she was a Christian ; but the Chinese history says nothing of her religion : however that be, he is much deceived as to the time of her death, which happened in 1265, under the reign of *Kûpilay* (or *Kublai*). Gaubil.—*D'Herbelot* puts her death twenty years earlier.

(D) According to *Abû'lghazi Khân*, *Oktay* had four lawful wives : 1. *Burakjin*. 2. *Taragana* (mother of *Kayuk*), of the *Markat* tribe, according to some ; ac-

cording to others, wife of a chief of the *Virats* : who being taken captive, and her husband slain, *Oktay* married her ; and loved her better than his other wives, although she was not very handsome. 3. *Zazin*, or *Jajin*. The name of the fourth is not known.

(E) *La Croix* affirms, the oriental historians make no mention of *Oktay's* children, excepting *Keyûk*, the eldest ; but *Abû'lghazi Khân* says, he had five, all by *Turagana* (or *Turakina*) : 1. *Kayûk*, who, during his father's life, resided in the country of *Pamak*, and was always in a languishing state of health. 2. *Kutan*. 3. *Kuku*, who was a promising prince, but died before his father. 4. *Karazar*, or *Karajar*. 5. *Kâfî*, so called because born at the time when *Jenghîz Khân* conquered *Tangut*. But as he gave himself up to excessive drinking, he died in the flower of his age.

" Since this man has implored my assistance, it would be unjust in me to send him away empty-handed, when it is in my power to help him." Hereupon he commanded the money to be paid him immediately ; adding, " Now have I done my part, he may die when it pleaseth God." In effect, the old man had scarce received the sum, before he fell down stark dead.

A third.

ANOTHER poor man, named *Muffies*, having complained to *Ugaday Khân*, that he had not wherewithal to support life ; he ordered 500 dinârs to be given him. When he had eaten out that money, he came again to see the Khân, and received 500 more. Those being spent, like the rest, he came a-new to implore the monarch's assistance. Hereupon the lords, who were then in waiting, chid him for daring still to importune the Khân for money, after he had received so much already : saying, it was unjust to give such a quantity to one man ; and that, considering how the cash already bestowed on him had been squandered, the treasury would not suffice to supply his expences long. But *Ugaday* finding, on enquiry, that he employed the sums he had received only in providing well for his back and belly ; he declared he could see no cause to reprimand the man so much ; and, at the same time, ordered 500 dinârs more to be given him : recommending to him, however, to be more frugal of them than he had been of the former thousand.

Instances of

ON a time, a man, belonging to the tribe of *Virats* (*Oyrats*, or *Brats*), who hated the *Mohammedans* exceedingly, came and told *Ugaday*, or *Oktay*, that *Jenghiz Khân* had appeared to him in a dream ; and commanded him to acquaint his majesty, that he would have all the *Mohammedans* in his dominions put to the sword. The Khân asked him, If *Jenghiz Khân* had spoken to him in person, or by an interpreter ? The man having answered, In person ; the Khân asked him again, If he could speak the *Mungl* language ? The *Virat* replied, that he could not. Upon this *Ugaday* said to him, " My father spoke no other language : how durst you then come to tell me, that he spoke to you ; seeing, that neither you understood his language, nor he yours ?" And having, in this manner, detected him in a lye, he ordered that his impudence should be punished with death.

bi, justice.

ANOTHER time, *Ugaday* having forbidden the killing of sheep any other way than by striking a knife into the breast ; it happened that a *Mohammedan*, who had bought a mutton, carried it into his house, and privately cut the head off. A *Mungl*, who suspected what the *Mohammedan* intended to do, by the care he took to shut the door, got upon the house, to look down the chimney : and having, by that means, been witness to the fact, came down ; and seizing the man by the collar, carried him bound before the Khân. *Ugaday*, having well considered the affair, ordered the *Mungl* to be put to death, and the *Mohammedan* set at liberty : for this reason, that the latter, by taking all possible care not to be seen by any body, had, in effect, obeyed the law ; whereas the former had openly violated the law, by getting upon his neighbour's house without his knowledge^k.

^k ABU'LGH. p. 153, & seqq.

C H A P. II.

The regency of Tolyekona ; and reign of Quey-yew Khân.

S E C T. I.

The regency of Tolyekona, or Turakina Khatûn.

*Chû-tsai's
advice
rejected.*

AFTER the death of *Oktay*, the empress *Tolyekona* (A) caused herself to be acknowledged for regent of the empire at *Karakorum*, in spite of all the remonstrances of *Yelu Chû-tsai* ; who declared that *She lye-men* ought to be declared emperor, in obedience to his grandfather's will. But the empress rejected this proposal, under various pretences ; and knowing dextrously how to take advantage of the absence of the best generals, who were in *China* and the

(A) According to *La Croix*, the empress *Turakina* was sister to Soltân *Jalâlo'ddin*. Mem. de Trevoux, May 1711.—The *Chinese* history makes her of the *Nay-machin* tribe ; and she had *Quey-yew* in 1206 ; before

which time it is not probable that a sister of *Jalâlo'ddin* would have been sixth wife to a son of *Jenghiz Khân*. Gaubil.

west,

a well, she, by the support of her son *Quey-yew*, and several chiefs of tribes, governed the state with the authority of an emperor. Mean time she gave notice to the commanders who were in foreign parts, and sent them orders relating to the wars. This princess had a great deal of address, and knew how to gain the interest of the grantees. She particularly made use of the services of *Gautu-lauman*, the *Whey-hu* lord before-mentioned, who was much esteemed by her; and through her means had insinuated himself into the favour of her late husband. As this grandee managed the treasury, he furnished *Tolyekona* with a great deal of money; which she employed to pay the troops, make creatures, and dispose all parties to consent that her son should be emperor.

YELU CHU-TSAY, finding he only lost time in endeavouring to persuade the empress to a speedy enthronement of *She-lye-men*, attempted to remove *Gautu-lauman* from the ministry; by representing to her that the finances were out of order, and that every thing was done at *Karakorum* by dint of money. But, far from paying any regard to his remonstrances, *Gautu-lauman* gained a greater ascendant than ever in the mind of the empress, who besides was much esteemed by all the *Mungls*. *Yelu Chü-tsai* became so greatly chagrined to see himself as it were disgraced, after the figure which he had made in the state, that, taking it deeply to heart, he died two years after (B) at *Karakorum*, at the age of fifty-five. *He dies with grief.*

THIS great man was a prince of the *Liau* family, as the term *Yelu* in his name indicates. The first time he was brought before *Jenghiz Khan*, that prince asked him, "If he was not pleased to see his house revenged of the evils which it had suffered from that of the *kin*?" *Chü-tsai* answered, "That, in honour, he was obliged to be affected with the misfortunes of princes, to whom he had been much beholden, both in point of interest and honour." Afterwards, when become the Khan's prime minister, his whole study was to render his reign glorious. He was continually inspiring that prince, his children, and the *Mungls* in general, with an aversion to slaughter and pillage, as well as a love for the people, and good government. The pains which he took to reform the manners and dispositions of the *Mungls* cannot be sufficiently commended. He was their first master, and, as it were, their lawgiver: he made for them a kalendar, which he finished in *Persia*, after the conferences which he had with the mathematicians of that country. *His character.*

HE was well versed in the *Chinese* sciences and history; and possessed, in an eminent degree, the qualifications of a minister. He had a firmness of resolution not to be shaken, an extraordinary presence of mind, a vast knowledge of the countries subject to his master, discernment in the choice of persons, and sure resources for supplies of money and provisions on all emergencies. His zeal was purely disinterested; and he continually sacrificed his own advantages to those of the state. He was at great expence to procure the *Mungls* workmen, officers, and engineers, from all countries. At the taking of *Ning-hya*, capital of the *Hya* kingdom, the *Mungls* committed great disorders in plundering the city and palace of the king: *Chü-tsai* took for his part the geographical maps, the books, paintings, and several bales of rhubarb. The army, after this, being afflicted with a malignant fever, and other diseases, the minister became the physician, and, by giving rhubarb to the soldiers, saved their lives. *great knowledge:*

HIS zeal for advancing the sciences was very ardent. He rescued from death many thousand *Chinese* literati, and caused public colleges to be built; in which the *Mungls* were taught history, geography, arithmetic, and astronomy. He sent for learned men from the countries of the *Igürs*, *Arabia*, *Persia*, and other western regions; and ordered many books to be translated. It would be endless to enumerate all the great things which this sage minister did for the glory of his master, and happiness of the people. This appeared in nothing more sensibly than in his regulations with regard to the customs, commerce, the public granaries, and the subordination which he introduced among the Mandarins both civil and military. The natural ferocity of the *Mungls*, their ignorance, and the manner in which they had been educated, were great obstacles to the execution of his grand designs. He procured to be abolished the custom of selecting, at certain times, the most beautiful maidens for the emperor's palace. He was, with regard to himself, quite irreproachable. His sons and grandsons were educated by himself, and formed by his hand to the love of the sciences and virtue. One of his sons was particularly eminent that way; and, from his father's memoirs, composed the history of the *kin* and *Liau*. *zeal for learning:*

AFTER the death of *Yelu Chü-tsai*, *Tolyekona*, at the instigation of his enemies, had an enquiry made into his effects; but that enquiry filled them with confusion: they found only a small quantity of money, but a great number of volumes, written with his own hand, on history, astronomy, agriculture, government, and commerce. They likewise met with ancient coins, musical instruments, old books, and inscriptions, cut either on stones, marble, or metal. *His disinterestedness.*

^a GAUBIL hist. Gentch. p. 101, & seqq.

(B) In March 1243.

He was very sedulous in his travels to amass these sorts of curiosities, instead of the immense riches which he might have acquired. *Chû-tsay* had many enemies, but the history (C) has done justice to him; and the *Mungls*, to this day, bestow on him the greatest eulogies. The remains of his tomb are still to be seen some leagues to the south-west of *Pe-king*. Let us now return to the *Mungl* affairs.

A brave
governor.

A. D. 1241.

In 1241, the *Song* generals, who had retaken *Ching-tû-fû*, the capital of *Se-chwen*, left there for governor a good officer, named *Ching-long-chi*: but *Wang-shi-hyen* (D) having been sent by general *Tabay* to besiege him; he was, after ten days brave defence, betrayed by an officer, who delivered up the city. *Long-chi*, being taken, was put in a chariot, and carried before *Han-chew*, a city in the same district, in order to oblige the governor to surrender: but, as soon as he became acquainted with their design, he cried out as loud as he could, to let that commander know, that he ought to die rather than surrender: on saying which words, he was immediately slain. After this, 3000 of the garrison sallied to attack the *Mungls*; but, being surrounded, were all put to the sword. Mean time *Yue-lima-tse*, a foreigner, but remarkable for his fidelity, was sent with a train of seventy persons to the *Song*, with proposals of peace: but, on his way through *Hu-quang*, he was stopped at *Chang-sha*, by the officer who commanded there; and when that lord could not be prevailed on, either by threats or promises, to enter into the *Chinese* service, the Mandarin imprisoned him in a fortress, where he died soon after, at the age of thirty-six: but *Hû-pi-lay* (or *Koplay*) *Khân* rewarded the son for the loyalty of his father.

Meng-kong's
care.

A POTENT army, commanded by *Yeko Noyen*, a great *Mungl* lord, and *Yelu Ko*, a *Kitân* prince, having marched by the way of *Si-gan-fû*, capital of *Shen-si*, and entered *Se-chwen*, laid siege to *Lû-chew*. This news coming to the ears of *Meng-kong*, in the beginning of 1242, he caused the frontiers on the side of *Hû-quang*, which he guarded with great attention, to be examined; and, finding a city not well provided, according to his orders, cut off the governor's head. This example of severity made the other officers more vigilant; and it had been happy for the *Song* if all their generals had been of *Meng-kong*'s character^b.

A. D. 1244.

Quey-yew
declared *Khân*.

PRINCE *Gan-chi-tay*, who commanded at *Tsi-nan-fû*, had orders in 1244 to attack the *Song* on the side of *Fong-yang-fû* in *Kyang-nan*; and in July 1245, the generals *Chang-jau* and *Chaban* made incursions into that province, as far as *Yang-chew*. In the same month the empress *Tûrakinab*, or more properly *Tolyekona*, having convened a general assembly of the grandees and princes, by her intrigues got her son *Quey-yew* to be declared *Khân*; and, soon after his installation, the princes *Patû*, *Mengko*, with the general *Sûpûtay*, *Mangkûsar*, and others, arrived at *Karakorum*, after an absence of several years. Their first expedition was to the north of the *Caspian*, where *Mengko* defeated a prince called *Pacheman*; who was taken and slain, as he was flying to one of the islands in that sea. After this expedition, they marched against the *Oltse* (or *Russians*), took the city of *Tuli-tse-ko*, and sacked that of *Ye-li-tsan*; in both which they met with a very great resistance. Then they ravaged the country of *Ye-lye-pan*, made a road over the mountain *Atsali*, took the country of *Machar* (E), and vanquished king *Kyo-lyen*. Being advanced to the river *Kon-ning*, a great battle was there fought, in which the *Mungls* were beaten. Upon this ill success *Patû* and *Mengko* were for retiring; but *Sûpûtay* kept up the courage of those princes.

Conquests in
west.

Death of *Sû-
pûtay*.

THE news of *Oktay*'s death made them resolve to return; and they arrived at *Karakorum* towards the end of the year 1246. Not long after, *Sûpûtay* died at the age of thirty-seven, lamented by all the princes of the imperial family; and especially by the *Mungl* officers who had served under him. The history remarks, that the army commanded by this general, *Patû*, and *Mengko*, entered a country whose inhabitants had blue eyes and fair hair: that the days, at the summer solstice, were very long; and that they had scarce any night at that season. We know that this, and other armies of the *Mungls*, ravaged *Russia*, *Poland*, *Moravia*, *Bohemia*, *Austria*, and *Hungary*: but it is difficult to discover the names which are given to those countries in the *Chinese* history, which speaks of them in so concise and confused a manner^c.

^b GAUBIL, p. 88, & seqq.

^c Ibid. p. 103, & seq.

(C) The *Chinese* history of the *Mungls* has given at large the life of this great man. Gaub.

(D) He was the governor of *Kong-chang*, which (p. 346.) surrendered to *Kotovan*; and died, much regretted, soon after *Yelu Chû-tsay*. Gaubil.

(E) Meaning, perhaps, *Majar*; by which name the *Turks* and *Tatars* denote *Hungary*.

S E C T. II.

The reign of Quey-yew, or Kayûk Khân.

- a **T**HE emperor *Quey-yew* (A) having had a very great respect and tenderness for his mother *The Bonzas Tolyekona*, that princess had the greater share of government in her hands. *Ching-hay*, encouraged. and *Gautû-lauman*, before-mentioned, were his chief counsellors (B); and it is under this Khân that the *Chinese* history begins to speak of the extraordinary credit which the Bonzas of the west (C) had at the *Mungl* court; whereas during the reigns of *Jenghîz Khân* and *Oktay Khân*, neither the Bonzas nor Lamas were employed in affairs. Among the occidental Bonzas were two brothers, born in (D) *Chû-kyen* (or *Kashmîr*), the elder named *Wa-to-chi*, the younger *Namo*. They were both very learned in the doctrines of *Fo*, and loved by the emperor: who gave the former a gold seal, which he wore at his girdle; and sent him as commissioner over the empire, to examine into the distresses of the people.
- b IN *September* this year the *Song* empire received one of the greatest losses which could have *Meng-kong* happened to it, in the death of general *Meng-kong*. He was a native of *Tsau yang*, a city in *dies.* the district of *Syang-yang* in *Hû-quang*. From the time of the war in *Ho-nan*, the *Mungl* commanders held him in great account for his valour and knowlege in military affairs. Wherever he had occasion to fight the *Mungls*, he defeated them. A series of considerable actions, with a great neglect of pleasures and riches; much liberality, as well as assiduity, to comfort the poor officers and soldiers, joined to a thorough knowledge of the places where he made war, and this supported by an extraordinary degree of intrepidity and activity, gained him a high reputation among the *Chinese* and *Tatars*. He was withal learned, and delighted to read the ancient book *Iking* (E).
- c THE kingdom of *Korea* having refused to pay tribute to the *Mungls*, in 1247 *Quey-yew* *Korea hum-* sent thither an army, which obliged the king not only to submit to that imposition, but like- *bl. d.* wise to receive commanders appointed by the *Mungls*. The history says very little concerning *A. D. 1247.* the reign of this Khân, or his actions either in *China* or *Tartary*; and although it speaks of an army sent by him into the west, yet it neither mentions what it did there, nor the country to which it was destined.
- IN *March* 1248 (F), the emperor *Quey-yew* died, at the age of forty-three, in the country *Death of* of *Hong-syang-i-eul* (G). He had by the empress *Wauli-hamish*, named by the western *Asiatic* *Quey-yew.* writers *Ogulganmish* (H), three sons and two daughters. No mention is made of the actions of the three princes (I). The eldest of the princesses married the prince of the *Pe-Tata* (or *white Tata*), descended from *Alakus*, mentioned in the reign of *Jenghîz Khân*. The younger was married to the grandson of *Stûgû*, prince of *Turfan*.
- d AFTER his death, the empress *Wauli-hamish* (K) governed the empire; and, whether by *Empress Wau-* order *li regent.*

(A) Called *Gâyûk*, or *Kayûk*, by the *Persian* and *Ta-* *rar* historians.

(B) It does not appear on what grounds *La Croix* affirms, that the two first ministers of *Keyûk Kéân* were Christians; nor can *Gaubil* tell what to think of Christians being spread through *Tartary*, and the court of the *Mungls*. It is certain, that the *Chinese* have often considered, as western Bonzas and *Mohammedans*, the Christians whom they have seen among them; and, notwithstanding all that has been said by the above-mentioned author, *D'Herbelot*, *Le Chaise*, in the life of *St. Lewis*, *Marco Polo*, and others; yet, when matters come to be compared and weighed, one must needs adhere to what is related in the *Chinese* history. *Gaubil*.

(C) These are the Lamas, or priests of *Tibet*: called of the west, to distinguish them from the *Chinese* priests of *Fo*; who are simply named Bonzas by the *Portugueses*, and *Ho-sheng* by the *Chinese*.

(D) The country of *Kashmîr*, the most northern province of the *Mogul* empire in *India* — It is in the history expressly said to be *Kashmîr*. *Gaub.*

(E) One of the classical books among the *Chinese*, explained by *Kong-fû-tse*, or *Konfusius*.

(F) The year of his death is marked in the history by that of the *ape*; and it is certain, that his death happened in 1248. *Gaubil*. Frier *Rubruquis* could never learn the circumstances of this prince's death, whom he calls *Kan Khân*. One Frier *Andrews* told him, it was

occasioned by the poison given to him by *Baatu's* orders: others said, that *Baatu*, being sent for to court, and being afraid, sent his brother *Stitchin* before; and, while he presented *Ken Khân* the cup at table, a quarrel arising between them, they slew each other. *Purch. Pilgr.* vol. iii. p. 23, & seq. — Monkish lies, or ignorance.

(G) Others say, in *Whey-mi-sye-yang-ki-eul*. Its situation is not marked; but it could not be far from *Karakorum*. *Gaub.*

(H) So we find her named in *D'Herbelot*, p. 358, of his *Biblioth. orient.*

(I) Nor, it seems, of their names. *La Croix* says, the oriental historians make no mention of *Keyûk's* children; yet *Abû'lghazi Khân*, p. 157, says, he left three sons, *Kheja*, *Ogul*, and *Bagu*, born of the same mother, named *Khamish* (doubtless the *Haymish* of the *Chinese*, and *Gannish* of the *Persian* historians). He adds, that *Bagu*, had a son called *Oku*; and *Oku*, ten sons. Both this author, and *La Croix*, put *Kayûk's* death in 1246.

(K) The history blames *Key-yew* for not having governed by himself; for giving too much power to his mother, and the great men, as well as favouring too much the Bonzas of the west; but praises him for his liberality and his courage in the wars. He commanded in chief the armies sent against *Korea*; and conquered the country of *Asû*, near the *Caspian* sea. *Gaub.* —

order of her husband, or of her own accord, she resolved to cause prince *She-lye-men* to be declared emperor, pursuant to the appointment of the emperor *Ogotay*. Her regency was not very happy. Prince *She-lye-men*, who wanted nothing of the emperor but the name, made very little account of the grandees and princes; giving access to none of them, but such as his mother, the empress dowager, the empress *Wauli*, and the empress *Tolyekona*, thought fit. People complained loudly that the court was too expensive in jewels and precious stones, which they purchased dear of the *Wbey-bû* (L.) merchants; and that the subjects were continually forced to furnish horses to the lords, who rode post day and night. Mean time the drought and mortality among the cattle had reduced many countries to famine; and there was not money to pay the great armies which were on foot. At length the empress regent agreed with the princes and great lords to hold a general assembly at *Ho-lin* (or *Karakorom*), in the beginning of the year 1251.

Meng-ko
elected

A. D. 1251.

At the time appointed the states met: *Patû* (or *Batû*), eldest son of *Chuchi* (or *Juji*), presided in the assembly; where they began to deliberate about proclaiming an emperor. *Pala*, a *Mungl* lord or prince, spoke first in the name of the empress regent; and declared, that, according to the orders of the emperor *Ogotay*, *She-lye-men* ought to be elected Khân. *Moko*, one of the sons of *Toley* (or *Tuli*), said, that there was none who durst oppose the positive command of a dying emperor. *Patû* said nothing at first, and seemed inclined to execute the will of *Ogotay*. The brothers and uncles of *She-lye-men*, with the sons of *Quey-yew*, and their friends, followed the advice of *Pala*. The general *Mangusar* was the first who proposed *Meng-ko* for emperor: he was seconded by *Hu-lyang-butay*, great general of the troops, who made a speech in favour of that prince; and said, that the circumstances of the times required that he should be elected. The advice of the great general was of mighty weight in the affair. In fine, *Patû*, who spoke last, declared that *Meng-ko* ought to be chosen (M). This opinion being carried by a majority of voices, *Meng-ko* was accordingly proclaimed and acknowledged emperor at *Karakorom*. The partisans of *She-lye-men*, spirited doubtless underhand by the empress regent, appeared resolved to proclaim that prince. On this occasion a second assembly was held in *June*, at the source of the river *Wa-nan*, or *Onon*: but, maugre all the cabals of *She-lye-men*, and the princes and generals of his party, the election of *Meng-ko* was confirmed; and the year 1251, which is the year of the *bog* (N), is marked in history for the first year of his reign^a.

by the influence.

THIS is the *Chinese* account of *Meng-ko*, or *Mang-ku Khân*'s election. Let us now see what the more western historians say on that occasion. According to *Abû'lghazi Khân*, after the death of *Kayuk Khân*, the *Mungls* were long in doubt on whom to confer the government, considering the great number of *Jenghîz Khân*'s descendants: but as *Siurkboktney* (O) *Begbi Jebân*, the favourite widow of *Taulay* (*Toley*, or *Tuli*) *Khân*, had by her charities gained the hearts of all, every one wished that the empire might devolve to one of her sons. It is true, *Batu*, son of *Chuchi*, or *Juji Khân*, who resided in *Dasht Kipjak* (P), seemed to be the person to whom the succession naturally had an eye: but as he had no desire to take the trouble on him, he invited all the princes of the house of *Jenghîz Khân* to repair to him, in order to choose a Khân. Some resolved to go; others refused; alleging, that the election ought to be made in the place where the Khâns usually resided. However, the widow of *Taulay* persuaded her five sons to attend *Batu*'s summons; and the rather, as, being much distempered in his feet, it was fit they should pay him a visit. *Batu* received them with all imaginable honours; and, the day of meeting being come, recommended *Mangu*, the eldest of *Taulay*'s sons, as a proper person to fill the vacant throne. This proposal having met with a general approbation of the princes and lords, they agreed to put off his inauguration till the end of the current year: and, at the beginning of the next, viz. 648, in another assembly, he was proclaimed Khân. When the ceremony was over, *Mangu* treated all those who met on that occasion for seven days; in which time were consumed, every day, eight waggon loads of wine, two of brandy, and twenty of *kumis*, in liquors. There were likewise killed for dressing, 300 horses, as many cows, and 1000 sheep^b.

of prince Batû.

A. D. 1250.

^a GAUBIL, ubi supra, p. 105, & seqq.

^b ABU'LGH. hist. Turks, &c. p. 158, & seq.

Where that country is, does not appear. *Abû'lghazi Khân* says, he outdid all his predecessors in the magnificent presents, which, at the beginning of his reign, he distributed among the grandees of the empire. But that was to secure his interest against *She-lye-men*.

(L) By the *Wbey-lû* are to be understood properly the *Mohammedans*. *Gaubil*.

(M) According to *Abû'lghazi Khân*, in gratitude to *Batu*, for the service done him on this occasion, he yielded

to him in every thing, and relied on him in all affairs of consequence; he likewise changed his name from *Batu* into that of *Saghin Khân*.

(N) In the duodenary cycle of the *Mungls* and *Tatars*.

(O) Called in the *Chinese* history *Sarkutna*.

(P) That is, the plain of *Kipjak*; intimating its being a champaign country, for it consists of wide extended plains.

C H A P. III.

The reign of Meng-ko, or Mangû Khân.

THE emperor *Meng-ko* had much vivacity and courage, having gained great experience ^{Fourth Khân,} in the campaigns which he made in *Sken-si* and *Ho-nan*, with his father *Toley*; as well ^{Meng-ko.} as in the war which engaged him so long in the west. He was personally acquainted with the vast dominions of the *Mungls*, and most of the generals, whether *Chinese*, *Tatars*, or foreigners. He appointed his brother *Hû-pi-lay* (or *Kublay*), lieutenant-general in all the countries south of the *Great Kobi*, or desert; that is, of *Tartary* bordering on the great wall of *China*, *Lyau-tong*, and the conquered provinces of *China*. He nominated generals to command in the countries of *Almalig* and *Kashgar*, on the river *Amû*, and in the parts adjoining to the rivers *Irtish*, *Selinga*, *Onon*, *Tula*, and *Kerlon*. He likewise ordered a great army to encamp near *Karakorum*. He recalled the seals from the Mandarins and officers, and published rules for government.

MEAN while general *Mangûsar* having discovered a conspiracy, formed by several princes ^{Plot in favour} and lords, in favour of *She-lye-men*, he was ordered to seize them: which he did, and cut off their heads. *Abû'lghazi Khân* relates the circumstances of this plot in the following manner. Shortly after *Mangû Khân*'s advancement, *Shiramûn* (in *Chinese*, *She-lye-men*), one of *Ugaday Khân*'s grandsons, persuaded the other princes of that *Khân*'s race to make away with *Mangû*, as having usurped the throne in prejudice to them. This, he said, might be done with very little risque, because he suspected nothing. The proposal being approved of, *Shiramûn* marched before, with a detachment of 500 men, and some waggons, loaded with arms. But a domestic of the *Khân*, who was in search of some strayed dromedaries, happening to pass by a place where they stopped in the evening, suspected they had some ill design in hand, and hastened back to inform the *Khân* of it. *Mangû*, on this advice, sent 1000 of his principal officers, with 2000 soldiers, to know the occasion of their meeting; and being answered ^{of Shiramun;} by *Shiramûn*, that he was going to pay his compliments to the *Khân*, they conducted him and his followers to court. *Mangû* treated them very handsomely for three days: but, on the fourth, having strictly examined some of them, concerning the intention of their assembling, and they confessing that it was to revolt, he put to death fourscore, and pardoned the rest, together with *Shiramûn*, and the children of *Kayûk Khân* ^b. The monk *Rubruquis*, who makes *Shiramûn* *Kayûk*'s brother, reports, that the plot having been discovered, much in the manner as above related, *Mangû Khân* put him to death, with his eldest son, and 300 *Tartar* lords; not sparing even the ladies, who were first whipped, to make them confess. However, he pardoned *Shiramûn*'s youngest son, and let him possess his father's effects ^c.

AFTER this, *Meng-ko* took all places of trust and consequence from those whom he knew ^{who is} to be inclined to *She-lye-men*; and caused that prince, as well as others, of the family of ^{watched.} *Ogotay* and *Quey-yew*, to be narrowly watched. About the same time he ordered *Holitay*, one of his generals, to enter *Tibet*, and put to the sword all those who refused to submit to the *Mungls*. He also appointed Bonzas of the sect of *Tau* and *Fo*, to govern the other Bonzas of their respective sects. He conferred on the princess his mother the title of empress, and caused a palace to be built, to honour the memory of prince *Toley* (or *Tuli*), his father. He bestowed on him the title of *Whang-ti* (A), or emperor, and the name of *Jû-i-tsông* (B).

PRINCE *Hû-pi-lay* (or *Kublay*) always preserved much esteem and gratitude for a *Chinese* ^{Kublay} lord, called *Tau-shû*, from whom he had learned the *Chinese* language and literature. *Tau* ^{was} was one of the most learned men of his time, and of known integrity; with a genius and prudence more than common. When *Hû-pi-lay* went to take possession of his government, he carried that lord with him, to profit by his knowledge and advice. *Tau-shû* began by presenting the prince with a book upon good government; wherein he fully set forth the manner in which *Hû-pi-lay* ought to comport himself towards the *Chinese*s, *Tatars*, the troops, the lords, and the princes of his house. This work giving *Hû-pi-lay* a higher idea ^f of his master than before, he put himself wholly under his direction: and to this sage con-

^a GAZER, ubi sup. p. 109.^b ABU'LG. p. 159, & seq.^c PURCH. pilgr. vol. iii. p. 23.(A) *Whang*, august; *Ti*, lord, sovereign.(B) *Jû-i*, full of spirit; *tsong*, respectable.

duct it was that he owed the empire which he afterwards obtained. By *Tau-shû*'s advice he applied himself wholly to war, and the care of the troops; leaving other affairs to the Mandarins appointed by the emperor.

the Chinese sciences.

As in *Ho-nan*, and the conquered parts of *Hû-quang* and *Kyang-nan*, there were many towns, and even cities, without inhabitants, as well as great and beautiful plains quite desart; *Tau-shû* erected at *Kay-fong Fû* a tribunal, whose business was to assemble as many husbandmen and peasants as they could; among whom, after furnishing them with proper necessaries, they distributed lands to cultivate; and settled what they were yearly to give the emperor, towards supplying the public magazines and granaries. This regulation extremely pleased the *Chinese*, who were, besides, charmed to see *Hû-pi-lay* skilled in their sciences. On the other hand, he gave the *Tatars* no less pleasure, by paying the troops; by well distinguishing the officers of merit; by consulting the old and experienced, shooting with the bow, going a hunting, and doing many other things agreeable to their taste.

Meng-ko's severity,
A. D. 1252.

In *January* 1252, the princess, mother of the emperor *Meng-ko*, died, generally lamented. She was daughter of the prince of the *Kara-it*, brother of *Wang-Khân*; for whose relations, as well as tribe, the *Mungls* had always a very great respect. About the same time the *Khân* being informed that several princes were still inclined to set *She-lye-men* on the throne, the desire of keeping possession caused him to do things which made a great noise. He ordered prince *Hoangur*, son of *Hasar*, *Jenghîz Khân*'s brother, who commanded the troops encamped near *Karakorum*, to make a review of them there; and repaired himself in summer to that city, where he ordered all the grandees, generals, and princes of the blood, to attend him. He banished the princess, who was the third wife of the late emperor *Ogotay*, and confiscated her effects. He, in like manner, took from the other wives of that monarch all their gold, silver, and precious stones; which he distributed among the princes, lords, and officers. Prince *Hatan* was exiled to *Bishbâleg*; *Myeli* (C) to a country near the river *Irtish*; *Perko* to *Kurchi* (D); *Toto* to *Imili* (E). *Mongoto* (F) was banished also; as well as the brothers of *She-lye-men* and prince *Haytu*, who was the son of *Hashe* (G), son of *Ogotay*. As for *She-lye-men*, he was fettered, and confined in a fortress^d.

and cruelty.

BUT what made the greatest noise of all, was the sentence of death pronounced against the empress *Wauli-hamish* (H), formerly regent of the empire, and dowager of *Queyew*; and against the princess, mother of *She-lye-men*. Sentence was executed upon both these great ladies; and, to palliate the action, it was given out, that they were magicians (I), and made use of divers forceries to set the crown on *She-lye-men*'s head. But the history disculpates these princesses, and treats *Meng-ko* very ill. It says plainly, that they ought to have adhered to *Ogotay*'s will; adding, that posterity would accuse *Meng-ko* both of tyranny and usurpation. After this, the new *Khân* bestowed great largesses on the troops, diminished the taxes, and ordered all the officers to hold their troops in readiness, on the first warning. This same year *Meng-ko* made a solemn sacrifice to heaven, on a mountain; and informed himself, from the *Chinese* literati, of the ceremonies observed in the sacrifice. The Lama *Na-mo* was declared head of his religion in the empire, with the title of the emperor's doctor and preceptor. His brother *Wato-chi*, another Lama, had great employs at court.

War in Yun-nan.

In *December* the *Khân* erected the lands of *China* into fiefs, for the princes of his house. *Hû-pi-lay* had for his share *Ho-nan*, and part of *Shen-si*. This prince having received orders the same month to attack the city of *Ta-li-fû*, in *Yun-nan*, he took with him the general *Hû-lyang-butay*, and *Tau-shû* his counsellor, before-mentioned. About the same time envoys arrived from the country of *Intû*, or *Hintûs* (K), to render homage to the emperor.

Armies sent forth.
A. D. 1253.

In *February* 1253 *Meng-ko* assembled the princes and grandees at the river *Onon*, from whence he resolved to send armies on foreign conquests; one to *India* and *Kashmir*, another against *Korea*, and a third against the *Khalifah*, or *Soltân* of *Bâghdâd* (L). This last, the

^d GAUBIL, ubi supra, p. 109, & seqq.

(C) *Hatan* and *Myeli* were two of *Ogotay*'s sons.

(D) *Gaubil* knows not where *Kurchi* is situate. *Kurchi*, or *Kurji*, has a great similitude with *Kurje*, or *Kurj*, a country mentioned by *La Croix*, on the north of *China*; but that country, which he mistakes for *Korea*, appears, from circumstances, to be *Lyau-tong*, which we cannot well suppose is meant here.

(E) *Gaubil* is likewise at a loss for *Imili*; which seems to be *Imil*, a city mentioned by *Abûlfaraj* and *Abûlghazi Khân*; but where situated, neither of them specifies. There is a river of this name, to the south of the *Irtish*.

(F) *Perko*, *Toto*, and *Mongoto*, were grandsons of *Ugaday*.

(G) This must have been *Kasbi*, mentioned by *Abûl*.

ghazi among the sons of *Ogotay*, as hath been observed in a former note.

(H) By the oriental writers called *Ogûi Gammish*. In the life of *St. Lewis*, *Sharmis*.

(I) *Meng-ko* told the ambassadors of *St. Lewis*, that *Sharmis* was a forceress; but, it is likely, ordered that none should speak of her death. *Gaub.*

(K) It is also called *Shin-tâ*, that is, the country of *India*, or the *Hindooes*; called *Hindolân* by the orientals; who also distinguish it into *Hind* and *Sind*, like the *Chinese*.

(L) *Abûlghazi Khân* says, these expeditions were occasioned by the *Khân*'s neighbours, both on the east and west, forming designs against his empire.

a most considerable of the three, was put under the command of *Hyu-le-hô*, or *Hu-li-kâ*, the emperor's brother. Among the generals who served under him was *Kokan* (M), a native of the city *Ching*, dependant on *W'ha-chew*, in the district of *Si gan fû*, capital of *Shen si*: he was versed in the mathematics, military affairs, and geography; he was likewise in great reputation among the troops.

b PRINCE *Hu-pi-lay*, who had assembled his army the year before at *Lin-tau-fû*, in *Shen si*, Kublay's son, entered *Se-chwen*; and by difficult roads, through mountains and precipices, arrived on the river *Kiu-shu*, or the *Kyang*. Great part of *Tan-nan* province was then possessed by princes independent of *China*. *Tali*, in particular, had a king of its own, who was taken with that city in *December*. *Hu-pi-lay* would have put all the inhabitants to death, but *Tau-shi* diverted him from that cruel design. The prince caused a map of the country to be given him, subdued the neighbouring princes, and penetrated into *Tibet*, where several others submitted to him. After this he returned to his government, leaving *Hu-lyang-kotay* to command the troops.

c IN 1254, *Meng-ko* again assembled the *Tatar* princes and lords, at the source of the *Onon*, *Regulation* where he made them great presents in gold, silver, and silks: he likewise fixed what the emperor was thenceforward to bestow on them every year: and performed another sacrifice to heaven. He ordered the troops in *China* to make great magazines of provisions in such cities of *Ho-nan* as they had inclosed with walls. Hitherto they had only made incursions into *Se-chwen*, to pillage the country, from whence they were obliged to retreat, and often with loss, for want of subsistence. For this reason *Meng-ko* ordered general *Wang-te-ching*, by *Meng-ko*, son of *Wang-shi-hyen*, to inclose several towns with strong walls, and lay in store of provisions. The *Khân* likewise gained the love of the people, by the care he took to hinder his troops from ravaging the plains and lands of the peasants. He caused diligent enquiries to be made secretly upon that head; made those amends who had been sufferers, and punished with death, even considerable officers, who had been aggressors. Nay, he severely punished his own son, for having, one time, in hunting, spoiled the plowed lands of certain countrymen.

d IN *February* 1255, *Hu-pi-lay* sent for a famous *Chinese* literato, called *Hyu-heng*, born at *Mungls im-Ho-ney* (N), in *Ho-nan*, who was much endeared to the *Mungls*. He took infinite pains to induce them to study the sciences; which they at length did, under his tuition, with such success, that they fell short in nothing of the *Chineses* themselves. *A. D. 1255.*

e IN *June* 1256, *Meng-ko* made great feasts for the princes and grandees. At the same time he received homage from several princes of *Yun-nan*, and the neighbouring princes, as well as from the *Soltâns* of the west. As *Karakorum* seemed to him very incommodious for holding general assemblies, and keeping his court; he ordered a *Chinese* Bonza, called *Lyew-ping-chong*, to choose a place in *Tartary*, which might thenceforth be the capital of his dominions. *Ping-chong*, who was a man of great genius, skilled in mathematics, history, and almost all parts of literature, made choice of a place called *Long-kang*, to the east of the city *W'ha-chew*; where they built a great city, with a palace for the emperor and grandees, temples, and tribunals; the whole surrounded with high and thick walls. In the neighbouring country they pitched on places for hunting, fishing, and whatever else might serve for the conveniencies of the new city; which was called *Kay-ping-fû* (O), and in a short time filled with an infinite number of *Chineses* and *Mungls*. Yet *Karakorum* still continued to be considerable, and enjoy a jurisdiction of greater extent.

f IN 1257, *Meng-ko* sent orders to his generals in *Se-chwen*, *Hu-quang*, and *Kyang-nan*, to prepare for attacking the *Song* on all sides; resolving himself to make the campaign in the first of those provinces. Before he left *Tartary*, he went to honour the memory of his grandfather *Jenghiz Khân*, in the palace destined for that use: and in *July* made a solemn sacrifice to heaven. After this he appointed his brother *Alipûko* (P) to command in *Karakorum*, and left the general *Alantar* to assist him with his advice. Then setting out the same month, he came to the mountain *Lew-pan*, in *Shen-si*, where *Jenghiz Khân* died. He was scarce arrived, when he understood that his brother *Hu-pi-lay* was come, with his family, and without any attendance, in the form of a criminal, to submit himself implicitly to the orders of his majesty: which news affected *Meng-ko*, and began to remove the suspicions which he had conceived against his brother.

HU-PI-LAY was greatly loved and esteemed by the *Chineses*, whom he governed with gentleness. He was accused of making himself independent; and his having gained the affec-

c CAUVIL, p. 112, & seq.

(M) His father *Ko chay*, and grandfather *Ko-pau-yu*, were generals of *Jenghiz Khân*.

(N) In the district of *W'hai-hin fû*.

(O) And afterwards *Shang-tû*. Lat. 42° 25' long. 111° 50'' west of *Pi-king*.

(P) Called *Arigbaqa*, *Arigbuka*, and *Arigbaga*, by the oriental authors.

prevents his
disgrace.

Hu-lyang's
conquests.

Mengko's
forces.

Vigorous oppo-
sition

A. D. 1258.

made by the
Song.

Lan-chew
surrenders.

tions of the soldiers and the *Chinces* was interpreted to his disadvantage. *Meng-ko* began by depriving him of his government, and turning out some generals, who seemed too much attached to him. Officers were appointed to command in *China*, and Mandarins to try those who were found to be criminals. While these judges repaired to *Si-gan Fû*, capital of *Shen-si*, and prepared to execute the emperor's orders; *Hû pi-lay*, stunned with this sudden disgrace, seemed inclined at first view to have recourse to arms, and revenge himself on those who were the authors of it: but as he did nothing without the advice of *Tau-shû*, this lord counselled him instantly to depart, without any troops, and, throwing himself at the emperor's feet, offer to give up to him his wives, concubines, and children, with all the riches that he had in gold, silver, and precious stones. *Hû-pi-lay* took his advice; which had so happy an effect, that *Meng-ko*, when he beheld his brother's humiliation, found himself touched; and his ancient tenderness for him returning, he embraced him several times with tears, revoked all his orders, gave him full power, and ordered him to prepare for the siege of *Vû-chang Fû*, capital of *Hû-quang*; then to march to *Hang-chew*, the metropolis of *Che-kyang*, and empire of the *Song*. At the same time he nominated general *Chang-jau* to command under him^f.

WHILE these things were transacting on this side, *Hu-lyang-kotay*, after the conquest of *Tibet* in 1255, subdued most of the countries bordering on *Yun-nan*: after which he undertook to penetrate as far as *Tong-king* and *Kochin-china*, which, at that time, were comprehended under the name of *Gan-nan*. Pursuant to this design, he sent officers to the king of that great country, to summon him to pay tribute to the *Mungls*: but, on advice that those envoys were imprisoned, he marched to the capital of the kingdom, ruined it, and plundered the country; and was on the point of returning towards *Tali*, when he received orders from *Meng-ko* to make all possible haste to join *Hû-pi-lay*, at the siege of *Vû-chang Fû*.

THE army of *Meng-ko* was divided into three bodies, in order to enter *Se-chwen* by three different parts, when the *Arab*, *Persian*, and other foreign merchants, offered the emperor precious stones, valued at 500,000 *lyangs* (Q). The Khân refused them at first, saying, that, in his present circumstances, silver and copper money was of use to him: however, in regard to the general *Tsay-tyen-che* (R), and other western lords, he took some of their jewels, and gave them silver; but forbade them to offer him any for the future. As soon as the army decamped from the mountain *Lû-pan*, *Po-li-cha*, a great *Tatar* lord, was nominated to command the first body: *Mu-ko*, the emperor's brother, led the second: and the Khân himself would conduct the third; which took the route of *Han-chong Fû*, in *Shen-si*.

THE *Song* always took care to furnish *Se-chwen* with good troops, well officered; so that, in spite of the formidable armies of the *Mungls*, they stood their ground: and although beaten, being but few, they commonly retook the cities which the enemy had reduced; because the *Mungls*, for want of provisions and forage, were obliged to withdraw. *Nyew-lyen*, of the *Chan-chû* tribe, whose father and grandfather were renowned in the army, having been sent before by *Meng-ko*, learned, towards the beginning of the year 1258, that *Atabû*, general of the *Mungls* in *Ching-tû Fû*, was reduced to great extremities, besieged on all sides by the *Song*. Hereupon, being, after infinite fatigues, arrived in sight of *Ho-chew*, he resolved to succour *Atabû*. For this purpose he made extreme haste towards him; and meeting by the way with a detachment of the enemy's army, fought them for a whole day, and gained a complete victory. For all this the *Song* took *Ching-tû*, and *Atabû* died. *Nyew-lyen*, driven almost to despair for not having prevented that loss, marched directly to *Ching-tû*; and, posting himself between the city and army of the *Song*, intrenched his forces. In short, the city, for want of victuals, surrendered, and the enemies troops thereupon dispersed.

NYEW-LYEN, being informed that *Meng-ko* was arrived at *Han-chong Fû*, left the government of the city to *Lyew-hema*, and went to *Mabû*; from whence he sent troops to facilitate his passage of the river *Kyan-lin*, over a bridge of boats.

THE princes *Moko* and *Tachar* (S) having joined the Khân, he took *Long-gan Fû*; and, at the head of his choicest troops, attacked *Lan-chew* (T). *Yang-ta-ywen*, who had at first killed the officer sent to summon him to surrender, being seized with fear on sight of the *Mungl* army, went out, with design to submit: but, changing his mind, returned to the city. *Meng-ko*, enraged at the murder, protested that he would ruin the city: but *Li-hû-lan-ki*, who was a good officer, and native of *Shen-si*, having represented, that, without the assistance of

^f GAUBIL, p. 114, & seqq.

(Q) Or *tacis*; amounting to 2,500,000 livres. Reckoning at 6s. 8d. *English*, 500,000 come to 166,666 l. 13s. 4d.

(R) An *Arab*, of the family of *Mohammed*, who sur-

rendered to the *Mungls*, on their irruption into *Arabia*. Gaub.

(S) This was a prince of the blood, not the general of that name. Gaub.

(T) Now *Pau-ning Fû*, in *Se-chwen*.

a *Tang-te-yeen*, they could scarcely succeed in the war of *Se-chwen*, he sent an officer to assure the governor of his favour, who thereupon surrendered.

GENERAL *Hû-lyang-bo-tay*, in his return from *Gan-nan*, entered *China* by way of *Tong-king*; *Quey lin Fû* and, proceeding forward to *Quang-fû*, seized *Quey-lin Fû*, capital of that province, notwithstanding the difficulties of the roads; and troops of the *Song*, who endeavoured to dispute his passage. But that commander, and his son *Abû*, either defeated them where-ever they met, or duped them by false marches: so that the *Chinese* were surprised to see him penetrate as far as *Chang-sha*, a city of *Hu-quang*, which he invested in the beginning of the year 1259^e.

b THE first day of the same year, *Mengko*, with the army, arrived at the mountain *Chou-tay*, *Ho-chew be-* where, in a great council of the antient generals, *To-whan*, of the *Chalar* (or *Jalayr*) tribe, *sieged*, affirmed, that the war in *Se-chwen* would prove unfortunate, as the heats and moisture would A. D. 1259. destroy the soldiers; for which reasons he advised his majesty to return to the north. But *Pa-li-che*, of the tribe of *Orla*, insinuating that *To-whan* spoke through fear, was of opinion that the emperor should stay where he was. *Meng-ko* praised that general for his advice; and resolved to besiege *Ho-chew* (U), which he invested in *February*. The place was strong, and defended by *Vang-kyen*, a very intelligent officer, who had a good garrison, and plenty of provisions. *Lu-ven-te*, governor-general of the province, who so bravely defended *Gan-fong*, in *Kyang-nan*^b, watched all advantages, and lost no occasion to harass the *Mungls*, who were always obliged to march in strong bodies, to prevent being surprised by the troops which he

c had posted in all the difficult passages.

MENG-KO having sent a *Chinese* officer to summon *Vang-kyen* to surrender, that commander, *out of season*, knowing that he had been in the service of the *Song*, after reproaching him with treason, ordered him to be carried to the place of arms, and put to death. Mean time *Nyew-lyen*, advancing to join the *Khân*, caused a bridge of rafts to be made near *Fû-chew*. *Fû*, another general, went and encamped near *Quey-chew*, on the borders of *Hû-quang*. It was not long before *Meng-ko* perceived that the siege of *Ho-chew* would cost him much trouble. In the same month the *Mungls* were repulsed before the western gate: nor were the attacks more successful in *March*. In *April* the thunder and rain, which continued for twenty days, did them much damage. For all this they one day scaled the walls, and made great slaughter among the

d defendants. However, *Vang-kyen*, after opposing them for several days and nights, at length repulsed them.

MEAN while *Lu-ven-te* attacked with much resolution the raft bridge at *Fû-chew Fû*, and *The Mungls* got into the city of *Kon-chin Fû*, eight leagues south-south-west (X) of *Ho-chew*. There he *distressed* gathered more than 1000 barks to ascend the *Kya-ling*; but being attacked on that river by the general *She-tyen-che*, this latter took 100 barks, and pursued him to *Chong-king*. For all this defeat, *Lu-ven-te* distressed the *Mungls* greatly, by cutting off their provisions, which was one of his principal cares. They suffered much likewise by diseases; and *Vang-kyen* had always the advantage over them, both in the attacks and sallies. The *Mungls*, weary of the siege, which, notwithstanding the diligence and bravery of *Vang-te-ching*, who had the conduct

e of it, was very little advanced in *July*, resolved to employ their best troops, and carry the place, cost what it would. On the other side, *Vang-kyen* and his garrison swore to perish, sooner than surrender.

THE tenth of *August* *Meng-ko* visited the works; and sending for *Vang-te-ching*, ordered him *A general* to get things ready for scaling the walls the night following. These orders were executed *assault*. with much secrecy and conduct. The *Mungls* were already mounted in great numbers on the walls, when the governor, on notice given him, hastened to their defence. The assailants cried out, *Vang-kyen, surrender, and you shall have your life*. But he, without minding them, assembled his people, and attacked them with so much fury, that *Vang-te-ching*, who mounted the walls first, and most of those who followed him, were slain upon the place: the rest were

f pursued by the victor, who put several quarters of the *Mungls* into disorder. *Meng-ko*, upon this, ordered a general assault, and went himself to the scalade. But *Vang-kyen* was not to be forced. At the same time a storm fell, and blew down the ladders. Hereupon a dreadful slaughter ensued, in which an infinite number of *Mungls* perished; and, among the rest, the *Meng-ko* emperor, whose body was found pierced with several wounds. Thus died *Meng-ko* (Y), at the *slain*. age of fifty-two, after a reign of nine years.

UPON

^a GAUBIL, p. 117, & seq.

^b See before, p. 348, where it is called *Gan-tong*.

(U) Lat. 30° 8' long. 10° 8' west of *Pe-king*. In the Jesuits map it is written *Ko-chew*. There is another *Ho-chew*, in the west border of *Shen-fû*, to the south-east of *Si-ning*.

(X) It should be south-south-east, according to the Jesuits map of *Se-chwen*.

(Y) According to *Abûlghazi Khân*. *Mangu*, having sent *Koplay* eastward, and *Hulaku* westward, marched himself to *Chinu Machin*, or *Jinu Mejin* (rather *Chin-u a Machin*, that is, *Chin* and *Machin*), and in winter laid siege to *Chinu*, or *Jinu*, the capital. That in spring, a mortality

UPON this disaster, the prince *Moko*, and the rest of the generals, agreed to raise the siege, and retire towards *Shen-si*. He likewise sent a lord to invite his brother *Hü-pi-lay* to return into *Tartary*, and he proclaimed emperor. The army after this decamped; and the hearle which carried the Khan's corpse was placed in the midst of a great body of troops.

Person and
character.

THIS Khan, as to his person, was of a middle stature, and flat-nosed (Z). Several of his wives had the title of empresses, after the example of *Jenghiz Khan* and *Ogotay*. The first of them was of the *Hongkila* (or *Kongorat*) tribe, and family of *Te in*. By them all he had five sons, and several daughters.

THE history reproaches *Meng-ko*, for his attachment to the Lamas.

ⁱ GAUBIL, p. 119, & seqq.

^k Ibid. p. 121.

mortality arising among his soldiers, his generals would have had him raise the siege: but, obstinately refusing, he at length fell ill himself, and was carried off in eight days, in the year 655 of the *Hejrah*, that is, of *Christ*, 1257.

(Z) It may not be amiss to give the whole passage wherein this is found, from *William de Rubruquis*, who was sent into *Tartary* in 1253: in *January* following he arrived at the court of *Mangu Khan*, and was admitted to audience, sitting on a bench before the ladies. The

house was hung with cloth of gold. In the midst was a fire, made of thorns, wormwood-roots of a very large size, and ox dung. The Khan sat on a bed, and was clad with a robe of spotted fur, which shined like a seal-skin. He was of a middle stature, flat nosed, and about forty-five years old (1). His wife, who was a little pretty woman, sat by him: and, in another bed near it, sat *Sirina* (or *Kbirina*), one of his daughters, who was grown up, but very ill favoured; and several little children. *Purches* pilgrim. vol. iii. p. 25.

(1) He was then forty-eight years of age.

CHAP. IV.

The reign of Hü-pi lay, or Kublay Khan.

SECT. I.

Progress of the war in China, till Peyen, or Bayan, was made generalissimo.

Kublay
marches.

A. D. 1259.

DURING the winter of this year, *Hü-pi-lay* (A) parted from *Long-kang*, afterwards a called *Shang-tü*; and, in *July* 1259, encamped to the south of the river *Jü*, in *Ho-nan*. There he forbade committing massacres: and having given one part of the army to *Chang-jau*, the two bodies reduced the fortresses which are near the city *Ma-ching*, in the district of *Whang-chew*, in *Hü-quang*. In *September* he received an express from his brother *Moko*, to hasten his return with his best troops: but *Hü-pi-lay*, not thinking it for his honour to quit the country without doing some remarkable action, ascended the mountain *Hyang-li* (B), near *Han-yang Fú*, a city of *Hü-quang*; and took much pleasure to behold the course of the great *Kyang*, which he intended to pass. Although the *Song* had a numerous fleet, and many troops, on this river, yet *Tong-wen-ping* undertook to make the attempt. Having embarked with some companies of soldiers, he caused the drum to beat, and rowed briskly, to attack the van-guard of the *Song*. These, astonished at the resolution of the *Mungls*, made great cries, and fear threw them into disorder.

Besieges Vü-
chang.

HEREUPON *Tong-wen-ping* making a signal to the troops of *Hü-pi-lay*, this prince embarked; and next day his army appeared before *Vü-chang Fú*. The news of these motions caused a general fear, and greatly alarmed the court at *Hang-chew*. The emperor of the *Song*, on this occasion, opened his treasures, and distributed immense sums (C), with pieces of silk, to his troops: great levies were made throughout the empire; and a numerous army was ordered to *Han-yang Fú*, to succour *Vü-chang Fú*. The general of this army was *Kya-tse-tau*, a man

(A) *D'Herbelot* writes *Kolla*, or *Killy*: *M. P.*, *Ka-bly*; some *Koily*, *Koily*. Several *blangs* at *Peking* pronounced *Hü pi ly*. The *Chinese* know him under the name of *Tam-shi yü*. *Gaubil*.—*La Croix* writes *Kublay*; in *Atalghazi Khan* we read *Keply*; with the addition of *Khan*, or *Khan*, in all.

(B) From thence one has a prospect of the cities *Fü-*

chang Fú, *Han-yang Fú*, and *Han-keu*; with the course of the rivers *Hü* and *Kyang*. *Gaubil*.

(C) They reckon 105 *wan* of *tach* in silver, or 5,500,000 *livres*; 7700 *wan* of *tyou*, of *hahet*, or copper deniers. The *tyan*, at present, is 1000 deniers. A *wan* is 10,000 *livres*.

raised

a raised to the highest dignities of state, without talents equal to the charge. He was neither loved nor esteemed by the troops. The officers could not endure to be commanded by a person who had no experience; and often openly made a jest of the courage of their general. *Kya-tse-tau* was, besides, very vindictive, as well as vain: often without cause used the best officers ill; and in the disposing of posts never considered the merit of persons; which made several of them resolve to go over to the *Mungls*, from whom they were sure to receive better treatment.

THE governor of *Vú-chang Fú* amused *Hú-pi-lay* at first with false hopes, and slew the officer *Makes peace* sent to treat with him: but was himself slain some time after in a fall which he made. *Kya-tse-tau* led the greater part of the army to *Whang-chew Fú*; and in this march shewed that
b courage did not belong to him. In November, *Líu-ven-te*, governor of *Se-chwen*, received orders to repair to *Vú-chang Fú*, to command in that important place. The siege went on apace; and the garrison had already lost many officers, as well as soldiers. *Kya-tse-tau*, apprehending the consequences of the loss of that city, sent to propose conditions of peace; one of which was, that the empire of the *Song* should become tributary to the *Mungls*. But *Hú-pi-lay* would not hearken to them. At this time *Kya-tse-tau* learned, by an express from *Wang-kyen*, what had happened at *Ho-chew*, and took occasion from thence to renew his propositions. At the same juncture *Hú-pi-lay* received positive advice that the general *Alantar* was doing his endeavours to set his brother *Alipuka* on the throne; and that several princes and lords were of his party. Upon this a great council was held, in which *Hau-king*, a learned and sage coun-
c sellor, advised *Hú-pi-lay* to make peace with the *Song*; to fix his court at *Yen-king*, and cause himself to be proclaimed emperor. This advice being followed, *Kya-tse-tau* promised to pay annually twenty *van* of silver (D), and as much in silk, by way of tribute, and acknowledgement of the sovereignty of the *Mungls* over the *Song*. In consequence of this treaty, after the limits of both empires had been settled, *Hú-pi-lay* decamped, and repassed the *Kyang*. *Hú-lyang-bo* likewise raised the siege of *Chang-shu*, and crossed the same river, in his way to the north: but some troops of his army having stayed behind, on the other side, till February 1260, *Kya-tse-tau* ordered them to be put to the sword (E).

THE history, in this place, represents *Kya-tse-tau* as one of the most wicked ministers who ever existed. He made a shameful treaty for the *Song*, and concealed it from the emperor
d *Li-tsung* (F), who believed the retreat of *Hú-pi-lay* was owing to that officer's valour and conduct: the 170 soldiers, massacred by his order, gave occasion also to give out, that the *Mungl* army had been defeated. So that the court at *Hang-chew* lavished their praises and rewards on *Kya-tse-tau*, not dreaming that what this wicked man had done would shortly ruin the empire ^a.

HU-PI-LAY, after the treaty concluded with the *Song* minister, left *Hú-quang* with his best troops; and, in December following, encamped in sight of *Yen-king*. His return produced
e a general joy in the people of the north, who wished to see him immediately settled on the imperial throne. Most of the princes of his house, as well as of the *Chinese* and *Mungls*, but above all the princess of *Hongkila* (or *Kongorat*), his first wife, pressed him to declare himself emperor. While *Hú-pi-lay* seemed unresolved what to do on this occasion, there arrived a *Mungl* lord, deputed by *Hulagú*, and, in the name of that prince, made strong instances for having *Hú-pi-lay* proclaimed. At length, in April 1260, *Moko*, *Hú-pi-lay*'s brother, *Hatan*, son of *Ogotay*, whom *Meng-ko* had banished to *Bishbâleg*; *Tachar*, grandson of *Tyemuko*, fourth brother of *Jenghiz Khân*; the deputy of *Holagú*, with those of many other princes, and a grand number of *Tatar* lords, assembled at the new city of *Kay-ping Fú*, afterwards *Sbang-tú*, in *Tartary*, and declared *Hú-pi-lay* emperor of the *Mungls*. Afterwards they saluted him as such; and the troops did the same. The *Chinese* every-where made great rejoicings: and the new monarch thought of nothing but to chuse good generals, able ministers, and above all wise men, who should promote the silk manufactures, commerce,
f and agriculture.

MEAN time it was confirmed, from all sides, that prince *Ali-pú-ko* (or *Aribuga*), intended to *Arikbuga* make himself emperor: that he had a great army at *Karakorum*, commanded by general *Alan-*
asires *tar*: that he was supported by the princes *Asútay*, *Yu-long-ta-she*, and *Siliki*, three of *Meng-ko*'s sons, besides some others; and that many officers, who served in the province of *Se-chwen* and *Shen-si*, were in his interest. Hereupon *Hú-pi-lay* ordered his generals in *Tartary* to send him an exact account of what they knew in relation to the intrigues of his competitor. In

^a GAUBIL, hist. Gentch. p. 123, & seqq.

(D) That is, a million of livres, or about 50,000 *l.* sterling.

(E) A little lower, the number of those cut to pieces is said to have been 170.

(F) He was fourteenth emperor of the *Song* dynasty, which ruled over the southern *China*, and consisted of eighteen princes.

China, among other trusty lords, he made use of *Lyen-hi-hyen*, born in the country of *Igir*; *a* *Chang-ting*, a *Chinese*; and *Chau-lyang-po*, a native of *Nyu-che* (G). He appointed *Hi-hyen* the first governor-general of *Shen-si* and *Se-chwen*, with a good army under his command. This *Hi-hyen* was an able minister, as well as general, very learned, and had a prodigious memory. As an instance of his merit, prince *Hatan* desired to serve under him.

to the empire.

NOR was *Ali-pu-ko* idle on his part: he sent general *Alantar* into the northern provinces of *Tartary*, with large sums of money, and quantities of silks, to gain the heads of tribes. *When-tû-bay*, governor of *Lû-pan*, where *Jenghîz Khân* died; who had 60,000 men at his devotion, joined the governor of *Ching-tû Fû*, capital of *Se-chwen*; while other officers of *Ali-pu-ko*'s party seized *Fong-tsyang Fû*, in *Shen-si*, and carried on a correspondence in *Si-gan Fû*, the metropolis of that province. After these precautions taken, *Ali-pu-ko* caused himself to be acknowledged emperor at *Karakorum*, as soon as he came to understand what had passed at *Kay-ping Fû*. *Lyew-tay-ping*, and *A-lû-whay* (H) (who, in the time of *Meng-ko*, commanded in *Si-gan Fû*, where they were hated by the people, to whom they were a charge), being now at *Fong-tsyang Fû*, in behalf of *Ali-pu-ko*, as soon as they heard that *Hi-hyen* was on his march for *Shen-si*, set out post for *Si-gan Fû*, where they arrived the first of *May*, and began to persuade the inhabitants to declare for his party. But two days after, *Hi-hyen* arrived, and gave heart to the people, who mightily dreaded the return of those two officers ^b.

Attempts on
Shen-si.

THE general immediately caused the order for acknowledging *Hû-pi-lay* to be published through the city; likewise the patent whereby he was declared commander and governor of the provinces of *Se-chwen* and *Shen-si*. This done, he charged the officers to keep strict guard at the gates and walls, and to examine closely all those who went either in or out. He particularly gave a secret direction not to suffer either *Lyew-tay-ping*, or *Ho-lû-bay* to get away. Soon after, the guards gave notice, that they had stopped a stranger at the gate, who said he came from *Lû-pan*. This was a trusty officer, who had watched all the motions of *When-tû-bay*; and from him *Hi-hyen* learned the names and number of those who were of that governor's party. Hereupon the general assembled the officers and Mandarins; and, after consulting with them, caused *Lyew-tay-ping* and *Ho-lû-bay* to be put under an arrest. Then he sent *Lyew-be-ma* into *Se-chwen*, to put to death *Mi-lyo-che*, governor of *Ching-tu Fû*, and *Kitay-pu-wha*, who commanded on the frontiers. He gave an army to general *Vang-lyang-ching*, to go join prince *Hatan*; and appointed *Pachun*, a *Mungl* officer, to sustain *Lyang-ching* with 5000 choice men, drawn from *Se-chwen*. This done, he put to death *Lyew-tay-ping* and *Ho-lû-bay*, as rebels; and received orders soon after to save their lives.

His army de-
feated,

and generals
killed.

WHEN-TU-HAY, who heard all this news with surprise, plainly perceived that *Hi-hyen* was thoroughly instructed in matters; and, losing hopes of taking *Si-gan Fû*, resolved to repass the *Whang-ho*; and, after reducing *Kan-chew* (I), went and joined *Alantar*. Prince *Hatan*, not being able to prevent either, marched northward with his horse; and, having encamped between the rebels and *Karakorum*, sent *Hi-hyen* an account how things stood. As he was quickly joined by *Wang-lyang-ping* and *Pachun*, he resolved to march in three bodies, and seek the enemy, whom he attacked to the east of *Kan-chew*. *When-tu-bay* and *Alantar* had the advantage at first, by means of a great wind, which incommoded with the sand and dust the cavalry of *Wang-lyang-ping*. Hereupon this general ordered his men to alight; and, falling on the enemy's left wing, put them into disorder, and then posted himself to the north of them. The right wing likewise began to stagger, and *Pachun* wheeled to the south. Mean time *Hatan* cut off their retreat towards *Karakorum*, and made so long an attack, that the troops of *Alantar* and *When-tu-bay* gave way on all sides. These two generals were both killed in the battle (K); and a great slaughter was made among their troops, who were not able to retire either towards the north or the great wall. In short, *Hatan* and his lieutenants gained a complete victory; and, by this means, *Shen-si* and *Se-chwen* became intirely settled.

c

Good regula-
tions.

THIS year *Hû-pi-lay* sent for to court a *Chinese* doctor of great reputation, called *Tew-me*, an intimate friend of *Tau-shu* and *Hyu-beng*. He was one of those whom the emperor consulted most about the manner of governing the people: for he made it his business to have a personal knowledge of those who were best able to make his reign illustrious, either by means of arms, the sciences, public works, wealth, or commerce; and laid it down as a rule, to employ persons of merit, let their country or religion be what it would. Ever since the empire was founded, very few (literary) Mandarins were appointed to govern the people, and regulate the affairs of private men; no account having been made of any but officers. The person who at this time kept the seal was called *Talia* (L), or *Targuji*. This was then the most con-

f

^b GAUBIL, p. 132, & seq.

(G) Or *Ny-che*, the country of the *Kin* and *Manchews*, who are descended from the *Kin*. See before, p. 135, & *alibi*.

(H) Called, lower down, *Ho-lû-bay*.

(I) A city of *Shen-si*, near the great wall of *China*, towards *So-chew*.

(K) Which was fought in *May*, according to some; to others, in *September*. *Gaub.*

(L) *Talia* is a corrupt *Chinese* pronunciation of *Targchi*, or rather *Targuji*, as it is pronounced both by the *Mungl* and *Si-gan*.

- a considerable employment, and he took place of the ministers of state, who had not the authority which they possessed since. The Khân ordered *Lyew-ping chong* and *Hyu-beng* to settle the number, order, and authority of the Mandarins; with the salaries of each. In consequence of which he appointed the several tribunals of ministers of state, censors of the empire, ceremonies, Mandarins, crimes, public works, war, and other affairs. He regulated also the officers of the army, and those of the imperial palace: settled the tribunal of mathematics; and published all those different regulations. He caused the miseries of the people to be enquired into; and ordered the state of each country to be laid before him; setting forth what was either good or bad in it, what it produced, and what might be done to make it rich and commodious. This attention of *Hû-pi-lay* to such momentous matters, acquired him much honour in the opinion of the *Chinese*; who likewise saw, with extreme pleasure, people of their nation possess very important posts in the court, the army, and the provinces^c.

HU-PI-LAY loved men of learning, and such were seen at his court, who were of all sorts of nations. The history bestows great commendations on a *Persian* lord, named *Cha-ma-lu-ting*, who was an able mathematician. He composed a piece of astronomy for the use of the court; and presented the emperor with large and beautiful instruments, belonging both to that science and geometry. *Gayfue* (M) had the inspection of what concerned medicine, and was one of the principal Mandarins for mathematics. A great number of men from *Igûr*, *Persia*, *Great Bukhâria*, and other countries, were employed to translate books. In imitation of the *Chinese* emperors, *Hû-pi-lay* made choice of the most able doctors to compose an academy: they are called *Han-lin*; and this tribunal is at present in great consideration. As the Khân assembled a great number of doctors on this occasion, he set apart a distinct body of *Han-lin*, both to write and compose the history of the empire. At the head of these he placed *Wan-gu*, a person of probity, prudence, and capacity; who furnished good memoirs for the history of the *Lyau* and *Kin*. He wrote a great deal upon the *Chinese* classical books, and made a large collection of imperial edicts. When *Ju-ning Fû* was taken (N) he was put in the list of those who were sentenced to die; but was saved by *Chang-jau*.

MEAN time *Hû-pi-lay* sent *Hau-king* to the court of the *Song* emperor; both to notify his advancement to the throne, and execute the treaty concluded with *Kya-tse-tau*, during the siege of *Vu-chang Fu*. But as the *Chinese* monarch knew nothing of that treaty, his minister, fearing the envoy would discover his knavery, imprisoned him near *Nan-king*; and took all possible care that neither *Hû-pi-lay* nor his master should hear any thing from this lord. The *Song* emperor indeed was informed that a *Tatar* envoy was arrived on the frontiers; but *Kya-tse-tau* had the art to turn his thoughts to other matters.

THE *Mungl* emperor, being young himself, took a great liking to *Pasepa*, a young lord of *Tibet*, full of wit, and very polite. *Pasepa* was of an ancient family, eminent for virtue, whose ancestors, for ten centuries, had been the principal ministers of the kings of *Tibet*, and other western princes. This lord became a Lama, and made himself considerable among those of his sect. In 1260 *Hû-pi-lay* sent for him; and, in *December*, declared him chief of all the Lamas, with the title of doctor and master both of the empire and the emperor. *China* and *Lyau-tong* were divided into ten departments, with each its officers and Mandarins; and ten lords were appointed to be at the head of affairs relating to them: an order was likewise published, that the presidents in all the tribunals should be *Mungls*.

HU-PI-LAY was likewise pleased to ordain, that the fifty-seventh year of the *Chinese* sexagenary cycle, and year of the *fox* (O), in the *Mungl* duodenary cycle, that is, the year of *Christ* 1260 should be the first of his empire. He also, after the manner of the *Chinese*, gave to the years of his reign a title, viz. that of *Chong-tong* (P), of which the year above-mentioned was the first^d.

THE beginning of the next year the emperor set at liberty all the literati, who had been made slaves during the late wars. Mean time *Kya-tse-tau*, the *Song* minister, having maltreated *Lyew-cheng*, who commanded in the quarter of *Lû-chew*, in *Se-chwen*, this officer put himself and that city, with its dependencies, in subjection to the *Mungls*. Hereupon *Lyew-ywen-ching*, commander of the *Mungls* at *Ching-tû Fû*, went to pay him a visit. This coming to the knowledge of *Yu-ling*, governor of *Se-chwen* for the *Song*, who was *Lyew-cheng*'s enemy,

^c GAUBIL, p. 132, & seq.

^d Ibid. p. 136, & seq.

(M) The history praises his charity to the poor; and the exactness with which he performed his devotions to his *Fo*. He came from the kingdom of *Fû-lin*, a great country west of the western sea. Hence it appears, that he was a *Christian*, and perhaps a *Frank*, or *European*. Gaubil.

(N) Which put an end to the *Kin* empire.

(O) There is no such year as that of the *fox* in the

Mungl or *Kitayan* cycle, in the epocha ascribed to *Uigh* *Beigh*; by which the year 1260 should be that of the *Dakûk*, or *ben*, the tenth of the cycle.

(P) The emperor who reigns at present (1726) bears the title of *Yong-ching*, as his father did that of *Kang-hi*. These titles they change whenever they think fit. Gaub.

and had been his accuser to *Kya-tse-tau*, he marched with forces to invest *Lu-chew*. At his approach, several *Mungls* were for abandoning *Lyew-cheng* to the fury of *Heng*; but *Twen-ching* told them he was resolved to die with *Lyew-cheng* in defence of so important a place. As succours happened to arrive opportunely, *Lyew-cheng* made a sally, and obliged his enemy to raise the siege, who thereupon was broken.

Ali-pu-ko defeated.

IN *October* the emperor *Hû-pi-lay* set out for *Tartary*, followed by the princes *Hatan* and *Tachar*, with a great body of *Chinese* troops, in order to attack those of his brother *Ali-pû-ko*. The two armies met at *Simutû Nor* (Q); where, after a bloody fight, that of *Ali-pû-ko* was intirely defeated: but this prince broke through the *Khân's* troops, and retired to the north (R). *Hû-pi-lay* took possession of *Karakorum*, where he found a great deal of riches; then returned to *Kay-ping Fû*, and from thence to *Yen-king*. Towards the end of the year, *Lyew-cheng* repaired to the court: and *Lu-ven-te*, the new governor of *Se chwen*, having taken *Lu-chew*, the beginning of 1262, *Hû-pi-lay* made *Lyew-cheng* governor of *Quey-chew*, in the same province, on the borders of *Hû-quang*; and this lord did the *Mungls* great services.

Li-tan revolts.

LI-TAN, the son of a great Mandarin, who had surrendered to *Jenghiz Khân*, commanded the *Mungls* in the districts of *Tsi-nan Fû*, *I-tû* (at present *Tsing-chew Fû*), and other places in *Shan-tong*. His power likewise extended over the parts of *Kyang-nan* subject to the emperor *Hû-pi-lay*; ever since whose accession to the throne, *Li-tan* had resolved to go over to the *Song*. This lord, having in *January* sent for his son from *Kay-ping Fû*, caused the two cities before-mentioned to be fortified, and then threw off the mask; declaring openly for the *Song*, to whom he delivered up several places of importance. On this occasion *Wang-ven-tong*, one of *Hû-pi-lay's* ministers, was detected in corresponding with *Li-tan*, and put to death. This *Li-tan*, who was a good commander, took the field, and made some conquests. Hereupon the emperor ordered prince *Apiche*, and general *She-tyen-che*, to haste and besiege *Tsi-nan Fû* in *May*. *Chang-hong-fan*, son of *Chau-jau*, who was posted on the west of the city, raised a wall of earth; and, having laid an ambuscade of cuirassiers, left the east gate open, and dug a deep foss.

Besieged and slain.

LI-TAN sallied presently, to attack this intrenchment; and while one part of them passed the ditch and entered the gate, the other scaled the wall: but the troops in ambush issuing forth, cut this whole detachment in pieces, and *Li-tan* had much ado to escape. The *Song* had indeed sent succours to *Li-tan*; but the general who commanded this army being seized with fear, on his entering *Shan-tong*, retired, after having conveyed 30,000 *lyangs* (S) to *I-tu*. The *Mungl* generals, after this, inclosed the city with a strong wall of earth, so that *Li-tan* could make no sallies: yet he still held out; and after having consumed all provisions, salted human flesh, and had no other food. At length, seeing no hopes of relief, he first slew his wife and concubines, and then threw himself headlong into a lake. However, *She-tyen-che* still found life in him, and slew him with his own hand; then ordered him to be cut in pieces (T). After this, the army marched to *I-tu*, which surrendered of its own accord.

The Song insincerity.

THE *Chinese* great men who were at court, particularly general *Kokan*, provoked at the conduct of the *Song* towards the *Mungls*, pressed *Hû-pi-lay* incessantly to declare war against them. The emperor hereupon complained, in a manifesto, of their unfair dealing; and either being ignorant of, or dissembling, the detention of *Hau-king*, said, that, before he resolved on war, he would wait the success of that envoy's negotiations. Mean time he appointed *Achu*, son of *Hu-lyang-bo-tay*, who was reckoned a great captain (having followed his father in all his wars in *Tibet*, the *Indies*, *Gan-nan*, and *China*), to command the army destined for the south.

Ahama's artifices.

ONE of *Hû-pi-lay's* faults was the love of money. It was difficult to persuade him that the Mandarins were dishonest, who furnished him with it: or, to speak more properly, he was not pleased to hear them ill spoken of. *Ahama*, a *Mohammedan* lord, and *Arab* by nation, was one of those bad subjects, who study only to procure money for their prince, by enriching themselves; without regard to the unlawful means which they make use of, the evils which they cause to the state, and the injury which they do to the reputation of their master. *Ahama*,

* GAUBIL, p. 128, & seq.

(Q) *Simutû Nauei* signifies the great lake. *Naor*, or *Nor*, is the *Mungl* word. Our author knows not where this lake is.

(R) According to *Abûlghâzi Khân*, *Artokbuga*, having been left regent by *Mangu Khân*, on his death got himself proclaimed *Khân*, and slew *Koplay Khân's* envoy, sent to dispose him to quit his pretensions. Mean time *Burga* being elected *Khân* of *Kipjak*, after the death of his brother *Batû Saghin Khân*, *Artokbuga* made war on him: but, having been defeated, fled towards *Karakum*, or *Karakorum*. On this news *Koplay* marched against him; but he fled: and some time after finding

means to be reconciled to his brother, obtained his favour. *Abûlgh.* hist. *Turks*, &c. p. 162.—According to *La Croix*, after the last battle, *Artokbuga*, being vanquished, came and threw himself at his brother's feet, who only made him some reproaches at first; but afterwards shut him up between four walls, covered with thorns of the tree *Adragant*, and strictly guarded till his death, which happened a year after. Hist. *Jenghiz*, p. 399.

(S) Or *taels*; that is 250,000 *livres*. *Gaub.*

(T) This is one of the most ignominious treatments that can be given to a *Chinese*.

who

- a who was superintendant of the customs through the empire, had recourse to many contrivances to deceive the emperor, and the *Mungl* grandees. He would submit his accounts to none but ^{plunders the} the emperor, pretending to be independent of the ministers. *Tew-me*, *Tau-shu*, *Hyu-beng*, ^{people.} *Lyew-ping-chong*, and other *Chineses*, knew, from the first, the character of *Abama*, and did not fail to acquaint the *Khân* with it. *Chang-when-kyen*, in particular, made it appear, that it was contrary both to reason and practice to withdraw the customs from the jurisdiction of the ministers. As *Hu-pi-lay*, in this point, followed the advice of the *Chineses*, *Abama* had recourse to a thousand artifices to be revenged on them: he caused vast sums of money to be brought in to the emperor, giving him to understand, that it was the fruit of his good management; when, at the same time, the money was forced from the people by his commissaries, who were
- b men of no credit; and, indeed, no better than public robbers. He never ceased urging the *Mungl* lords to complain that the *Chineses* had too much power. But *Tau-shu* and *Hyu-beng*, being masters of more genius and address than *Abama*, they discovered all his fourberies, and took care to make the prince *Cheng-king* (U) acquainted with them.

Abama was greatly mortified to see the illustrious *Tau-shu* declared prime minister in *Janu-* ^{Mungls their} *ary* 1263. This lord, who was one of the most learned men among the *Chineses*, counselled ^{ignorance.} *Hu-pi-lay* to found, in all the countries within his vast dominions, colleges and academies, to educate youth in the sciences, arts, and good behaviour. The *Khân* himself was sensible of A. D. 1263. the ignorance which reigned, for the general, among the *Mungl* lords; and was ashamed to see the difference which there was between them and the *Chineses*, as well as the strangers from

c the west, who were in great numbers at his court. The *Mungls* knew only how to handle the sword and bow; and their whole science was limited to some knowledge they had of horses. *Hu-pi-lay* began this reformation, by causing the princes his sons to be well educated. *Chau-pi*, a native of *Tay-tong-fú*, had already translated, into the *Mungl* language, part of the classical books; and *Hyu-beng* made an abridgement of the *Chinese* history and chronology (X). The emperor gave these works to the *Mungls*, to learn; and did not disdain to examine them himself upon the book of *Hyu-beng*.

THE observation of the rites due to the memory of their ancestors is, in *China*, an affair of ^{Palace of an-} state; and one of the principal duties from which the emperors themselves are not exempt. ^{cestors.} *Hu-pi-lay* built a magnificent palace (Y), in honour of his ancestors; and, in *March*, the same

d year, went to pay his respects to them (Z). He was the first *Mungl* prince who performed this ceremony after the *Chinese* manner. He ordered the Bonzas and Lamas to recite, for seven days and nights, the prayers of their *Fo* (A): and since then this practice had been observed every year (B).

MEAN time *Lyew-ching*, governor of *Quey-chew*, in *Se-chwen*, was contriving how to get ^{Lyew-ching's} possession of *Syang-yang* and *Fan-ching*. *Lü-ven-te* came to be made governor of *Hu-quang*, and ^{address.} his brother *Lü-when-whang* was governor of *Syang-yang*: they were both good officers, and very watchful. But *Lü-ven-te* being covetous, *Lyew-ching*, by means of that fault, laid a snare for him, which he did not expect. As the subjects of the *Song* and the *Mungls* carried on a trade together at *Syang-yang* and *Fan-ching*, *Lyew-ching* proposed settling custom-houses near

e those two cities. *Lü-ven-te* agreed to the proposal; and, finding the expedient to be very profitable, built large storehouses for the merchandizes. The *Mungls* inclosed their magazines with walls; and, under pretence of defending them against robbers, by degrees, introduced soldiers to guard them: and *Lü-ven-te* perceived, when it was too late, that he had been a dupe to his love of money. The *Mungls*, too well fortified to fear any danger, made incursions on all sides, and were very attentive to observe who went in and out of *Syang-yang*.

IN 1264, *Lyew-ping-chong* and *Abama* were declared ministers. This last had the manage- ^{Arikbuga sub-} ment of the revenue and customs, without being accountable to any but the emperor. In ^{mits.} *March*, prince *Ali-pu-ko* (C), brother of *Hu-pi-lay*, with the princes and lords of his party, came and submitted themselves to his clemency. The princes he pardoned; but put to death such

(U) Elsewhere *Cheng-kin*. He was the son whom *Hu-pi-lay* designed for the empire; but was not appointed heir apparent till the year 1273. *Gaubil*.

(X) He agrees exactly with *Couplet*, as to the number of years between *Tau* and *Hu-pi-lay*. *Gaubil*.

(Y) The public palace, where the *Chinese* emperors honour their ancestors, is called *Taymyau*.

(Z) The names of them were, 1. *Lye-tsü*, or *Yesukay*. 2. *Tey-tsü*, or *Jenghiz Khân*. 3. *Tay-tsong*, or *Ogotay*. 4. *Chu-chi*, or *Juji*. 5. *Chabatay*, or *Jagatay*. 6. *Jui-tsong*, or *Toley*. 7. *Ting-tsong*, or *Quey-yew*; that is, *Keyuk Khân*. 8. *Hyen-tsong*, or *Mengko Khân*. *Gaubil*.

(A) I know not whence the name of *Fo* is derived, which is given to their object of worship by the *Chinese* Bonzas, called *Ho-shang*: for *La* is the name which the Bonzas of *Tibet*, called *Lamas*, give to *Fo*.

(B) I cannot tell the reason, 1. Why *Hu-pi-lay* does not speak of any of *Yesukay's* ancestors. 2. Why he speaks not of the brothers of *Jenghiz Khân*. 3. Why having spoken of *Chuchi* and *Chabatay*, he does not speak of the fifth and sixth sons of *Jenghiz Khân*. Before this, among other ceremonies, they poured out and offered mares milk to their ancestors, while their *Sam-man*, or priests, recited prayers. It does not appear, that any of the emperors, before *Hu-pi-lay*, built *Tay-myau*, or temples: nor do I know, that, before *Quey-yew*, the *Mungls* had in their country any monasteries of *Lamas*. *Gaubil*.

(C) The same whom *D'Herbelot*, p. 267, calls *Arikbuga*.

of the lords as had seduced them to take up arms. The emperor gave to *Kay-ping-fû* the title of *Sbang-tu* (D), or *high court*; whither he went in *March*, and did not return to *Yen-king* till *August*. Every year he made this journey; and his *Mungl* successors followed his example. In *January*, the king of *Korea* sent an envoy, with compliments to *Hû-pi-lay*; and this custom has continued ever since. This year *Kya-tse-tau*, the *Song* minister, abolished the paper money, which was then in use in *Southern China*, and substituted another sort of paper money; which raised the deniers to an exorbitant value, and thereby rendered him very odious.

Gan-tong
prime minister: IN 1265, *Gan-tong*, descended from *Mûbuli* in the fourth generation, being then no more than twenty-one years of age, was the admiration both of the *Mungls* and *Chineses*, for his prudence and capacity. The most experienced generals proposed him to be generalissimo of the troops: the *Chinese* grandees counselled the emperor to set him at the head of state affairs; and the most able doctors reaped some instruction from his conversation. His high birth and good mien, his probity and reserve, rendered him beloved and respected by all the lords at court. He was, this year, chosen to be minister. The first thing he did was to fetch *Hyu-beng* back to court, and learn from him the science of government. *Hyu-beng* had never ceased to acquaint the emperor that *Abama* was a bad man; and the vexation it gave him to see him at the head of the finances, with the quality of minister, made him retire from court, to apply himself to study. *Gan-tong* had for an associate in the ministry a lord of the country of *Parin* (E), named *Pe-yen*, who was of his own character. He had passed his youth in *Persia* and *Syria*, and was newly arrived in the retinue of some lords sent by *Holagû* to the emperor: who, charmed with the polite behaviour and good aspect of *Pe-yen*, sent to speak with him in private; and from the first interview perceived that he was a great master, both in state and war affairs. *Hû-pi-lay*, on this occasion, appointed him also to be a minister; and said, that it was not fit such a man as *Pe-yen* should be in the service of any other but of him who was chief of the *Mungl* princes^f.

Hall of ancestors. IN 1266, the *Tay-myau* was finished; in which there were as many halls as princes honoured there. In each hall was placed a tablet, inscribed with the name and title of the prince; and on the side of such tablet there was another, with the name and title of the princess who was his first wife. Among those princesses was the empress *Wauli-bamish*, wife of *Quey-yew*, who was put to death by *Meng-ko*, or *Mangu Khân*. This year, *Hû-pi-lay* asked *Te-wbey*, whom he knew to be well versed in the history of the *Lyau* and *Kin*, if it was true, that the *Lyau* owed their ruin to the Bonzas, and the *Kin* to the Literati? *Te-wbey* answered, that it was not fact as to the first; but that the *Kin* had not employed the *Chinese* Literati enough.

Ta-tû city. IN *April* 1267, was finished, by the emperor *Hû-pi-lay*'s order, the city called *Ta-tû*, or *Tay-tû*; that is, *the great court*; to the north-east of *Yen-king*, named also *Chong-tu*, or *the court of the middle*. These two cities, being very near each other, must have made a very spacious one. *Ta-tû* (F) in the bulk of the *Tatar* city, at present called *Pe-king*, the capital of *China*.

Syang-yang besieged. LYEW-CHING, having persuaded *Hû-pi-lay* to besiege *Syang-yang* and *Fan-ching*, before he made war on the *Grand Kyang*, that general and *Achû* were appointed to undertake it. *Achû* immediately set about fortifying a post at the mouth of the river *Pe*, which was finished in *December*. *Lu-ven Whang* sent his brother advice of this; and observed, that it was to be feared the *Mungls* intended to reduce the city by famine. He added, that it was necessary, without delay, to secure the posts which were in the neighbourhood, and drive the *Mungls* out of them. *Lû-ven-te* seemed to make a jest of his brother's fears; saying, that the place was furnished with provisions for several years, as well as numerous warlike troops. At the same time he gave out, that next spring he would repair thither in person. In 1268, *Lyew-ching* and *Achû* assembled the *Chinese* sailors, to build fifty large barks of war, and exercise the *Mungls* in combats on the river. This the two generals ordered to be done both night and day; and *Achû* soon became very expert himself. In *September* they formed the siege of *Syang-yang*, with an army of seventy thousand men.

Haytû defeated. THIS same year, *Hay-tû* (H), who, among others, as before-mentioned, had been banished by *Meng-ko*, because he favoured *She-lye-men*, appeared in *Tartary*, with a great army. This prince resolved to be revenged on *Meng-ko*, when he could find an opportunity: and, after his

^f GAUBIL, p. 142, & seq.

(D) The *Ciandu* of *Marco Polo*; spelled, in *English*, *Cbandu*.

(E) A country of *Tartary*, to the north of *Pe-che-li*: but *Gaubil* is not sure that the present *Parix* is the *Parin* of *Hû-pi-lay*'s time.

(F) This is evidently the *Kambala* (or *Kambâlu*) of *M. Polo*. The vestigia of the ancient *Yen-king* are still

to be seen, a few furlongs to the south-west of *Pe-king*. *Gaubil*.—*Kan-balu*, or *Khan-palu*, signifies the palace of the *Khân*. *Khan balig*, as the oriental writers name it, signifies the city of the *Khân*.

(H) Perhaps the *Alga* of *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, p. 163, & 167. or *Naligu* of others, grandson of *Jagatay Khân*.

a death, founded a considerable dominion in the country of *Almâlig* (I). He gained the affections of the people there, and drew to his interest the chiefs of tribes who encamped to the north-north-east of *Turfân*, as well as to the west and north of mount *Altay*. He likewise stirred up several princes of his family; and resolved at length to declare against *Hû pi-lay*: but his first attempt proved unsuccessful; for he was beaten, and forced to retreat to *Almâlig*.

b SHE-TYEN-CHE, having been made generalissimo of the army to be sent against the *Song*, *Vast army*, amounting to 300,000 men, of the best soldiers; several foreign lords, *Igûrs*, *Persians*, and *Arabs*, as well as princes, and chiefs of tribes, desired to serve under that *Chinese* lord; who was loved and esteemed by all. This general examined the avenues of *Syang-yang*; and, judging that the siege would be long, in *January* 1269, ordered strong walls to be built, to cut off the communication with other places; and caused great retrenchments to be made at a post called *Lû-men*, to shut up *Fan-chin*. Mean time *Say-tyen-che*, an *Arab* lord, with a great body of troops, most of them foreigners, from the west, had orders to encamp at *Ching-tû-fû*, capital of *Se-chwen*, and make incursions on every side.

c TATA-TONG-KO having introduced the *Igûr* characters, the *Mungls* began to have some *Mungl* character notion of history; and the natives of *Igûr*, as well as other countries, composed some books *characters invented* in the *Mungl* language. After that, *Yelu-chu-tsai* sent for *Chinese* literati, to teach the *Chinese* characters. The *Persians*, *Arabs*, and the *Lamas* of *Tibet*, had likewise their characters, as well as the *Nyu-che* or *Kin*, and *Kitan* or *Lyau*. The *Mungl* emperors had, since the time of *Fengbiz Khân*, employed in the public acts the *Igûr* and *Chinese* characters; but *Hû-pi-lay* imagined, that it was requisite, for the grandeur and glory of his nation, that it should have characters of its own. He gave this commission to *Pa-se-pa*, chief of the *Lamas*, who was thoroughly acquainted not only with the *Chinese* and *Lama* characters, but also with those of *Tibet*, called the characters of *Tangut*, of *Igûr*, the *Indies*, and several countries of the west of *Asia*. *Pa-se-pa*, having examined the nature of these several characters, with their conveniencies and inconveniencies, rejected the *Chinese* (which represent the ideas of things), and thought only of those which were proper to express the different sounds. Of these he formed one thousand; with rules for pronouncing, shaping, and writing with them. *Hû-pi-lay* was so well satisfied with this work of *Pa-se-pa*, that, in 1269, he declared this *Lama* a *Regulo*; and, in the patent A. D. 1269, which he gave him, was lavish in his praise. In *February*, he, by edict, ordered his characters, d which were called *the new Mungl characters*, to be used in all the tribunals; although, at first, the *Mungls*, who were accustomed to the *Igûr* letters, as well as the *Chineses*, who liked their own best, found some difficulty to learn the new ones.

e In *March*, *Hya-quey*, general of the *Song*, entered the *Han*, with a great fleet, manned with *Syang-yang* an infinite number of soldiers: but, not liking their looks, thought proper to retire again, *relieved*, though not without loss. However, that river overflowing in autumn, *Hya-quey* took advantage of the inundation, and entered *Syang-yang*, with all sorts of necessaries, in spite of *Achû*; who yet defeated him in his return. Since the time *Lû-ven-te* had been duped by *Lyew-chong*, he became inconsolable for his error; and the siege of the above-mentioned city gave him so much vexation, that he died in *December* this year. The death of this general gave a mortal wound to the *Song* affairs; and the *Mungls*, contrary to their custom, proceeded with so much precaution before *Syang-yang*, only because they feared the ability, attention, and bravery, of *Lû-ven-te*, from whom they had suffered so many evils in *Se-chwen*.

f In 1270, *Abama* began to dread the probity and genius of several great lords who were at *Ahama's* court. He had found means to render the fidelity of *Lyen-hyen* suspected, and remove him *power*; from court: but this minister, having cleared himself, resumed his employment, and joined more than ever with the *Chinese* grandees, to destroy *Abama*. This minister accused *Hi-hyen* of negligence, in suffering an officer within his jurisdiction to remain in prison, after the emperor had ordered his discharge. On *Abama's* complaint, *Hi-hyen* was removed, and sent home; where he lived like a philosopher. *Hû-pi-lay* one day asked the lords about him, *what Hi-hyen did in his house?* *Abama* made answer, and said, *he spent his time in plays and feasting*. The emperor, offended at this discourse, replied, *that Hi-hyen was too poor to think of feasts and comedies*.

HI-HYEN, although a stranger, was in great esteem among the *Chinese* Literati, because *disgraces* *Hi-hyen*: he professed to follow the doctrine of *Konfusius*. He was an enemy to the *Mohammedans*, *Tau-tse*, and *Bonzas*; especially the *Lamas*, or those of *Tibet*. A *Tau-tse*, who had access to court, would fain persuade the emperor to drink a liquor; which, according to the principles of his sect, would prolong his life, and make him happy after death. *Hi-hyen*, being consulted hereupon by the emperor, made a fine satire on the sect of *Tau-tse*; concluding with an harangue on the long life and virtues of the antient emperors *Tau* and *Shun*. *Hû-pi-lay* after this dis-

§ GAUBIL, p. 146, & seq.

(1) Between *Turfân* and *Kâshgar* in *Little Bukhâria*, often mentioned before.

missed

missed the *Tau-tse*; but would persuade *Hi-byen* to follow the maxims and rules of conduct laid down by *Pa-se-pa*. *Hi-byen* answered, that he followed the rules of *Konfusius*: and, without being afraid, repeated the precepts of that philosopher's disciples, on the sincerity of great men when they speak to the emperor; and the care with which a son ought to keep the precepts of his forefathers. Nothing could be more à-propos than this answer. *Abama* passed for a knave, and yet had the confidence of *Hû-pi-lay*^b. *Jenghîz Khân* had given orders, not to make use of Bonzasⁱ, and yet the court was full of Lamas. *Hû-pi-lay* was one of those great princes who did not take it ill to be told their faults; and always set a high value on those courtiers who were of *Hi-byen*'s character, praising the delicacy and integrity of his answers.

bated by all.

A. D. 1270.

Abama was hated by every body: but, because he imposed on the emperor by projects which gave him hopes of money, he was in favour; and, in 1270, his majesty gave his son the department of war. Among the princes, none but *Ching-kin*, the emperor's eldest son, dared to speak against *Abama*; yet *Hyu-beng* said openly, that it was dangerous to give such great posts to the father and the son. *Abama* hereupon laboured to get *Hyu-beng* appointed minister, with intention to ruin him: but this latter, suspecting his design, never would accept of that post. The year following, *Hyu-beng* conveyed to the emperor a writing, wherein he accused that minister of deceiving his sovereign, destroying the government, and ruining the people. As *Hû-pi-lay* made no answer to this accusation, *Hyu-beng* fell sick with vexation. Hereupon the emperor comforted him, by promising him the foundation of colleges or academies, to teach the sciences and morality.

A. D. 1271.

Title of Ywen.

In December this year, *Lyew-ping-ching* persuaded the emperor to give to his dynasty the name of *Ywen* (K). This Bonza said a world of obscure and enigmatical things on the occasion, with relation to the two figures of *Fû-hi* (or *Fo-hi*), first emperor of the *Chineses*. The first is expressed by the character *Kyen*, heaven; the second, by the character *Quen*, earth. The Bonza in his long discourse insisted, that, according to the sense of those two *Qua* (L), the *Mungls* ought to assume the title of *Ywen*. No body could find any thing solid in what he advanced; much less in the arguments which he drew from the sense of the words *Kyen* and *Quen*. However, the great reputation he had acquired, for a thorough knowledge of antiquity, supplied all defects. He was commended by every body; the emperor was felicitated on the occasion; and, by a public declaration, notified to his subjects, that they were thenceforth to give the *Mungl* dominion the title of *Ywen*.

Syang-yang
strengthened.

In May, *Hû-pi-lay* freed the people of *Se-chwen* for a season from tribute; and, at the same time, ordered general *Say-tyen-che* to plunder that part of the province which was still subject to the *Song*. *Say-tyen* executed his commission with rigour, and almost ruined the district of *Kya-ting-fû*. The troops who were before *Syang-yang* and *Fan-ching*, resolving to take those two cities by famine, general *Chang-hong-fang* made new intrenchments on the mountain *Van*. In June, a fleet of the *Song*, with 100,000 men aboard, and provisions for the besieged, appeared before *Lû-men*; but *Achû*, who commanded there, dispersed them, and took a great many barks, with all sorts of arms and other valuable booty.

The governor
distressed:

A. D. 1272.

LU-VEN WHANG, governor of *Syang-yang*, being greatly incommoded by the blockade, and finding no possibility of making sallies with success; in the beginning of the year 1272, ordered several bundles of herbs to be made, in one of which he inclosed a man, who could dive, and remain a long time in water, without either eating or drinking. In his hair was put a letter, written on wax, to acquaint the governor of *Gan-lo*, a city of *Hû-quang*, with his distress. The bundles were cast into the water; but both they and the bearer of the letter were taken. The governor of *Gan-lo* was *Li-ting-chi*, a man of consummate experience, as well as heroic zeal for his prince. He had orders to guard all the mouths of the brooks and rivers which fell into the *Han*. On one of those brooks, called *Tsing-ni*, he caused 100 flat and light barks to be built. He joined three of them together to make a large one, and had all the rest covered with decks. Three thousand soldiers, natives of *Syang-yang*, *Gan-lo*, and *Shan-si*, offered to man those barks, and succour *Syang-yang* at all hazards. *Chang-quey* and *Chang-shun*, who passed for intrepids, asked to command those three thousand men, *Li-ting-chi* bestowed grand titles on those two officers, distributed rewards among the soldiers, and furnished the threefold bark with all sorts of arms and provisions.

sends for relief,

It being now in March, and the river high, about ten or eleven at night, the two intrepids entered the *Han*, at *Kotew-byang*; where they drew up their little fleet. *Chang-quey* led the way, and *Chang-shun* made the rear-guard. In spite of wind and stream, which were against them, they passed before the retrenchments of the *Ywen*, and fell to the east of *Mo-bong-tan*. The *Ywen*, who had laid chains across in every part, on sight of the *Song* bark, ranged their own in order, and secured the river, so that it seemed impossible to advance. For all this,

^b GAUBIL, p. 143, & seq.

ⁱ See before, p. 330.

(K) *Ywen* signifies beginning.

(L) *Qua* is the name of the figures ascribed to *Fo-hi*; of which number are *Kyen* and *Quen*. Gaubil.

a *Chang-shun* cut his way through, and fought for seven or eight leagues so vigorously, that the *Twen* were forced to give back, and stretch more chains. *Chang-quey* was already arrived, early in the morning, at *Syang-yang*, to the great joy of that city: but, after all his efforts, *Chang-shun* was not able to reach thither; being killed, fighting like a hero. His body, which was found pierced with ten wounds, four made by pikes, and six by arrows, was buried with great pomp^k.

LU-VEN-WHANG would fain have kept *Chang-quey* with him: but that officer depending on ^{of two intre-} his own valour, would needs return to *Gan-lo*. He found out two men, resolved to die; and ^{pids:} such skilful divers, that they could remain for several days in water. These two men went to, and returned from, *Gan-lo* under water, and brought advice, that *Li-ting-chi* had assembled, b at *Long-vey-chew*, 5000 choice men to succour *Lu-ven-whang*. At this agreeable news *Chang-quey* went aboard his bark, and resolved, at any risk, to join the succours designed for *Gan-lo*. That officer had beaten one of his soldiers; and, finding him missing, on the review which he made of his little troop before he set sail, concluded he had fled to the *Twen*. This accident made him hasten his departure; and, by favour of the stream, he, with his hatchets, cut the chains which obstructed his passage. He likewise attacked the retrenchments of the *Twen*; and, having ruined them by means of lances, fiery arrows, and other arms, arrived by night at *Sin-ching*, after having put the enemy's barks in disorder.

Achu and *Lyew-ching* then went aboard their barks; and, encouraging all by their presence, a bloody battle ensued. Both sides of the river were lined with lodgements of soldiers, and the river covered with vessels. Each lodgement, as well as bark, had its lanthorns lighted; and, on any other occasion, it had been an agreeable spectacle. In spite of the valour and number of the *Twen* troops, *Chang-quey* was already gotten near to *Kew-lin-tan* and *Long-vey-chew*; when, seeing standards displayed, he made great rejoicing, believing them to be the 5000 men sent by *Li-ting-chi*: but his joy was of no long continuance; for he found himself surrounded by the *Twen*. The troops of *Gan-lo* had indeed left that place; but the winds and stream made them retire, and the *Twen* posted themselves at *Long-vey-chew*. *Chang-quey*, after he had fought like a lion, and received several wounds, was taken, and brought before *Achû*; whom he would not kneel to: and he likewise swore never to have any other master than the emperor of the *Song*. Hereupon that general ordered him to be killed, and four prisoners d were charged to carry his body to *Syang-yang*. This fight threw the inhabitants into a consternation; and *Lu-ven-whang* ordered him to be buried near *Chang-shun*; building a house, as well as tomb, to honour their memory.

Among the general officers who commanded at the siege of *Syang-yang* was an *Igûr* lord, *Fan-ching* named *Ali Yaya* (M): he had a great knowledge of the western countries, and their manner of making war. In 1271, he advised the emperor to send for several of those engineers out of the west, who knew how to cast stones 150 pounds weight, which made holes seven or eight feet wide in the thickest walls: and with these, he said, *Syang-yang* and *Fan-ching* would soon be taken. *Hû-pi-lay*, liking the proposal, ordered two of these engineers to be sent for; who, after giving a specimen of their art before the emperor, at *Ta-tû*, were sent to the army, e towards the end of the year 1272.

THE river *Han* runs between *Syang-yang* and *Fan-ching*, in which last place *Fan-shun* and *Nyew-fû* commanded at the beginning of the year 1273. The two engineers, *Alawating* and *Isamayn*, planted their machines, which immediately made a breach in the walls. Hereupon the *Twen*, commanded by *Ali Yaya*, made an assault; and, after a bloody conflict, the suburbs of *Fan-ching* were taken. Flushed with this success, *Sbe-tyen-che* ordered *Achû* to attack the bridge, which joined that city to *Syang-yang*, and offered mutual succours. *Achû* conducted the troops with hatchets and scythes, to cut the wood and posts; while *Ali Yaya* caused stones to be shot against those who opposed that general. Other officers were commanded to cut the fastenings and stakes, and take away the crosses which held up the chains. After these f things were done, they burnt the bridge of barks. A great detachment was then posted along the *Han*, to hinder any succours from getting to *Syang-yang* by water. These precautions having been taken, the greater part of the army attacked *Fan-ching* on all sides, and made themselves masters of the walls and gates. *Fan-tyen-shun*, seeing the city taken, slew himself: saying, that he had lived a subject to the *Song*, and would die their subject. *Nyew-fû*, at the head of one hundred soldiers, resolved to fight from street to street, and slew a great number of the *Twen*. Both parties were so overcome with thirst, that they drank human blood to quench it. *Nyew-fû*, full of rage and despair, set fire to the houses, that the great beams falling might kill his pursuers, and embarrass the way. At length, pierced with several wounds,

^k GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 151, & seq.

(M) He was an *Igûr*, or *Oygûr*. His father was called *Poly Haya*. Many *Igûr* names ended in *Haya*.

he ran his head against a pillar, and threw himself into the flames, where he expired. The officers and soldiers, who were at his sides, followed his example. Thus the *Mungls* became masters of *Fan-ching* in *January*: where most of the general officers distinguished themselves; but their loss of subalterns and soldiers was considerable¹. -

Syang-yang
distressed:

KYA-TSE-TAU, the *Song* minister, would have commanded the army destined for the relief of *Syang-yang*; but it was refused him. General *Kau-to* was also proposed; but not employed. It was only resolved to send an army; which posted itself between *Hsi-quang* and *Kyang-nan*. However, the report spreading as if *Kau-to* was to march with succours to relieve that city, *Lu-ven whang*, fearing the arrival of a person who was his mortal enemy, dispatched several couriers to signify that he had no occasion for succours: for although he was reduced to an extremity, yet hatred and enmity made him tell this lye.

is battered,
and surren-
ders.

AFTER the taking of *Fan-ching*, all the materials which served at the siege were brought before *Syang-yang*. The two engineers posted themselves to the south-east of the city, against a wooden retrenchment, which was raised upon the ramparts. This was quickly demolished by the great stones which they launched against it: while the noise and havoc which they made struck terror into the hearts of the besieged; who had never seen or heard the like before (N). The garrison had, from the walls, observed part of what passed at *Fan-ching*, which much damped their courage. *Lyew-ching* having, in an assault, received a wound with an arrow, shot by *Lu-ven-whang*; to be revenged, asked leave of *Ali Yaya* to go and attack him: but *Ali Yaya*, instead of permitting him, went himself to the foot of the wall, and offered *Ven-whang* honourable conditions; which were accepted of, and his request granted, that he might be of the van-guard when they went to attack *Gan-lo*. Possession was given to *Achû* in *February*; upon which *She-tyen-che* sent *Ali Yaya* to court, where he was received with distinction, and had his praise publicly set forth, with that of the other generals, by *Hû-pi-lay*; who ratified all which he had promised to *Ven-whang*. This general, who followed *Ali Yaya* to *Ta-tû*, had also the honour to salute the emperor, and both were sent back (O) to the army, with new instructions.

Song mi-
nister's va-
nity.

As the family of the *Lu* was one of the most considerable in the empire of the *Song*, the defection of *Lu-ven-whang* made a great noise. His brother, his nephews, and other relations, who possessed his posts, sent petitions to the emperor, to declare themselves culpable; and worthy to be turned out of their employments, for being so unfortunate as to be allied to a bad subject, who had gone over to the enemies of the state. But *Kya-tse-tau* made no mention of their request; and, with his usual vanity, gave out, that this evil was owing to his being hindered from putting himself at the head of the army, and marching to fight the enemy.

Pe-yen made
general;

THE emperor *Hû-pi-lay* being informed, that several princes of his family were forming plots in *Tatary*, seemed inclined to make peace with the *Song*: but *Ali Yaya*, *Lyew-ching*, and others, having shewn how easy it would be to carry on the war with success, now *Syang-yang* and *Fan-ching* were taken, that prince resolved to continue it. *She-tyen-che*, on account of his infirmities, obtained leave to lay down his post of generalissimo, and proposed *Gan-tong* to succeed him. *Yau-shu* did the same: but the emperor appointed *Pe-yen* (P); whom he ordered to go, without delay, and put himself at the head of the army: complaining, that the *Song* had imprisoned his envoy, and not observed the treaty concluded with *Kya-tse-tau*. At the same time, the generals *Polo-whan* and *Lyew-ching* were commanded to march to *Yang-chew*, in *Kyang-nan*.

A. D. 1274.

¹ GAUBIL, p. 154, & seq.

(N) It is strange, that after what has been said of the *pau*, or engines, for casting or shooting stones at the siege of *Kay-fong-fû*, p. 340, and elsewhere, that both the *Ywen* and *Song* should consider those of the two strangers as new inventions, and till then unknown in *China*. These *pau* were named *pau of the Mohammedans*. *Marco Polo*, cap. 48, speaking of the siege of this place, which he calls *Sian-fû*, says, that he, with his father and uncle, offered their service for making engines, after the *European* manner, for casting stones of three hundred pounds weight. In which they employed *Nestorians*, who made

three *Mangani*, as he calls them; and that the first stone, falling on a house, so demolished it, that the inhabitants immediately capitulated. This agrees with the *Chinese* history: but this latter declares positively, that the engineers were *Whey-hû*, or *Mohammedans*: but our author *Gaubil* thinks he might easily have mistaken them for *Christians*.

(O) This was in 1273: in which year *Ching-kin*, *Hû-pi-lay*'s eldest son, was declared his heir. *Gaubil*.

(P) Called, by *Marco Polo*, *Bayan*.

S E C T. II.

Pe-yen's victories, and the ruin of the Song dynasty by that great captain.

Camps near
Ganlo;

PE-YEN was saluted great general, near *Syang-yang*, by the officers; who were charmed with the manner in which he took possession of his new dignity. After which, *Lu-ven-whang* being appointed to command the embarked troops, the army marched toward *Gan-lo*; and,

- a and, in *October*, encamped to the west of this place; which is separated from *Sin-in* by the *Han*. They had stretched iron chains across the river, and barred it up with great barks, fastened together. They had likewise driven thick posts into the bottom of the chanel. The walls of *Gan-lo* were of good stone; and the city was furnished with all sorts of necessaries. Besides all this, it had a strong garrison; and *Chang-chi-kyay* was intrenched in the neighbourhood with a good army. Notwithstanding the apparent strength of the place, most of the generals were for attacking both it and the *Song* forces. But *Pe-yen*, after holding a great council, and examining the prisoners whom *Achû* had made, resolved to go another way to work. He caused a vast quantity of wood and *bambû* canes to be felled; and then ordered the general *Li-ting* to attack the post of *Whan-kyawan*. This post being carried, *Pe-yen* made use of his wood and *bambûs* to transport the barks into the lake *Teng*; from whence they entered the *Han*, before *Gan-lo*^m.

- b ONE of the principal officers of the garrison, having, at the head of 2000 men, retired to *Tsven-tse-bû*, was beaten, after a brave defence, and killed by *Pe-yen* himself. Afterwards, the general marched to *Sba-yang*; and, taking advantage of a high wind, which arose in the evening, by means of his *Kin-shi pau* (Q), burnt the houses, and took the city. They next ^{takes Sin-ching,} besieged *Sin-ching*, opposite to *Gan-lo*. From whence *Pyen-ku*, rallying on horseback, ran full-speed, shooting arrows on every side, with which he wounded *Lu-ven-whang*; and, having unhorsed, obliged him to retire. *Ven Whang* renewed the attack with fresh men; but *Pyen-ku*, with his fire-arms (R), made him give way a second time. However, that commander, having ordered all his soldiers to the assault, they, by getting on one another's shoulders, mounted the walls, and took the city, on the second of *December*. *Pyen-ku*, after a brave resistance, ran himself through; and, being half-dead, threw himself into the fire. Three thousand men, whom he commanded, fought desperately, and died all with their arms in their hands. *Pe-yen* had the curiosity to see the dead bodies, which were pierced with many wounds; and, with the other general officers, admired so great courage.

THIS year great troubles arose in the cities of *Wa-to-van* (S), *Irgben*, and *Kâshgar*: but *Hû pi-lay* restored things to order again.

- c PE-YEN, in 1274, assembled the generals at *Tsay-tyen*, some leagues to the west of *Han-kew*, ^{and Sha-vû-kew;} where the *Han* enters the *Great Kyang*, to consult on the manner and time of passing that river. *Hya-quey*, general of the *Song*, had fortified the posts along it, and put 8000 men into *Yang-lo-pu*. He likewise seized on *Sba-vû-kew*, and covered the *Kyang* with armed barks. *Pe-yen*, under pretence of fortifying himself, put troops into several posts; and, being acquainted with the country, gave his orders in such a manner, that the troops might come together again in a short time, to attack *Sba-vû-kew* (T): the conduct of which he committed to general *Hargan*, of the *Chalayr* tribe. To conceal his design, he besieged *Han-yang*, which made *Hya-quey* believe, that his view was to take *Han-kew*. In this persuasion he came to relieve *Han-yang*: of which *Pe-yen* being informed, he gave his orders to *Hargan*, who forthwith attacked *Sba-vû-kew*, and made himself master of that important place. This done, *Pe-yen* caused his barks, which were in the *Han*, to sail into the river *Lun*, where he had an hundred barks of war, besides many others at *Sba-vû-kew*; and *Hya-quey* had the vexation to see that general's horse encamp to the north of the *Kyang*.

- d PE-YEN after this directed *Achû* to pass the *Kyang*, with stout troops, and send him notice ^{passes the} when he was over. *Achû* that evening descended the river, two or three leagues to *Chin-shan-ki*; ^{Kyang-} and next morning, at day-break, came in sight of *Sba-chew*, an isle of the *Kyang*, to the west of *Vû-chang-fû*. There he ordered *Shi-ke*, son of the general *Sbe-tyen che*, to advance before: who being met by *Cheng-pen-fey*, an officer of that city, he was beaten, and repulsed. But *Achû* coming up obliged *Pen-fey* to retire with loss, and then made towards the bank, where a fierce fight ensued; in which *Pen-fey*, being entirely defeated, was forced to return to *Vû-chang-fû*. *Achû* after this landed; and, having fortified himself, sent advice to *Pe-yen*, who received the express on the day of the *Red Dragon*, in the twelfth month (U). Hereupon the general ^{A. D. 1275.} ordered the greater part of his army to join *Ali Yaya*, and follow his directions for attacking *Yang-lo-pû*; where *Wang-ta*, after defending himself valiantly at the head of 8000 men, was

^m GAUBIL, p. 156, & seq.

(Q) *Kin*, metal, *Shi*, juice; that is, *melted metal pau*. I know not what this is. *Gaubil*.

(R) It is not said what these fire-arms were. *Gaubil*.

(S) *Gaubil* cannot say what city this is; but explains *Va-eul-kan*, or *Go-el-kan*, and *Ha-she-ha-eul*, to be *Irgben*, or *Irgben*, and *Kâshgar*, in *Little Bukhâria*.

(T) The *Chinese* geography puts *Yang-lo-po*, above-mentioned, twelve leagues to the west of *Whang-chew-fû*,

and *Sba-fû-kew*, or *Sba-vû-kew*, twelve leagues to the north-west; but I know not if that be exact. *Gaubil*.

(U) That is the 26th of *January*, 1275. In the seventh moon [which we reckon *July*], 1274, *Tû-tsung*, emperor of the *Song*, died, and was succeeded by his son (*Kong-tsung*), but four years old; the empress his grandmother taking on her the regency. *Gaubil*.

flain. As soon as this place was taken, *Pe-yen*, without delay, crossed the *Kyang* with all his army, instead of following *Hya-quey* (as several officers propose¹); who, informed of the bold action of *Achû*, went off with 300 barks; and, after having set fire to the barks, fled sneak-ingly down the river. Mean time the city of *Han-yang* surrendered to the *Ywen*.

Vû chang-fû
surrenders,

PE-YEN having joined *Achû*, the siege of *Vû-chang-fû* was resolved on; in order to have a retreat on the *Kyang*, in case of any misfortune. A *Song* general set out from *Kyang-lin-fû* (now *King-chew*), in *Hû-quang*, to succour *Vû-chang*: but when he heard, that *Yang-lo-pu* and *Han-yang* were taken, he went back again. All these misfortunes had so discouraged the gar-rison of *Vû-chang*, that *Lû-ven-whang* soon prevailed on the principal among them to deliver up the city, notwithstanding the strong remonstrances of two officers. The *Mungls* would have killed these officers; but *Pe-yen* praised their fidelity, and forbade them to put any body to death. This general, by his address, managed the people to his interest; and knew how to profit by the discontent which reigned among the *Song* officers. *Lû-ven-whang* gained over many lords of his family, who commanded along the *Kyang*: so that the cities of *Ki-chew*, *Whang-chew-fû*, and others, were taken, without striking a stroke^a.

with other
cities.

MEAN time *Kya-tse-tau*, the *Song* minister, under pretence of rewarding the services of *Lu-shi-quey*, governor of *Kyang-chew* (now *Kew-kyang*), a city of *Kyang-si*, upon the *Kyang*, got him made head of a tribunal at *Hang-chew-fû*, capital of the *Song* empire, and sent an officer to command at *Kyang-chew*. *Shi-quey*, imagining that they distrusted him, and to be revenged on *Kya-tse-tau*, surrendered the city to *Pe-yen*. At a great entertainment which he gave that general, he presented him with two young ladies, of the imperial blood of the *Song*. *Pe-yen* refused to accept of the present, and shewed himself displeased with *Shi-quey* on the occasion: for that great man never addicted himself to a vice so common among the grandees of his nation. *Gan-king*, in *Kyang-nan*, on the *Kyang*; and *Nan-kang*, in *Kyang-si*, eight leagues to the south of *Kyew-kyang*, with other cities, surrendered also. In short, every place submitted, on the approach of the *Ywen* general.

Peace proposed.

LYEW CHING, having miscarried in his attempt to pass the *Kyang* on the side of *Yang-chew*, was baffled before a place of no consequence. When he heard of the reduction of *Vû-chang-fû*, and the success of *Lû-ven-whang*, his enemy, it gave him deadly anguish, and he died, regretted by the *Ywen*. *Kya-tse-tau* feared his daring spirit; and, knowing him to be so near, durst not venture out of *Hang-chew-fû*. But, as soon as he heard of his death, he caused a great fleet to be fitted out: and, putting himself at the head of 130,000 men, entered the *Kyang* by *Si-gan-chi-kew*, and went to post himself at *U-hû*. In February, he was joined by the fleet of *Hya-quey*. After this he sent to *Pe-yen* a *Mungl* prisoner, with a grand regale of fruits; and was not ashamed to propose peace to him, upon the terms concluded with *Hû-pi-lay*. *Achû*, at the time of that treaty, was with his father *Hu-lyang-botay*, at the siege of *Chang-sha*; and, having been witness of *Kya-tse-tau*'s fourberies, acquainted *Pe-yen* therewith: who, thereupon sent *Nan-kyatay*, a *Naymân* lord, of great descent, to that minister, with orders to reproach him for his unfair dealing: and to tell him, "that for the honour of his master, he ought to have spoken of peace sooner; but that now the time was past."

Pe-yen's
answer:

takes Chi-
chew;

MEAN time *Pe-yen* laid siege to *Chi-chew*, in *Kyang-nan*, a few leagues east-by-north of *Gan-king*: when *Chau-ma-fa*, governor of the city, finding it impossible to defend it, said to his wife, that he could neither resolve to be unfaithful to his master, nor bear to see the city possessed by strangers. After speaking these words, he killed himself; and his wife did the same. *Pe-yen* then entered the city, and made the people fall on their knees, according to the *Chinese* ceremony. They obeyed; and, weeping, loaded with praises both *Chau-ma-fa* and *Pe-yen*: who forthwith ordered the army and fleet of the *Song* to be attacked. *Kya-tse-tau* was at *Lû-hyang*; *Sû-hû-ching* with 70,000 choice men, at *Ting-kya-chew*, below *Chi-chew*; and *Hya-quey*, with 2,500 barks, in the middle of the *Kyang*. *Hya-quey* was persuaded he should never be pardoned the fault he had committed, in flying when *Pe-yen* was about to cross that river; and could not bear to see *Sun-hû-ching* preferred to him. This made him take the resolution not to fight.

defeats the
Chinese;

THE *Ywen* general, having caused great heaps of grass and straw to be put upon rafts, spread a report, that he intended to burn the enemy's barks. He then ordered his own to get ready for battle; while the horse and foot marched along both sides of the *Kyang*. The *Song* commanders were day and night on their guard, although their soldiers had no inclination to fight. At length *Pe-yen* ordered a great stone to be shot from his *pau*, against the body commanded by *Hû-cheng*; which put the troops in motion: and *Achû*, who encamped opposite to *Hû-cheng*, following the stream, advanced to attack his van-guard. On this *Kyang-tsay*, *Hû-cheng*'s lieutenant, made a shew as if he intended to stand the shock: but the troops, seeing their general on

^a GAUBIL, p. 159, & seq.

a board his concubine's bark, cried out, that he had taken to flight. These cries begat confusion; and *Hya-quey*, calling out to *Kya-tse-tau*, that there was no withstanding the enemy, fear-fizzed him also. *Achû* took advantage of this disorder, and fell upon the *Song* troops; who were put to a general rout: while *Achû*, supported by *Pe-yen*, with all his forces, made a great slaughter. Many of the enemy's soldiers were drowned; and the *Twen* got an inestimable booty.

AFTER this defeat, *Kya-tse-tau* retired in haste; and soon after, *Hya-quey* joined him. *Hichin*, *depe-* coming up to them, fell a crying; and said, *there was not a single man, who was willing to rate. expose himself to death.* Hereupon *Hya-quey*, mocking him, replied, *that he and Kya-tse-tau had fought even to death.* When they had breathed a little, the minister asked him, *what was to be done, as things stood?* *Hya-quey* told him, that the best way would be to go to *Tang-chew*; and there, gathering as many men and barks as he could, put to sea: after this he went his way, with a design to join the *Twen* on the first opportunity. Many of those who fled from the battle repaired to *Tang-chew*, and spoke openly against *Kya-tse-tau*; and indeed *Pe-yen* owed his great success as much to the bad conduct of the *Song* generals, as to his own valour and prudence. The consternation became almost universal through *Che-kyang*, and *Kyang-nan*: so that the governors of *Ching-kyang*, *Ning-que*, and *Ho-chew*, in the last of those provinces, and even of *Nan-chang-fû*, capital of *Kyang-si*, abandoned these cities; and the *Twen* took *Tau-chew* in the same province, several of whose Mandarins slew themselves, rather than surrender °.

c THE principal officer of *Kyen-kang* (now *Nan-king*), in *Kyang-nan*, took what gold and silks *The minister* he could get, with abundance of silver, and abandoned that city: for a great number of Man- *removed.* darins were weary of *Kya-tse-tau*'s government, and chose rather to see the state perish, than obey that minister: in *Hang-chew* itself there was a minister who deserted it. A lord, named *Wang-si-lin*, coming to hear of *Kya-tse-tau*'s shameful flight, gave a great entertainment to the lords who were his friends and relations; and, not being able to support his grief, slew himself three days after. Mean time the empress, who had the title of the *Song* monarch's grandmother, and regent of the empire, took the management of affairs from that minister; and published an edict to exhort the Mandarins to do their duty. She likewise caused writings to be posted up throughout the empire; wherein she invited the grandees, officers, and persons of fortune, to succour the state in such deplorable circumstances. *Chang-shi-kyay*, always faithful to his prince, retook *Tau-chew*, in *Kyang-si*; *Ven-tyen-syang* sold his effects to levy troops, and raised 10,000 men. Others made great efforts likewise: but *Pe-yen*, by his activity and policy (X), disconcerted the most prudent measures of the loyal *Song*.

d IN *March*, this general took *Nan-king* (Y): he bestowed bounty on the poor, and sent *Pe-yen's* physicians into the towns and villages afflicted with contagious diseases; he forbade the least pil- *humanity.* lage, on pain of death, and did friendly offices to every body; especially the officers, whom he always distinguished above others. In short, he made himself admired, as well for his sincerity, as for his disregard of pleasures and money.

e HU-PI-LAY having renewed his complaints against the *Song* ministers, for the detention of *Complaints of* *Hau-king*; the court caused that lord to be enlarged. On his way back to *Ta-tû* he fell sick; *the Twen.* and although the emperor sent physicians to cure him, yet he died as soon as he arrived at that city. On which occasion *Hû-pi-lay* made a great eulogy on the qualities of *Hau-king*, who had composed large comments on the *I-king* and *Chun-tsyen*. Another ground of complaint quickly followed: *Lyen-bi-kyen*, brother of *Lyen-bi-byen*, who was president of the tribunal of ceremonies at *Ta-tû*, being transferred to *Nan-king*, *Pe-yen* sent him a guard of 500 soldiers. As he went to a fort (Z) near *Hang-chew-fû*, capital of *Che-kyang* and the *Song* empire, the garrison seized, wounded, and sent him to that city, where he died of his hurts. An officer likewise of the tribunal of public works, who was in his retinue, was slain. This affair made a great noise; and the *Song* ministers immediately dispatched a messenger, to assure *Pe-yen* that neither the empress regent, nor the emperor, knew any thing of the matter; and that they would, without delay, make the necessary enquiries to discover and punish the authors of that crime: they intreated *Pe-yen*, at the same time, to make peace on the conditions which they proposed.

° GAUBIL, p. 162, & seq.

(X) *Pe-yen* is the general whom *M. Polo*, and others, name *Bayan*. The word *Chinsan* (*Kinsan*), which he joins with it, is a corruption of *Tsay-syang*, which signifies *minister of state*. *Gaubil*. *Polo* says, *Chinsan* signifies 100 eyes; nor has it in sound the least similitude with *Tsay-syang*.

(Y) In the same month, *Chang-chew-fû* and *Sû-chew-fû*, in *Kyang-nan*, were taken; and *Po-lo-han* reduced *Tsing-*

ho, *Hay-chew*, and other important places in the same province. *Gaubil*, p. 166.—In the same month *Man-ghola*, son of *Hû-pi-lay*, followed prince *Gau-lûche* into *Tibet*, to punish those who had revolted in that country. *Ibid.* p. 171. note (1).

(Z) It appears afterwards that the name of this fort was *Tû-fong-quan*; and that *Lyen-bi-kyen* went to treat about affairs with the *Song*.

Ali Yaya's
exploits.

AFTER *Vai-chang-fû* was taken, *Pe-yen* left the government thereof, and its district, to *Ali Haya* (A), with 40,000 men, and the two officers of the west, who were skilled in shooting great stones. This general made himself no less famous than *Pe-yen*: he knew how to gain the hearts of the *Chinese* (whose characters and sciences he understood very well), as well as of the troops, who had a great esteem for him. *Ali Haya* took the field, and attacked the naval force of *Kau-shi kyay* in *Tong-ting Hû*, a famous lake of *Hû-quang*; which he defeated after a bloody fight, and slew the admiral with his own hand. After this victory, he presented himself before *Yo-chew*, near the said lake, and reduced it: he likewise obliged *King-chew*, *Gan-lo*, and other places, to surrender. Then drawing into the field, he, in several rencounters, beat general *Kau-ta*, an officer of reputation, who afterwards went over to the *Ywen*. As the news of these conquests gave a sensible pleasure to *Hû-pi-lay*, who loved *Ali Haya*, he wrote the eulogy of that general with his own hand: wherein, among many other soothing expressions, he said, "That when he knew him (*Ali Haya*) to be at such a distance from *Pe-yen*, and furnished with so few troops, he feared he should want opportunities of making conquests worthy of his courage."

Affairs of
Tartary.

SHE-TYEN-CHE died at *Ching-ting-fû*, in *Pe-che-li*, on his return from *Hû-quang*, in the beginning of the year. This general had always commanded great armies with applause since the time of *Jenghîz Khân*. Before he died, he intreated *Hû-pi-lay* to forbid slaughter after he had passed the *Ky-ang*: the *Chinese* have made great encomiums upon him. This same year (1275) the emperor bestowed the government of *Al-malig* on his son *Nanmûh-in*, under whom *Gan-tong* had command of the troops. *Hû-pi-lay* thought it convenient to oppose a prince of the blood, and a good general, to prince *Hay-tû*, who made incursions over all *Tartary* ^P.

Yang-chew
besieged.

MEAN time *Achû* and *Chang-hong-fan*, who were in the neighbourhood of *Yang-chew-fû*, in *Kyang-nan*, after several small battles, in which they had always been victors, came to attack the southern gate of that city. *Li-ting-tchi* commanded there; and, notwithstanding the great conquests of the *Ywen*, sustained himself a long time. In *May*, a detachment of the *Song* retook the city of *Chang-chew-fû*, in the same province. *Chang-shi-kyay*, having gathered a great number of barks, posted himself near the mountain *Tsyau*. He ranged ten great barks in a line, which he made almost immovable by means of anchors: and forbade touching them under pain of death. *Achû*, who saw them at a distance, resolved to burn them. With this view he embarked 1000 cross-bow men; and, putting himself in the middle of them, shot burning arrows, which set fire to the masts and sails of the enemy's fleet. At the same time he so briskly attacked *Shi-kyay*'s troops, that, for all their general's bravery, they could not withstand the shock, many of them jumping into the river. *Chang-hong-fan*, and *Tong-wen-ping*, watching their time, with their chosen troops, fell on the body commanded by *Shi-kyay* in person; who, having had none with him but new levies, was obliged to retire towards the mountain *Chen*. *Achû* took more than 700 barks; and many of the *Song* officers dispersed. As for *Shi-kyay* himself, who was always firm, and never disheartened at any misfortune, he demanded new succours from the court: but receiving no answer, he was obliged to run from place to place to raise new recruits; and, although neglected, still encouraged the people, and exhorted them to be faithful to their prince.

Great naval
victory.

Hay-tû in
arms.

IN the interim, *Hû-pi-lay* saw himself threatened with a bloody war in *Tartary*. The officers of *Hay-tû* went over all the tribes to make friends, and the prince himself stirred up all those of his family against the emperor: however, it does not appear from the history, what were either his complaints or pretensions. Whatever they were, he this year appeared with prince *Tua*, at the head of 100,000 men, in the country of *Igûr*, and besieged *Idikut* (or *Idikut*) in his capital (B); whom they would oblige to become their ally, and renounce the party of *Hû-pi-lay*. But *Idikut* answered, "that he knew but one master to whom he was tributary, and would rather be cut in pieces than depart from his duty." Accordingly he defended himself valiantly till succours arrived; and then forced the princes to raise the siege. After this he went to court, where the emperor did him all sorts of honours, and loaded him with riches. *Idikut* was grandson and heir of *Idikut*, who submitted to *Jenghîz Khân*, and had married a daughter of the emperor *Quey-yew* (or *Kayuk*). ^e

Pe-yen
marches

THIS war, which threatened *Tartary*, made *Hû-pi-lay* recall *Pe-yen*, to command in the north: but, at that general's intreaty to continue the war in the south, the emperor complied, and ordered him to march immediately towards *Ling-gan* (C) (or *Hang-chew-fû*). In *October*, a *Chinese* officer, named *Li-fû*, threw himself into *Chang-sha-fû*, a city of *Hû-quang*, resolved to

^P GAUBIL, p. 165, & seq.

(A) Before called *Ali Yaya*.

(B) This, we presume, was *Ho-chew*, a few leagues to

the east of *Tarfân*, as hath been already remarked, p. 290, note (Y).

(C) So the capital of the *Song* empire was then called.

perish

a perish in defence of the place: he had 3000 men in garrison, with much provision, and other necessities. They were besieged by *Ali Haya*; and although the streets were full of dead bodies, and the inhabitants in great distress, yet they held out with so brave a governor. *Achâ* had been a long time before *Yang-chew-fû*, but the brave *Li-ting-cki* and the citizens still defended themselves with a valour admired by the *Mungls*.

PE-YEN being come to *Man-tew* with his army, passed the *Kyang*; and sent *Algan*, accompanied by *Gau-lû-che*, to attack the fort of *Tû-song-quan*, near *Hang-chew-fû*. *Tong-wen-ping* ^{towards the capital.} and *Syang-wey* went toward *Wba-ting*, along the sea-coast; in which detachment was *Fan-wen-bû*. *Pe-yen* and *Atabay*, preceded by *Lu-ven-wbang*, went to lay siege to *Chang-chew-fû*, into which *Ven-tyen-sang* attempted in vain to throw succours, for he was always beaten. *Algan*, after taking *Quang-te*, appeared in sight of *Lin-gan*; which alarmed the court, who made all above fifteen years of age take up arms.

MEAN time, *Song-tu-hay*, son of general *Tachar*, *Li-beng*, of the family of the kings of *Mi-yew's* *Hya*, and *Lu-shi-quey*, who surrendered *Kyew-kyang*, being detached by *Pe-yen*, made great ^{bravery.} conquests in *Kyang-fû*. When they were near *Vû-chang-fû*, an officer named *Mi-yew*, born at *Mi-chew*, advanced to meet them with some troops; and cried out, that he came to fight. At these words he fell upon the body commanded by *Song-tû-hay*, who caused him to be surrounded: but although *Mi-yew* received four shots from arrows, and three wounds with pikes, yet, taking a sword in each hand, he cut down all before him, till, coming to a little bridge, one of the planks broke under him, and he was taken. *Song-tû-hay*, who admired his courage, offered him great presents, and, by means of his son, invited him to take part with the *Mungls*: but it was all in vain; he caused himself to be stripped, and desired he might be slain. His son fell on his knees, and, with tears, cried, *My father, what shall I do after your death?* *Mi-yew* embraced him, and, with an undaunted tone, said: *My son, you need only appear in the streets; and there is no person will refuse to assist you, when they know that you are the son of Mi-yew.* Hereupon *Song-tû-hay* ordered him to be killed^a.

PE-YEN, who found much resistance at *Chang-chew-fû*, shewed on that occasion how far his ^{Chang-chew-fû taken.} courage and activity extended. He beat down the houses which were about the city, and raised an inclosure of earth, in order to get upon the walls. Night and day he appeared armed, to support the labourers against the sallies of the besieged. He caused great heaps of dead bodies to be placed upon his rampart: then ordering the whole army to be in readiness, the officers and soldiers, getting one upon another, mounted from the rampart to the top of the walls; and *Pe-yen* himself was one of the first who entered the city. *Tau-in*, one of those who commanded in the city, was killed at the beginning: *Cheng-chau* and *Wang-gan-tsye* (D) still defended themselves in the great square. It was proposed to *Cheng-chau*, the fourth commanding officer, to escape through the north-east gate, which was still open: but he answered, *Any other place, tho' but an inch from hence, will not be fit for me to die in.* He was killed about noon; and *Pe-yen* caused the inhabitants to be put to the sword (E). He ordered *Wang-gan-tsye* to be bound, and then to kneel; but he chose rather to die. *Lyeu-shi-yong*, with some horse, forced an intrenchment, and escaped toward *Sû-chew-fû*. The son of *Lyen-bi-kyen* had strong suspicions that *Chan-jû*, one of the commanders of *Tû-song-quan*, when *Hi-kyen* went thither to treat about affairs, was the author of his uncle's murder, as before related: so that, after that fort was taken, he watched *Chan-jû*, who had made his escape, followed, and killed him.

CHI-NI-CHONG (F), principal minister of the *Song*, in December, sent *Lyew-yo* to *Vû-si-hyen*, a ^{Peace sued for.} city of *Kyang-nan*, near *Chang-chew-fû*, to assure *Pe-yen*, that the assassination of *Lyen-bi-kyen* was committed unknown to his court; and, at the same time, desired peace. *Lyew-ho* affirmed that all the mischief was owing to *Kya-tse-tau*, who had violated the public faith, and betrayed the empire (G): he added, weeping, that the emperor his master was still in mourning, and in an age not fit to govern. *Pe-yen* reproached *Lyew-yo* with the many treacheries employed by his ministers; the murders in the persons of the envoys, even of *Hû-pi-lay*; and the unfair dealing with regard to the conditions which had been agreed to: "As to the minority of your prince, ^{Pe-yen's answer.}

^a GAUBIL, p. 167, & seq.

(D) He was son of the illustrious *Wang-kyen*, who commanded in *Ho-chew*, in *Se-chwen*, when *Meng-ko* was killed before it. *Gaubil*.

(E) The inhabitants of *Chang-chew* must have committed some very heinous action, to provoke *Pe-yen* to this; for he was far from being cruel. *Gaubil*.—*M. Polo* observes, that the *Alans* having taken the outer wall of *Tinguigui*, and made themselves drunk with the wine which they found there; the citizens came and slew them all in their sleep; for which reason *Bayan* (or *Peyen*), afterwards when he took the city, put them all to the sword. *Tinguigui*, by its situation, seems to be *Chang-chew-fû*.

See new Collect. Trav. in 4to. vol. iv. p. 599—It must be observed also, that *Chang-chew* had been taken once before by the *Mungls*; and perhaps its being retaken by the *Song*, was owing to the disaffection of the inhabitants.

(F) Written in this place *Thini-thong*: in another, *Tchini-chong*. We follow this last reading.

(G) On the displacing of this minister, his effects were confiscated, and he retired to *Chang-chew-fû* (a city of *Fo-kyen*): where, on his arrival, he was slain by a Mandarin, who could not bear to see the man enjoy life who had ruined the empire by his wickedness. *Gaubil*.

" you

"you ought to consider," said *Pe-yen* to *Lyew-yo*, "that formerly your dynasty wrested the empire from a prince who was nearly of the same age as yours : at present, heaven takes the empire from an infant to give it my master. There is nothing in this which is contrary to reason." After these words, he sent back *Lyew-yo*, and ordered *Nan-kyatay* to follow him.

SHORTLY after, *Pe-yen*, preceded by *Lu-ven-whang*, made his public entry into *Sû-chew* (then called *Ping-kyang*) ; there he received an express from *Chi-ni-chong*, wherein the *Song* emperor offered to be called nephew, or grand nephew, of *Hû-pi-lay*, and pay him tribute. But every thing was rejected by *Pe-yen* ; who, being joined by *Argan*, and some other generals, prepared to make himself master of *Lin-gan* without delay.

Grat magnanimity
A. D. 1276.

of the Chinese.

MEAN while *Ali Haya* pushed the siege of *Chang-sha* vigorously. He caused the ditches to be drained ; and, after making several breaches in the walls, ordered an assault to be given in January 1276. As the garrison had suffered extremely, and were not able to sustain this last attack, the officers spoke of surrendering : but *Li-fû* opposed that motion ; and declared he would kill those who any more talked in such a strain. A Mandarin of *Heng-chew*, who was then in the city, ordered the cap of ceremony to be put on the heads of his two young sons, and made them perform the ceremony of beating the head (H) to those who were present : after which, he and his two sons, with his domestics, threw themselves into the fire, and there perished. *Li-fû* performed the ceremony for them of pouring wine on the earth ; and then made all the Mandarins write the Chinese character which expresses the fidelity due to the sovereign ; they all swore likewise not to surrender. One of the most considerable began, by going into an inclosed place, and drowning himself in a pond. *Li-fû* then sent for *Shen-chong*, one of his officers, and said to him : "I have no strength ; I must die ; I would not have the people of my family dishonour me by slavery. After you have slain them all, kill me." *Shen-chong* fell on his knees, and protested he could not undertake such a task. But *Li-fû* importuned him so much, that at length he consented. He slew all *Li-fû*'s domestics, after he had made them drunk ; then slew *Li-fû* himself, and, having set fire to the house, returned to his own : there he first slew his wife and children, then himself. All the Mandarins of the city, excepting two, killed themselves : most of the inhabitants did the same ; and the very wells were filled with the bodies of those who threw themselves in, not one being found empty : so that *Ali Haya*, entering the city, was much surprised to find it without any people. Most of the other cities of that part of *Hû-quang*, called *Hû-nan* (I), submitted to the *Twen*.

The empress submits

to Pe-yen.

IN the first month the empress regent of the *Song*, finding that *Pe-yen* would not grant peace, on condition that the emperor should be called grand nephew of *Hû-pi-lay*, offered that he should be styled subject, with a yearly tribute of twenty-five Van in silver, and as much in silk. This step was taken without the knowledge, and against the advice, of the minister *Che-ni-chong*, who was for having the court remove elsewhere. But the empress would never consent to it ; and, in anger, cast the ornaments of her head on the ground, reproached the great men for having deceived her ; shut the palace gates, and forbade any such proposals to be made to her. *Che-ni-chong* (†) had promised *Pe-yen* to come to confer with him ; but he did not keep his word. That general, resolving not to be duped, went and encamped on the mountain *Kau-ting* ; from whence he ordered some troops of horse to advance as far as the north suburbs of *Lin-gan* (or *Hang-chew-fû*). *Ven-tyang-syang* and *Chang-shi-kyay* proposed setting the empresses, emperor, princes, and the ministers, on ship-board, that they might put to sea ; while they two, and the officers who were willing to follow them, attacked the *Mungls* : but the prime minister rejected that measure. After this the empress-grand-mother sent the great seal of the empire to *Pe-yen*, in token of surrender ; and that general dispatched *Nan-kyatay* with it to *Hû-pi-lay*. As *Che-ni-chong* did not approve of this step, he immediately left the court, and retired to *Wen-chew-fû* (K).

Shi-kyay proposes peace.

CHANG-SHI-KYAY, not able to bear this shameful act of submission without fighting, retired with a body of troops, and encamped at *Ting-hay*. Hereupon *Pe-yen* sent *Pyen-pyau*, an officer of note, to exhort him to surrender. *Shi-kyay* imagined at first that *Pyen-pyau*'s design was to pursue him : but when he understood the true motive of his arrival, he ordered his tongue to be cut out, and himself hacked to pieces. The general *Lyew-shi-yong*, who had so well defended *Chang-chew-fû*, went out to sea, and drank himself to death. Mean time *Ven-tyen-syang* and the minister *U-kyen* went to wait on *Pe-yen* ; and, with a view to repair the honour of the empire, which had been impaired by former negotiations, spoke thus : "If the empire of the

* GAUBIL, p. 170, & seq.

(H) That is, to fall on their knees, and strike their heads thrice against the ground.

(I) *Hû-quang* province is divided into two parts, of which *Hû-nan* is the southern.

(†) We are not sure whether it should be written *Chi*, or *Bhe*, *Chin-i*, or *Chi-ni-chong*.

(K) A city on the sea-coast, above 150 miles to the south-east of *Lin-gan*, or *Hang-chew-fû*.

- a " north would withdraw its army, and make peace with ours as a neighbour ; then we might
 " talk of money and silks to give your troops : but in case you intend to destroy the dynasty
 " of the *Song*, consider, Sir, that we have still large and good countries, strong cities, ships,
 " money, and troops ; and you know there is no promising for the events of war."

PE-YEN, charmed with the grand qualities of *Ven-tyen-syang*, whose character he was acquainted with before by report, sent back *U-kyen*, and detained him, under pretence of conferring with him about important affairs ; and ordered the generals *Mang-tas* and *Sai-ti* to do him all sorts of civilities. *Ven-tyen-syang* boldly reproached the deserting lords of the *Song* with their perfidy and cowardice : he even told *Pe-yen* to his face, that it was unjust to detain thus the envoy of a crowned head. When *Lu-ven-wang* would have exhorted him to talk in a

- b more moderate strain ; that illustrious Mandarin shewed him clearly his ingratitude for the imperial family of the *Song*, from whom he had received so many benefits and honours. After this, *Pe-yen* sent an officer to *Hu-pi-lay*, and put *Ven-tyen-syang* in his train.

In February, *Pe-yen* appointed *Tatar* and *Chinese* lords to govern the city of *Lin-gan*. By his orders they took and sealed up the books, the registers, the geographical maps, the historical records, the paintings, the edicts, and other things belonging to the great tribunals. They likewise carried away the seals of all the tribunals. He sent two great lords to guard the palace

- c of the empress's grandmother, and have an eye on all that passed there. They behaved to her with the greatest respect ; and seemed rather to make their court, than to watch her. All this was done without the least disorder : so that the *Chinese* themselves, in all their affliction, could not but admire at the police and good regulations which *Pe-yen* caused to be observed. The *Song* emperor had two brothers, whom his father had by his other wives : these young princes were carried away ; and, after they had been concealed for seven days upon a mountain, were conveyed by a Mandarin to *Wen-chew-fu* before-mentioned. This same month, *Hya-quey*, who for a long time was inclined to submit to the *Twen*, went over to them ; and delivered into their hands the strong city of *Lü-chw* (L) in *Kyang-nan*.

In March, *Pe-yen* on horseback, followed by all the general officers, and with the standard of the great general carried before him, left *Hü-chew-fü* (M), and came to *Lin-gan* (N) ; where he visited all parts of the city, and had the curiosity to see the flux and reflux of the river *Che*. The emperor and empress desired to see him : but he excused himself, by giving them to understand

- d that he was not thoroughly acquainted with the ceremonial proper to be observed on such occasion. Next day he left *Lin-gan*. In May, the generals *Atabay* and *Li-ting* entered the imperial palace, and caused the ceremonies to cease, which were used in appearing before the emperor. They then, saluting the emperor, and the empress's mother, acquainted them, that they were to set out for the court of the emperor *Hü-pi-lay*. The princess at this message could not refrain from tears ; and embracing the emperor her son, said, " My son, the son of heaven " (O) grants you life, you must beat the head to him." The young prince, at these words, turned his face towards the north ; and, falling on his knees, along with his mother (P), they both saluted the emperor *Hü-pi-lay*, by striking the ground nine times with their heads. This ceremony being over, they were both put in a chariot, and sent to *Ta-tü*.

- e THIS was a sad spectacle for all the faithful subjects of the *Song* race. *Su-ing-pyan*, one of the greatest lords of the court, not being able to survive the misfortune of his prince, threw himself, with his two sons and one daughter, into a well. The empress's grandmother was suffered to remain in her palace till she recovered from her illness. *Pe-yen* gave orders to take the gold, silver, precious stones, jewels, and other costly things of the imperial palace, and send them by sea to *Tyen-tsin-wey* (Q) ; from whence those immense treasures were conveyed to *Ta-tü*. *Pe-yen*, having had an express order to repair to court, left the generals *Argan* and *Tong-wen-ping* to command the army which was in the neighbourhood of *Lin-gan* (R).

- f LI-TING-CHI, *Kyang-tsai*, and other *Song* officers, shed torrents of tears when they heard that the emperor was carried prisoner to *Ta-tü* : they assembled in great numbers at *Tang-chew*.

* GAUBIL, p. 173, & seqq.

(L) Or *Lya-chew-fü*.

(M) Near the sea, about 40 miles north of *Lin-gan*, or *Hang-chew-fü*.

(N) On the news of *Pe-yen*'s approach, many ladies of the palace, fearing violence from the soldiers, drowned themselves ; but their fears were groundless, for *Pe-yen* did not suffer the least disorder to be committed.

(O) The empress gives to *Hü-pi-lay* the title of *Tyen-tse*, or son of heaven ; which the emperor of *China* bore.

(P) The captive emperor, named *Kang-ti*, or *Kong-tsong*, was then near seven years of age : the empress, intitled grandmother, was the wife of *Li-tsong*, his grandfather ; the grandmother of *Kong-tsong* and of *Ta-tü*.

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tsong was also conveyed to *Ta-tü*, or *Pe-king*, along with other princes of the imperial family.

(Q) Since the year 1710, advanced to the dignity of *Chew*, or a city of the second rank ; so that it bears the name at present of *Tyen-tsin-wey*. It stands on the river *Pay-ho*, about 10 leagues from its mouth and 20 from *Pe-king*, of which it is the port.

(R) *Lin-gan* is the same city which M. Polo calls *Quinsay* ; which is a corruption of *King-tse*, or *King-shi*, the name which the *Chinese* often give the place where the emperor keeps his court. In 1237, above 530,000 houses were burnt by a fire : the vast number of barks, filled with people, which are continually in its port, shew how populous it is.

fu, and swore to do their utmost to rescue their prince out of the hands of the *Moos*. Pursuant a
to this resolution they wrote circular letters; and, having distributed their money to the most
hardy soldiers, got together an army of 40,000. This army, under the command of *Kyang-
tsay*, attacked the city of *Qua-chew* (S), where the emperor was arrived. The *Twen* troops,
conducted by *Atabay*, *Li-ting*, and other generals, fought the *Song* for three hours together,
and repulsed them. *Kyang-tsay*, who fought continually as he retreated, was surrounded by
Achü, come from the taking of *Whey-gang-fü* (T), who summoned him in vain to submit.
at Shang-tü. The inhabitants of *Cheng-chew-fü* attempted also, without success, to deliver the emperor
Kong-tsong; who at length, in May, arrived at *Shang-tü* (U). *Hü-pi-lay* sent the prime mini-
ster to meet him; and the princess of *Horgkila*, empress and first wife of the *Mungl* monarch,
ordered a lord to furnish the mother of *Kong-tsong* with every thing suitable to her rank: the b
Chineses highly commend the virtue and moderation of this empress. When the treasures from
Liz-gan arrived at court, the princes and princesses beheld them with raptures of joy; but the
empress did nothing but weep: "My lord," said she to *Hü-pi-lay*, "the dynasties are not eter-
nal: by what you see has happened to that of the *Song*, judge what will happen to ours."

Twon-tsong
enthroned.

THE retreat of the princes to *Wen-chew-fü* drew thither a great number of Mandarins, officers
of the army, and soldiers. *Chang-shi-kyay* repaired thither with the body of troops which he com-
manded: the minister *Chi-ni-chong* came also; by whom *I-wang*, brother of *Kong-tsong*, was
declared great general of the empire, associating with him his brother *Quang-wang*. Among
the ruins of an old temple in that city, is seen the place where formerly *Kau tsong* set himself in c
his throne, when he quitted the north to pass into the south. On this throne *I-wang* being
placed, the grandees knelt, and took an oath of fidelity, not without shedding tears. After
this they removed into *I'o-kyen*; and in May, *I-wang* was acknowledged emperor of the *Song*
at *Fü-chew-fü*, capital of that province. He was then nine years of age, and assumed the
title of *Twon-tsong*. He appointed his generals as well as ministers: and had it not been for
traitors and cowardly subjects, the *Mungls* must of necessity have been obliged to repass the
Great Kyang. *Ven-tyen-syang* escaped on the road; and after many dangers, had the good fortune
to reach *Fo-kyen*: he was received with great demonstrations of joy, and unanimously declared
generalissimo of the troops.

Pe-yen
recalled.

PE-YEN was not without his enemies at court, who accused him of having carried himself d
too effeminately: but he had also his friends, who defended his conduct, among whom was
Gay-swe, the foreigner from the west, before spoken of. *Hü-pi-lay* sent all the great Manda-
rins to meet him; whom they received with great magnificence in the suburbs of *Shang-tü*, or
Kay-ping-fü, and conducted to the audience of the emperor. This prince made his encomium,
and appointed him his lieutenant-general in *Tartary*. He likewise did great honours to the
generals *Atabay* (X) and *Li-ting*; which latter was allowed to follow *Pe-yen* ¹.

*Yang-chew-
fu and*

THE general *Song-tu-hay*, who commanded in *Kyang-fü*, detached *Tachay*, of the *Pü-bü-la*
tribe, and *Li-heng*, to join *Argan* and *Tong-wen-ping*; being resolved to enter *I'o-kyen*, in
order to destroy entirely the party of the new emperor of the *Song*. Mean time *Li-ting-chi* and
Kyang-tsay still continued to defend *Yang-chew-fü*, with a resolution worthy the greatest heroes. e
Achü, to no purpose, employed all which experience, stratagem, and force, suggested to
him to become master of the city. The two commanders governed there as a father does his
children; and the inhabitants were so many soldiers; who were ready to die in the train of
the governor. When *Li-ting-chi* was informed of *Twon-tsong*'s instalment at *Fü-chew-fü*, he
left the command of the city to the inferior officers; and, followed by *Kyang-tsay*, with 7000
chosen men, set out to join the new emperor: but was intercepted by *Achü*, who besieged
him in *Tay-chew-fü*. Soon after *Li-ting-chi* had left *Yang-chew-fü*, the city was taken by trea-
son, and *Tay-chew-fü* fared the same fate. Hereupon that commander and his colleague went
to drown themselves in a lake; but they were taken and carried to *Achü*. This general treat-
ed them with honour: however, finding he could prevail on them neither to join his troops f
nor kneel, he consented that they should be slain; and soon after went to court, where he was
sent for to be one of the ministry.

*Tay-chew-
fü taken.*

*The emperor's
flee*

THE army of general *Argan*, after reducing the places to the south of *Che-kyang*, entered
Fo-kyen; which, being filled with traitors, great part of the cities surrendered without resist-
ance. This obliged the emperor to put to sea; who narrowly escaped being taken at *Tsuen-
chew-fü*, by the treachery of the governor. *Chang-shi-kyay* having pressed for the emperor's

¹ GAUBIL, p. 176, & seqq.

(S) A considerable post to the north of the *Great Kyang*, over against *Chang-kyang-fü*, and nine miles and a half to the south of *Yang-chew-fü*. Gaubil.

(T) About seven miles south of the *W'hang-ho*, and within 55 of its mouth.

(U) The new capital of *Tartary*, often mentioned before, whither the court was removed from *Karakorum*.

(X) A *Mungl* of the tribe of *Tsun-tu-tse* (or *Tjuntus*), whose father had drank of the water of *Panchuni* with *Jenghiz Khan*. Gaubil.

a service several barks and ships, which that covetous Mandarin employed in trade; he, to be revenged, surrendered the city to the *Mungls*. The emperor *Twon-tsong* arrived in *November* at *Whey-chew* with his fleet, on which, it is said, were embarked 180,000 men. Mean time *Lu shi-quey* crossed the famous mountain of *Mey-lin*, and entered the province of *Quang-tong*, where he made great conquests. The general *Ali Haya* put to the sword all the inhabitants of *Quay-lin-fu* (Y); which he took after a long siege, wherein he lost a great number of men.

In 1277 *Chang-shi-kyay* levied forces in *Fo-kyen*, and supported the best he could, the party of the emperor *Twon-tsong*. He laid siege to *Tsven-chew-fu* in that province, but it was raised by *Sai-tu*; who, pretending that the *Chinese* were not to be trusted, made a great slaughter where-ever he came: he in particular put to the sword the inhabitants of the cities *Hing-wa-fu* and *Chang-chew-fu*.

b *Ven-tyen-syang* had a considerable number of troops in *Kyang-fi*, but could never join a powerful army which *Tsew-fong*, a great Mandarin, had raised; and the forces of both were new levies, and undisciplined. In *August*, general *Li-heng* sent troops to *Kan-chew*, (a considerable city in *Kyang-fi*, of which *Ven-tyen-syang* had a mind to make himself master); hindered his junction with *Tsew-fong*, and beat their armies in several engagements; so that *Ven-tyen-syang* was obliged to retire, after his wife and two sons had been taken prisoners, who were sent to *Ta-tu*. *Chau-shi-shang*, one of the imperial family of the *Song*, with others, were carried to *Nan-chang-fu*, capital of *Kyang-fi*: where, encouraged by *Shi-shang*, they chose rather to be slain than kneel to the *Mungls*.

c In *November*, *Ta-cku* took the city of *Quang-chew fu* (Z), in *Quang-tong*; and, in *December*, the ship which the emperor *Twon-tsong* was aboard, was in danger, near the isles of *Ma-kau*, of being cast away with a squall of wind. The prince fell into the water, and was taken out again half-dead with the fright. A great part of his troops perished. He had retired from *Fo-kyen* in 1276; first to *Whey-chew-fu* in *Quang-tong*: from whence he sent an officer to acquaint *Sai-tu*, that he was willing to submit to *Hu-pi-lay*. That general sent the same officer to *Ta-tu*; but no mention is made with what success the negotiation was attended. From *Whey-chew-fu* *Twon-tsong* retired to *Chau-chew-fu*, a city and port in the eastern part of the province; and there took shipping; in order to get to the kingdom of *Chen-chen* (A). The minister *Che-ni-chong* went before; but he never returned, nor was ever heard of after.

d HU-PI-LAY this year appointed Bonzas of the sect of *Tau* and *Fo*, to govern the Bonzas of their respective sects, who were in *Kyang-nan*, and other southern provinces. He likewise ordered general *Say-ten*, an *Arab*, to follow the army, which was ordered to march from *Yun-nan* into the kingdom of *Myen* (B), or *Pegu*.

WE have already taken notice that the prince *Siliki*, son of the late emperor *Meng-ko* (or *Mangu*), first joined the party of *Alipuko* (or *Aribuga*), and afterwards submitted. Since then, he was corrupted by prince *Hay-tu*; and, with the princes his allies, this year (1277) defeated the troops of *Hu-pi-lay*, in the country of *Olimali* (or *Almalig*), took the prince *Nanmu-ban*, son of the emperor, and general *Gan-tong*. After these great advantages, *Siliki* marched towards the east with a powerful army; and was already arrived to the north of the city *Ho-lin* (or *Karakorum*), when *Pe-yen*, who had been for some time in *Tartary*, set forward to meet the enemy, giving great bodies of troops to the generals *Li-ting* and *Tu-tu-ha* (C). *Siliki*, on the news of *Pe-yen*'s march, decamped from the neighbourhood of *Karakorum*, and crossed the *Orgun*, near which he entrenched himself. *Pe-yen* followed; and, having encamped near the same river, seized all the avenues, by which provisions could be brought to *Siliki*'s camp.

THIS prince, seeing himself in danger of perishing with his whole army, was obliged to come to a battle; in which he was taken and killed by *Li-ting*, in the month of *July*. The prince *Totomur* fled towards the *Tula*, and entrenched himself between the sources of that river and the *Onon*: but *Tu-tu-ha*, being detached by *Pe-yen*, overtook and entirely defeated him. At the same time *Li-ting* marched westward, and having passed the river *Tamir* (which falls into the *Orgun*), defeated the remains of *Siliki*'s army, and several bodies commanded by the

" GAUBIL, p. 179, & seq.

(Y) Capital of *Shen-fi* [a mistake for *Quang-fi*]. Its situation among waters rendering it very strong, *Ali Haya* turned the course of the rivers, and made breaches in the walls. *Gaubil*.

(Z) The capital of *Quang-tong*, called by *Europeans* *Kanton*.

(A) The part of *Tong-king*, opposite the isle of *Hay-nan*, on the south of *China*, is, in the *Chinese* books, often called *Chen-chen*. The sea between *Hay-nan* and *Tong-king* was formerly called by the *Arabs* the sea of *Sinji*. *Chen-chen* is also one of the names of the royal city of *Cochin-china*, called *Thean-hoa*, or *Sinea*. *Gaubil*, p. 190.

(B) This is the name which the *Chinese* give to the kingdom of *Pegu*: and *Say-ten* was sent thither in consequence of the account which his son *Nasu-lating* (probably *Nesroddin*) had given to *Hu-pi-lay* of *Myen*; which, according to the *Chinese*, borders on the province of *Yun-nan*. *Gaubil*.

(C) He was descended from the prince of part of *Kincha* (or *Kipjak*). He commanded a body of troops of his own nation; and was with *Chepe* and *Sai-pu-toy* in the expedition on that side in 1223. He always made war with success; and was advanced by *Hu-pi-lay* to the first posts in the army. — *Gaubil*.

officers

officers of the princes *Hay-tu* and *Tia*. The emperor, to whom the revolt of those princes had given some uneasiness, was much rejoiced at the news of this great victory; which, for a time, disconcerted the measures which several *Mungl* princes had taken with *Hay-tu*, who thought of nothing less than rendering *Tartary* intirely independent of *Hû-pi-lay*.

ABOUT the beginning of this year, or end of the preceding, the Literati, who had submitted to *Hû-pi-lay*, deputed *Pû-hû-chû* with a memorial (D), to intreat that prince to order public colleges to be built throughout the empire; in order to educate, in the sciences and morality, youths of genius, under the direction of the most judicious and learned men, who could be found.

Song emperor
dies.
A. D. 1278.

In *January* 1278, the *Twen* completed the conquest of *Se-chwen*. *Ven-tyen-syang*, notwithstanding the losses he had received, took the field again, and in *March* reduced the city of *Quang-chew Fû*, or *Kanton*. Mean time the emperor *Twon-tsong* retired into a little desert isle, called *Kang-chwen* (E); where he died the month following, aged eleven years. Several great men, after this, quite desponded, and quitted the army of the *Song*. Most of those who were about *Twon-tsong*, weary of such a long and unfortunate war, seemed inclined to acknowledge *Hû-pi-lay*, *Lû-syew-fû* said to them: "Sirs, what shall we do with the third son of the emperor *Tû-tsong*, aged eight years, who is here with us? Anciently one *Ching* and one *Lu* (F) sufficed for one sovereign: there are still remaining in our possession vast countries, and millions of people: what is there wanting to us that may be necessary for the proclamation of a new emperor?" Hereupon all agreeing to proclaim *Quang-rang*, they caused this young prince to get upon a rising ground; then fell on their knees, and acknowledged him emperor. *Lû-syew-fû* and *Chang-shi-kyay* were declared his two ministers in *April*. This latter was obliged to raise the siege of *Ley-chew Fû* (G), a strong city, not far from *Tong-king*, which general *Ali-baya* caused in time to be well furnished with troops and provisions.

Ti-ping
proclaimed.

Retires to an
isle.

In *May* the new emperor of the *Song*, known under the title of *Ti ping*, retired to the mountain *Tay-shan*, near the city of *Sin-wbey-hyen* (H), in *Quang-tong*. *Tay-shan* stands in the sea, opposite to the mountain *Ki-shi-shan*. The flux and reflux of the current, between these two mountains, makes the *Chinese* compare them to a gate with folding doors, which open and shut every moment. *Chang-shi-kyay*, having chosen this mountain for the emperor's retreat, caused houses to be built for the officers and soldiers; likewise a palace for *Ti-ping*, and the prince's mother. Plenty of provision was brought from *Quang-chew Fû*, or *Kanton*: abundance of oars, arms, and arrows, were made: ships and barks were fitted out: in short, the zeal and fidelity of that minister cannot be sufficiently extolled. Reckoning the people, Mandarin, and soldiers, the emperor had with him more than 200,000 men. Great numbers of soldiers and sailors, from *Hu quang*, set forward to join *Chang-shi-kyay*: but *Ali-baya* having sent out large detachments to examine all passengers, the minister was, by that means, deprived of a considerable succour *.

The Song
generals.

In *August* the Mandarin performed the ceremonies for interring the late emperor *Twon-tsong*, on the mountain *Tay-shan*. The air of sadness spread over the new emperor's face during this ceremony, and the reflections which arose in their minds on the present state of affairs, drew tears of real sorrow from the eyes of *Chang-shi-kyay*, *Lû-syew-fû*, and all the officers, as well as soldiers. *Chang-hong-fan* (I) having been informed of what the *Song* minister (K) was doing, represented to the emperor *Hû-pi-lay*, that it was necessary, as soon as possible, to make himself master of the province of *Quang-tong*. The *Mungl* monarch charged him with that important commission; and, making him a present of a sword, adorned with precious stones, appointed him general of the army, designed against the emperor *Ti-ping*. *Hong-fan* upon this repaired to *Yang-chew Fû*; and there taking with him 20,000 choice men, in *November*

* GAUBIL, p. 182, & seqq.

(D) In this memorial, the substance of which is given by our author *Gaubil*, they endeavour to induce the emperor, by instancing the most remarkable examples of the *Chinese* emperors, in founding colleges, from the times of *Yau*, *Shun*, and *Yu*, the first of whom reigned, if we may believe the *Chinese* history, above 2357 years before the *Christian* æra.—*Pû-hû-chû* was a lord of the *Kangli* tribe, who became one of the most learned men in the empire, and was very dear to *Hû-pi-lay*.

(E) On the south coast of *Quang-tong*, to the north-east of the city *Lwi-chew Fû*.

(F) *Ching* is the space of a league square: *Lu* the habitations of 500 men. *Gaubil*.

(G) The same with *Lwi-chew Fû* (as it is written in the Jesuits map of *Quang-tong*), mentioned in the note but one before. According to *Gaubil*, it is seventeen

leagues to the north of *Kun-chew-fû* (or *Kyeng-chew Fû*, as in the said map), capital of the isle of *Hay-nan*. It stands on the east coast of a peninsula, which, like a bear's foot, shoots out from the southern coast of *Quang-tong*.

(H) On the west side of the bay of *Quang-chew Fû* (or *Kanton*), about midway between that city and *Ma-kau*.

(I) He was the son of general *Chan-jau*, often mentioned before.

(K) *Chang-shi-kyay* was of the same family with *Chang-hong-fan*, born at *Cho-chew*, in *Pe-che li*. He followed his relation into *Ho-nan*, when young; and, to avoid being punished for a fault which he had committed, took refuge with the *Song*, whom he served with an heroic constancy. *Gaubil*.

arrived

a arrived by sea in the province of *Quang-tong*, where he surprised *Ven-tyen-syang*, in conjunction with two other generals, *Tsew-fong* and *Lyew-tse-tsun*.

THE troops of these commanders, not being used to fight, gave way at the first onset, and the rout became general. *Tsew-fong* slew himself. *Lyew-tse-tsun* and *Ven-tyen-syang* were intimate friends, and each of them fought death, in order to save the other's life. *Lyew-tse-tsun*, being taken first, said he was *Tyen-syang*; in a belief, that, on uttering those words, he should be killed: but instead thereof, they put him into the hands of a guard. *Tyen-syang* was taken afterwards, and bound, to hinder him from poisoning himself. *Hong-fan* having ordered *Lyew-tse-tsun* to be put to death, *Tyen-syang* said he was the man. But the prisoners discovered the truth; and *Lyew-tse-tsun* was burnt alive by a slow fire. *Tyen-syang*, being brought before the *Mungl* general, would not perform the reverence, in token of submission, although he was unbound for that purpose, but demanded to be slain: *Hong-fan*, however, would not grant his request: but sent him prisoner to *Tatû*, and set at liberty his relations and friends, who had been taken.

AFTER this victory, *Hong-fan* set sail with his naval force; and, on the 31st of *January* (L) 1279, came in sight of the mountain *Tay-shan*. The first caused this mountain to be examined; and then having informed himself concerning the tides, winds, and windings of the coasts, took measures with *Li-beng* for attacking *Chang-shi-kyay* to advantage. But this latter was before-hand with him; and, in the night, the 29th of *March* (M), came to attack the *Twen*. However, he was repulsed. *Hong-fan*, to avoid confusion, divided his fleet into four squadrons, one distant from the other 3 or 400 paces. *Li-beng* posted himself to the north of the *Song* fleet, which lay to the west of the mountain. On the third of *April* (N) a thick fog covered that side of the mountain. *Li-beng* had orders to attack the enemy at the coming-in of the tide. The tide came-in at the hour of the *horse* (O), at what time the instruments sounding, which was the signal, *Li-beng* bore down upon them on one side, while *Chang-hong-fan* advanced on the other. *Chang-shi-kyay*, though attacked on both sides at once, defended himself valiantly: but his troops, being fatigued, gave way; and the *Mungls* having taken one great ship, several others struck.

In short, confusion seized the whole fleet of the *Song*; while *Hong-fan* and *Li-beng*, taking advantage of this disorder, routed them on all hands. At sun-set, the wind and fogs beginning to arise, *Shi-kyay* cut his cables, and escaped with sixteen great ships. *Lû-syew-fû* ran swiftly to the emperor's vessel, but it was sluggish; and several others were fastened one to the other. These were almost in a helpless condition; nor were there so much as officers or sailors to manage them. *Lû-syew-fû*, perceiving all was lost, first threw his wife and children into the sea; then, with a resolute tone, said to the young emperor, "Do not dishonour, sir, your illustrious family, in following the example of your brother *Kong-tsung*. Die a sovereign prince, rather than live a slave to a foreign nation." After he had spoken these words, he, weeping, embraced *Ti-ping*; and, taking him on his shoulders, jumped with him into the sea. Most of the Mandarins followed this example.

HONG-FAN took 800 barks. The *Chinese* historians say that 100,000 men were drowned. For several days the sea was seen covered with dead bodies. *Chang-shi-kyay* discovered that of the emperor, and interred it with respect. He also recovered the imperial seal; and then joined the vessel which had on board the princess, mother to *Ti-ping*. He found this lady in the greatest inquietudes, as well as danger; her ship being separated from the rest of the fleet. He first communicated to her the death of her dear son; and then exhorted her to think of installing a new emperor of the family. But she was so deeply affected with the doleful news, that, without either speaking one word, or shedding a single tear, she threw herself into the sea. The ladies and maids of honour who were with her did the same. *Shi-kyay* interred their bodies, with all the decency things would permit; and, with the remains of the fleet, sailed to the coasts of *Tong-king*, where he met with considerable succours. With these he put to sea again for *Quang-chew Fû*, or *Kanton*: but a violent storm arising soon after, the officers would have had him return into port. This he peremptorily refused to do; saying, that a risque must be run, in order, as soon as possible, to set up an emperor of the *Song* family. However, the wind increasing, and the tempest becoming more furious, *Shi-kyay* went upon deck; where, having invoked heaven, and burnt perfumes in honour of the Deity (P), he flung

Y GAUBIL, p. 186, & seqq.

(L) The day *Ji-nû*, of the first month. *Gaubil*.

(M) In the night of the day *Ki-man*, of the second month. *Gaub.*

(N) The day *Quey-wi*.

(O) The space of time between eleven o'clock in the morning, and one in the afternoon. *Gaubil*.

(P) *Gaubil* says, in honour thereof, that is, of heaven: doubtless that the *Dominicans*, and other adversaries of the *Jesuits*, in the famous controversy which helped to

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ruin their mission in *China*, might not lay any-thing like unfair dealing to his charge. But we make no scruple to insert the word Deity; being convinced from reason, as well as facts, that the followers of *Konfûsus* often use the word *tyen*, or *heaven*, as we do, to signify God. Nothing seems to us to discover the hardy temper of some men more than their affirming the contrary opinion.

5 E

himself

himself headlong into the ocean, near the mountain *Hay-lin*. After this, all the officers and a
Mandarins submitted to the *Ywens* or *Mungls*: and the same year the emperor *Hû-pi-lay* found
himself peaceable master of the whole empire of *China*, which had been, for several ages before,
divided among several potentates.

Song dynasty
extinct,

Thus ended the dynasty of the *Song*, whose family-name was *Chau*. The first emperor of
this imperial house was *Chau-quang-yu*, descended from one of the prime families of the empire,
who made himself famous in the wars against the *Kitân*. He established his court at *Kay-
fong-fû*, capital of *Ho-nan*, nine of whose successors reigned there 168 years. The wars which
they had with the *Kin* emperors, obliged them to remove their court to *Hang-chew Fû*, capital
of *Che-kyang*; where it remained 148 years, under seven princes. The two last reigned,
in all, near four years. So that, in the whole, the dynasty of the *Song* continued 319 or b
320 years.

in the year
1279.

S E C T. III.

Commencement of the Ywen dynasty; and its affairs, to the death of Hû-pi-lay.

Pa-se-pa dies.

BEFORE we proceed to the next year, we shall mention the death of the famous Lama c
Pa-se-pa, which happened in this. After his departure, the most extraordinary titles
were conferred on him. They said, *he was above men*; and that *nothing but heaven was above
him*. He was called *the great saint*; *the man of the highest virtue*; *the son of Fo of Si-tyen* (A).
The *Chinese* Literati loudly exclaimed against these titles, and vilified the Bonzas. Nay, several
of them, over-zealous for their doctrine, treated *Hû-pi-lay* as a *Barbarian*, and superstitious
prince; who suffered himself to be governed by women and the Lamas, without courage,
and without genius for government. There is still at *Pe-king* a *Myau* (or temple), built in
honour of *Pa-se-pa*, in the time of the *Mungl* emperors.

The Whang-
ho.
A. D. 1280.

THE general *Ali-baya* having made a great number of slaves in the southern provinces, the d
emperor *Hû-pi-lay* set them all at liberty in the year 1280. In *March* he appointed mathemati-
cians to search for the source of the *Whang-ho*, or yellow river; who, in four months time,
arrived in the country where it rises, and drew a map of it (B), which they presented to his majesty.
Although much mention is made of this great river in the books of the *Chinese*, and its course
is particularly described in the chapter of the *Shû-king*, intitled *Yu-kong*, written at least
above 3920 years ago (C); yet, till the time of *Hû-pi-lay*, the country from whence that
river comes seems to have been unknown to the *Chinese*, who represent it very erroneously
in their books ^a.

Japan sum-
moned.

THE emperor, having long resolved to subdue the kingdom of *Je-pen* (D) (or *Japan*),
or at least render it tributary, sent to summon the king to acknowledge him for his sovereign: e
but the king paid no regard to *Hû-pi-lay*'s letter, which was written in form of an order from a
prince to his subject. The *Mungl* monarch, several years after, sent a deputy thither, who
was killed. Hereupon *Hû-pi-lay*, being enraged, equipped a great fleet, and this year ordered
general *Argan* to attack *Japan*, with an army of 100,000 men. The king of *Korea* had orders
to favour this enterprise; which was disapproved of generally by the *Tatar* and *Chinese* gran-
dees. In *November* was published the astronomy composed by four *Chinese* Literati, who had
been long about it: in which great work *Ko-shew-king* had the chief concern. The mathema-
ticians of the west, who were in great number and credit at court, had already written much
upon that science, and made very beautiful instruments, *Ko-shew-king*, a man of genius,
and extraordinary application, assisted by his three colleagues, and perfectly acquainted with
the methods which those of the west had pursued, put the finishing hand to the *Chinese* astro- f
nomy (E).

Mungl kalen-
dar.

JENGHIZ KHAN gave the care of that science to *Yelu-chu-tsay*. This astronomer had rectified
many of his notions, when he followed that conqueror into the west; and, at his return, pub-

^a GAUBIL, p. 188, & seqq.

(A) This is the name which they give at *Pe-king* to that part of *Hindûstân* where they say *Fo* was born. *Gaubil*.—*Si-tyen* signifies *the western heaven*, or *heaven of the west*.

(B) *Gaubil* tells us this map is lost; but that the greater part of the description which explains that map is still in being. He, from thence, gives an account of the springs of the *Whang ho*.

(C) Reckoning back from about the year 1726

(D) Some call it *Japon*. *Wô* is one of the names

given this island by the *Chinese*, whose books afford less information concerning it, than the relations of the *Europeans*: but then they relate many things with regard to the history of *Japan*, which the *Europeans* know nothing of. *Gaub.*

(E) Our author has spoken at large of the astronomy published in 1280, by order of *Hû-pi-lay*, in a treatise which he sent into *Europe* concerning the *Chinese* astronomy, and which has been printed by *Souciot*.

a lished an astronomy. At the beginning of *Hû-pi-lay*'s reign, the astronomers from the west published two astronomies: one according to the method of the west; the other according to the *Chinese* method, but corrected. *Ko-shew-king* took a middle course; and following, in the mean, the method of the west, preserved as many terms as he could of the *Chinese* astronomy: but intirely reformed it according to the astronomical epochas, and the method of reducing the tables to one certain meridian; as well as of applying afterwards the calculations and observations to other meridians. Besides this, he caused large brass instruments to be made, such as spheres, astrolabes, mariners compasses, levels, and gnomons, of which last sort one was forty feet high.

b THE *Mungl* emperors, who had at their court western, as well as *Chinese*, physicians, and mathematicians, made separate bodies of each, who yet lived in good correspondence. The books, which give the history of those times, praise much, in general, the ability of those strangers; and, in particular, acknowledge, that what is best in *Ko-shew-king*'s work was taken from them.

Tsu-i-yu (F) was one of the great Mandarins who governed the province of *Kyang-nan*; *Abama*'s ma- and highly esteemed, as well by the *Chineses* as *Tatars*, both for his integrity and vigilance. *Ali-baya* had chosen him for one of his lieutenants; and considered him as one of the best officers in his army. This worthy person undertook to make known to *Hû-pi-lay* the malversations of *Abama*: who, full of revenge, accused him, and two other *Mungl* lords who seconded him, with having purloined more than two millions; likewise with turning out and changing
c Mandarins without orders. *Hû-pi-lay* sent commissioners to the several places, to examine into the affair, and they declared *Tsû-i-yu* innocent. *Abama*, resolving if possible to gain his
ends, got others to be sent, who declared *Tsû-i-yu* guilty; and, as such, caused him to be
beheaded (G), with the two lords above-mentioned, in *December*. The prince, who was
appointed heir to the crown, sent officers of his court to quash the proceedings, as soon as he
was apprised of *Abama*'s intrigues; but they arrived too late. The death of *Tsû-i-yu* (H)
made a great noise in the provinces, at court, and in the army: They murmured greatly
against his accuser; and the prince only sought for an occasion to get rid of that evil
minister. *and villainy.*

In *March* 1281, *Hû-pi-lay* having gone to *Sbang-tu*, and left *Abama* (I) to govern at *Ta-tu*, *He is slain.*
d a Mandarin, named *Whang-chu*, went one day to the palace, and slew him at the great gate. As the guards and officers did not mind to seize *Whang-chu*, he easily made his escape, and was satisfied that the prince would save his life. In this confidence, he surrendered himself to the tribunal; and was condemned to death by the commissioners sent by *Hû-pi-lay*. This monarch at last opened his eyes, and saw the crimes of *Abama*. In *April* he ordered his palace to be plundered, his body to be taken out of the grave, cut in pieces, and then cast to the fowls of the air. There was no sort of extortion and oppression but what *Abama* was guilty of: so that the obstinacy of *Hû-pi-lay* in supporting him, notwithstanding the representations of the prince his heir, and the repeated accusations, effectually proved, of the most sage in his counsel, did his reputation no small prejudice^b.

e THE expedition to *Gan-nan* containing, as hath been said, the kingdoms of *Kochin-china* *Losses in Gan-* and *Tong-king* (K), had not the expected success. The king's son would never be prevailed
on to submit; and, with a considerable body of troops, possessed a great part of the country. The general *Su-tû* entered *Gan-nan* in *June*; and meeting at first with no opposition, advanced imprudently, and took the city of *Chen-chen*, which is not far from the south-west point of the island *Hay-nan*, on the south of *China*. The prince amused the *Mungls* with false promises to submit; and, by degrees, seizing the posts between *China* and *Gan-nan*, cut off *Su-tû*'s retreat. The excessive heat incommoded the *Ywen*, accustomed to the northern climates; and their general, who was not supported by a fleet (L), perceiving too late his fault, retired with much courage; but the greater part of his army perished. *nan,*

^b GAUBIL, p. 190, & seqq.

(F) This person was a native of *Tse-cheu*, in *Shan-si*; and his brother a censor of the empire. *Gaubil.* — His name in the original *French* is *Tsouy-yu*; which we choose to write *Tsû-i-yu*, rather than *Tsui-yu*, as it might also be written. Our author not having divided the names into monosyllables, or *Chinese* words, makes it often difficult to reduce them to the idiom of the *English*; without which an *English* reader would be scarce able to read or pronounce them.

(G) This is an ignominious kind of death in *China*.

(H) This year died prince *Mangkola* (by *M. Polo* called *Margala*), third son of *Hû-pi-lay*. *Gaub.* p. 239.

(I) He was a *Mohammedan*, and native of *Khorassân*, in *Persia*; of a family which had furnished generals and ministers to the kings of the country. He was of the city *Parwal*, that is, *Baurd* [or *Barwerd*], of which *D'Herbelot* speaks, p. 195. *Gaub.*

(K) We are told by several *European* travellers, that the language of these two kingdoms is the *Anamitic*, that is, the language of *Anam*, which is a corruption of the word *Gan-nam*. *Gaubil.*

(L) Or perhaps the prince had one in the bay. *Gaubil.*

and Japan.
A. D. 1281.

THE expedition against *Japan*, which was undertaken the next year, had still a worse event a than that to *Gan-nan*. General *Argan* being dead, *Atabay* commanded the fleet: but scarce was it arrived in sight of the island *Ping-hu* (M), when a violent storm arose, which dispersed the ships. *Atabay* hereupon was obliged to put into port; and the rest of the vessels fell into the hands of the *Japanese*, who made slaves of 70,000 *Chinese*s, and flew 30,000 *Mungls*. *Hû-pi-lay* was almost distracted to see his designs upon *Gan-nan* and *Japan* miscarry. In *February* also he received a great loss, by the death of his first wife, the princess of *Hong-kila*, and mother of the prince his heir. The *Chinese* authors represent her as an accomplished lady. She loved the people, and always disposed the emperor to clemency: she likewise took extraordinary care of the late empresses of the *Song*, who were prisoners at *Ta-tû*.

Books of *Tau*
burnt.

HU-PI-LAY was strongly attached to the sect of *Fo*, and openly protected the Lamas, who b were great enemies to the sect of *Tau*; insomuch that, in conjunction with the *Chinese* Bonzas, or priests of *Fo*, who hated them no less than the others, they asked leave to search for and burn all the books of the *Tau-tse*, or Bonzas of the *Tau* sect. The emperor, granting their request, ordered all their books to be burnt; nor was any saved, excepting that called *Tau-te-king*, on account of its antiquity, having been written by *Lau-tse* (N) himself.

Wang-sun
dies.

THE prince *Cheng-kin*'s grief, for the loss of the empress his mother, was increased by that of *Wang-sun*. This lord, who was one of the four concerned in composing the book of astronomy, was very well educated by his father *Wang-lyang*. The famous *Lyew-ping-chong* having recommended him to the emperor *Hû-pi-lay*, this latter appointed him to be near the c person of the prince his heir. *Cheng-kin* quickly took an affection for *Wang sun*, and made him eat at his table. They studied together the book which *Hyu-beng* had written upon history, mathematics, and other sciences. They never ceased encouraging each other to virtue, and were patterns of moderation, and aversion to pleasures. *Wang-sun*'s view was to inspire *Cheng-kin* with a great desire to become a perfect prince; to which end he made him take notice, in *Hyu-beng*'s book, of the virtues and vices of princes, and the true cause of their happy or unhappy reigns. *Wang-sun* died at the age of forty-seven, regretted by all the court. This year also died *Hyu-beng*, so renowned for his virtue, experience, and works. Mean time the emperor sent an officer into *Yun-nan*, to bring away the duties upon gold (O), d which, at this time, was drawn in great quantities from that province.

Affairs of literature.

IN 1282 the emperor ordered the learned men, from all parts of the empire, to repair to court, to examine the state of literature, and take effectual measures for the advancement thereof. He likewise caused sixty great vessels to be built, to transport by sea, from the southern provinces, into *Pe-che-li*, provisions of rice, and other necessaries, which before had been conveyed by rivers, with much trouble, delay, and expence (P). Mean time several kings of the *Indies* sent deputies to pay *Hû-pi-lay* tribute. The most remarkable among them was he of *Ku-long*, a kingdom 100,000 *li* (Q) distant from *China*, who brought as tribute (R) black apes, and precious stones. Towards the end of this year a Bonza of *Fo-kyen*, having given out that *Saturn* had been very near a star named *Ti-tso* (S), or the seat of the emperor (T), the Mandarins presented a petition to *Hû-pi-lay* on that occasion. At the same juncture an e impostor, who pretended to be the emperor of the *Song*, gathered more than 100,000 men; and, in his name, caused billets to be published, importing, that the minister of state need not be astonished; and that, on a day appointed, the houses covered with bulrushes would be set on fire; and that this would be the signal of the sedition in *Ta-tû*.

A Chinese
pretender.

^c GAUBIL, p. 194, & seqq.

(M) Our author says, this island must be near *Japan*, but knows not where it is. There the remains of the shattered fleet being re-united, the *Japanese* took and destroyed them, as in the text. *Marco Polo*, and other authors, speak at large of this expedition; but his date is faulty. *Gaubil*.

(N) He lived several ages before Christ.

(O) There are still rivers in this province, out of which they gather very good gold. *Gaub*.

(P) They were also conveyed, partly by rivers, and partly by sea. *Gaubil*, in a note, gives an account of both these courses.

(Q) That is, 10,000 leagues; a most extravagant reckoning; since *Ku-long* is in the *East-Indies*. *Gaub*. Perhaps *Koulon* in *Malabar*.

(R) The *Chinese*s consider presents from foreign princes as tribute; and their emperor's presents to those

princes as rewards. Likewise the answers they give pass for orders. *Gaubil*.

(S) *Gaubil* knows not what star this is.

(T) There is no country where astrology and fortune-telling is more in request than in *China*. The astronomers have all a treatise, containing the theory and practice of that art, in which are remarked all the appearances of the heavenly bodies, with their prognostics, as they relate to the court or the magistrates: for the stars have all names, which regard the imperial family, governors of provinces, generals of the army, princes, and princesses, over whom they are supposed to have particular influence. In the tribunal of mathematics there are astronomers appointed for this purpose, who yet vary their rules according to the notions or views of the reigning dynasty. Hence their astronomies of different times differ. *Gaubil*.

VEN-

a VEN-TYEN-SYANG having been prisoner in that capital for several years, the emperor sent Kublay's son for him into his presence, and offered to make him one of the ministers of state, if he would enter into his service. *Tyen-syang* thanked his majesty; but told him he should never acknowledge two emperors; and desired to die. Though *Hü-pi-lay* saw he was inflexible, yet he could not resolve to put him to death. But what good-nature would not suffer him to do, superstition, at length, effected. The great men of the court put him in mind of the petition made him, concerning the conjunction of *Saturn* and the star; and would persuade him, that the anonymous minister, mentioned in the billets, was no other than *Ven-tyen-syang*. This wrought so upon the mind of *Hü-pi-lay*, that he at last consented to the death of this great man: who having been conducted to a public place, turned himself towards the south, to honour and salute the court of the *Song* emperors; beat his head against the ground, and received the fatal blow with great courage, in the forty-seventh year of his age. He was born in *Kyang-si*, in the district of *Ki-gan Fû*. Both *Chineses* and *Tatars* lamented his destiny. He was reputed learned, honest, and well versed in affairs. After this they carried into *Tartary* all those of the *Song* race, who were at *Ta-tü*.

b As *Hü-pi-lay* believed it for the glory of his reign to make conquests in *Japan*, in 1283 he commanded general *Atabay* to prepare 500 ships, with victuals and munitions. At the same time an order was published in the provinces, to assemble as many sailors as possible. This order caused much confusion in *Che-kyan*, *Fo-kyen*, and *Kyang-nan*; for the enterprise against *Japan* was not relished by either the *Chinese* or *Tatar* ministers. The officers and soldiers murmured loudly. Besides, commerce was interrupted. The fear of going to *Japan* caused the best seamen to desert: several of them turned robbers: and great numbers of sea-officers, with their crews, became pirates, and infested the coasts. The great men endeavoured to divert the emperor from his design, by representing to him all these evil consequences: but he would not hearken to them. However, *Atabay* met with new difficulties: and the grandees took measures for keeping him a long time without the proper necessaries. In *October* a Mandarin of *Kyen-ning Fû*, in *Fo-kyen*, revolted, and took the title of emperor; but this sedition was immediately quashed.

c This year the prince *Siantar*, followed by the generals *Ku-lye* and *Nasu-la-ting* (U), and others from the western countries, besides *Chinese* and *Tatar*, marching out of *Yun-nan*, entered the country of *Myen* (X). In *November* that prince made himself master of the royal cities of *Kyang-tew* and *Tay-kong*.

d Some good regulations were made also in the state. First, the custom of picking out young maidens through the provinces, to supply the court, having, by means of *Xelu Chu-tsay*, been abolished in the parts of *China* subject to the emperor *Ogotay*, *Hü-pi-lay* ordained that the same regulation should take place in the provinces conquered from the *Song*. Secondly, as the salaries of the Mandarins were not sufficient to support their state, it obliged most of them to take fees from the people; the emperor, therefore, to relieve his subjects after so long a war, doubled the income of those magistrates, and forbade receiving the smallest gratuity, under severe penalties. Whoever robbed, as it is termed, the value of twenty-five pounds, was condemned to death: and those who stole half that sum, were turned out of place, after receiving a heavy bastinado.

e In 1284, *Hü-pi-lay* ordered the Mandarins of the several provinces to send up all who could be found of the *Song* race. This order was obeyed; and the number sent to court was very great: among whom were several considerable Mandarins. The emperor being informed that the sect of *Fo* was in high esteem in *Japan*, he sent Bonzas privately aboard the fleet destined for that country, to get information concerning it. But the sailors, coming to discover their design, threw them into the sea (*).

f LU-SHI-JONG, a native of *Ta-ming Fû*, in *Pe-che-li*, by money, had obtained a considerable employment in the time of *Abama*, whose creature he was. This the emperor well knew: but the love of riches engaged him, by degrees, to follow the selfish views of that projector; who gave out, that the people would be eased, at the same time the revenue became more considerable. *Tong-ywen-yong* spoke loudly against *Shi-jong*, and would have had him turned out, as a bad subject, who ruined the people: but *Hü-pi-lay* punished *Ywen-yong*, and supported *Shi-jong*. This countenance, given to such a man, made *Ho-li-bo-tsun*, one of the principal ministers, lay down his employment; foretelling, that he would prove another *Abama*, and ruin the

(U) *Ku-lye* was much esteemed. *Nasu-la-ting* was an Arab, and a *Mohammedan*, as before-mentioned; by M. Polo called *Nofarain*. *Gaubil*.—Doubtless *Nasreddin*.

(X) The same with *Paga*. What M. Polo calls *Ka-*

ráyam, is a good part of the province of *Yun-nan*. *Gaub.*

(*) This shews, that the idolatrous sect of *Fo* did not so generally prevail then as it has done since; doubtless, through the encouragement given by the *Mughl* emperors.

emperor : who, on his withdrawing, suspended the order which that minister had obtained, a to introduce examinations of the Literati throughout the provinces¹.

his scheme

In February *Hü-pi-lay* demanded of *Shi-jong* what methods he proposed to take, in case he was put into place? *Shi-jong*, in a long discourse, among other things, said, First, that a great quantity of *kashes*, or copper deniers, ought to be made, and tribunals established, at *Hang-chew Fû*, capital of *Che-kyang*, and *Tsven-chew Fû*, a port of *Fo-kyen*, in order to distribute those deniers among the people, and buy the commodities brought thither by the foreign merchants : that the profit arising from thence should be divided into ten parts, seven to go to the treasury, and three to the people : that, as several great lords were possessed of forges, where they made arms, which they sold very dear, he was for taking the iron from them, and employing the money which it yielded to buy grain, in order to fill the public magazines, which he affirmed were every-where empty : that the grain should be sold at a reasonable price ; and that the profit arising therefrom would be very considerable : that none should be allowed to sell wine without a licence : and that the duty upon it should be raised. He was not for laying any upon the provisions and carriage for the armies ; but proposed settling a considerable tax on horses and sheep. He likewise wished that silks, callicos, and stuffs, were bought up from the *Chineses*, to furnish the *Tatars*, who would give those animals in exchange : that *Mungl* families should be appointed to take care of the herds, droves, and flocks ; alleging, that, from the skins, hair, horns, milk, and wool, there would arise great profit, two tenths of which would be sufficient for those families.

approved of.

THE emperor approved of all which was proposed by *Lu-shi-jong*, who had full power c to employ all those whom he judged fit to execute his schemes ; but was so imprudent as to restore a great many commissioners, who had been cashiered, because they were creatures of *Abama*. *Shi-jong* was in every thing supported by *Sang-ko*, brother of the Lama who had succeeded *Pa-se-pa*, in the post of *doctor* and *master of the emperor*, as well as chief of the Lamas. Several Mandarins spoke against *Shi-jong*, one of whom was sentenced to be bastinado'd ; which punishment was executed so severely, that he died of the blows. As the prince, appointed successor, was naturally an enemy to all those kinds of projectors, whose schemes tended only to hinder the circulation of money, reflect on the emperor, and fill the provinces with robbers, he spoke also against *Shi-jong*, and maintained that he did no more than imitate *Abama*. At length a great Mandarin, named *Ching*, made complaint to the d emperor of the unjust death of a Mandarin, who had been killed for having done his duty.

Accused of extortion,

He accused *Shi-jong* afresh, and made it appear, that this Mandarin, during the time that he had the care of the custom-house for *cha* (or tea), in *Kyang-si*, had done nothing but rob with impunity : and that, to raise the emperor's revenue to fifteen millions, he had set on foot a thousand rapines, vexations, extortions, false accusations, unjust confiscations, sales of places, murders, and the like.

convicted, and executed.

THE accusation of *Ching* put all *Ta-tü* in motion. The emperor was much surprised to see it supported by the prince, and most of the great men : so that neither *Sang-ko*, nor his brother, notwithstanding their authority, durst speak in his favour. In short, both he and *Ching* were cited to *Sbang-tü*, where the chief articles of the accusation having been proved against e *Shi-jong*, sentence of death was pronounced upon him by the judges ; and the emperor having approved of their sentence, he was executed on the spot. All the friends and creatures of *Sang-ko* and the criminal were struck with consternation : and *Hü pi-lay* became ashamed of his obstinacy, in upholding a man who had misled him by dazzling appearances.

Loss in Gan-nan.

THE general *Sütü* having made great complaints of the conduct of *Chen-ye-tsven*, the king of *Gan-nan*'s son, by whose artifices such numbers of *Mungl*'s had perished ; *Hü-pi-lay*, to be revenged for this affront, ordered prince *To-whan*, his son, to enter that kingdom ; and appointed general *Li-heng* to command under him. *To-whan* marched from *Yun-nan* ; and, being come to the river *Fü-lang* (Y), he demanded passage of the king of *Gan-nan* to *Chen-chen*, which city and country was possessed by his son. *To-whan* crossed the river on rafts, f and intirely defeated the king's army. Hereupon *Chen-i-tsi*, his brother, came with his ships, and submitted to the prince. However, the troops of *Gan-nan* rallied, and became more animated than before. As it happened to be the middle of summer, the heats and continual rains brought sickness into the *Mungl* army, so that they were not able to march to *Chen-chen* : and, for fear they should all perish, it was resolved to retire to *Yun nan*. The troops of *Gan-nan* pursued the *Twens* ; and, in this retreat, *Li-heng* received a shot with a poisoned arrow, of which he died. The king, after this, got with his army between *China* and *Sütü*,

^d GAUBIL, p. 198, & seq.

(Y) This is the river *Ha-ti lo*, which is a branch of the *Kin-sha*. The *Ching* geography, intitled, *I-tü-chi*, calls this river *Mo-sha-lo*. P. Martini is mistaken about the source of this river. Gaub.

a who knew nothing of the prince's retreat, although but fifteen or twenty leagues distant : but he opened a passage through his enemies ; in which action a great many men were slain on both sides, and, among the rest, *Sâtû* himself, who fell valiantly fighting. He and *Li-keng* were two of the best generals in the empire ; and *Hû-pi-lay* was greatly concerned for their death.

THIS affliction was followed by one more sensible, which was the loss of the prince his heir (Z), who died in *December*, at the age of forty-three. As prince *Cheng-kin*, from his very infancy, discovered an inclination for virtue and good behaviour, the great men admired at it. His father gave him the illustrious *Taw-shû* for a preceptor ; who chose young *Chinese* and *Tatar* lords, of parts and good education, to be about him. The prince became very b learned in military affairs, the science of government, history, mathematics, and the classical books of *China*. He was perfectly acquainted with the nature of the countries both of *China* and *Tartary* ; the number of their inhabitants, their rivers, and their commerce (†). His whole study was to make the people happy ; and he was feared by those bad ministers, who, to please their masters, made use of the most unjust methods. He was generally esteemed and beloved ; nor was accused of any fault. He married the princess *Koko-chin*, of the *Hongkila* (or *Kongorat*) family ; who was of the same character with the prince her spouse ; by whom she had three sons and some daughters. The eldest of his sons was *Kanmala*. The second *Talamapala* ; who died in the reign of *Hû-pi-lay*, and left some children ; the eldest of whom was *Hayshan*. The third son of *Cheng-kin* was *Timûr*, who succeeded his grandfather in the c empire.

IN 1286, the grandees, being under great apprehensions, from the resolution in which the emperor still continued, of attacking *Japan*, they represented to him the danger and inutilty of that enterprise. They likewise laid before him the lamentable condition to which the armament set on foot by *Atabay* had reduced the southern provinces. *Hû-pi-lay* indeed dropped his design ; and caused it to be published, that he ought in that, as well as every thing else, to follow the counsel of those he employed in affairs : but the true reason for that change was, the advice he received that all *Tartary* was on the point of revolting. After the defeat and death of *Siliki*, and losses which the other princes in alliance with *Hay-tû* had received, there seemed nothing farther to be apprehended ; and the complete victory which general *Tûtûba* d had obtained, in 1283, over the confederate princes to the north of the river *Tula*, had confirmed *Hû-pi-lay* in that opinion. But, this year, *Pe-yen*, *Tûtûba*, *Li-ting*, and other generals, in *Tartary*, sent advice to the emperor, that the party of *Hay-tû* was grown stronger than ever : that this prince sent out spies on all sides ; and that it was to be feared, he would gain over to his interest the *Mungl* princes who dwelt to the north-east of *Shan-tong*, bordering on *Liau-tong*.

HU-PI-LAY, profiting by this intelligence, made new regulations to draw over to him the *Chinese*, especially those of *Kyang-nan*, *Fo-kyen*, *Che-kyang*, and some other provinces. In *March* he sent deputies into all parts of the empire, to look out for men skilled in the *Chinese* sciences and arts ; to whom employment was given, and some were brought to court. *Hû-pi-lay* took great pleasure to talk to them himself ; and it was still more pleasing to them to see a *Mungl* emperor well versed in the *Chinese* sciences. In *September*, advice came from the Mandarins of *Fo-kyen*, that ships from more than ninety-nine foreign kingdoms (A) were arrived at *Tsven-chew-fû*, in that province. These kingdoms are all treated as tributary ; but only eight of them are mentioned in the history, and those by names unknown to *Europeans* (B). This news gave a sensible joy to *Hû-pi-lay*, both as they brought much wealth into his dominions, and made the *Chinese* honour him. All the empire of *China* being now under one sovereign, the Bonzas of the sect of *Fo* assembled this year, to the number of 40,000, and agreed upon a form of church-government. They likewise made several statutes, or decrees, and regulations, for their prayers, penances, and other rites.

c GAUBIL, p. 201, & seqq.

(Z) *Marco Polo* speaks of this prince, whom he calls *Chinchi*. *Gaub.*

(†) Hence other nations may learn, what is the proper education for a prince, governors, and legislators.

(A) The kingdoms of *Korea*, *Tibet*, *Gan-nan*, *Lao*, *Siam*, *Pegu*, *Japan*, and others, which have been, at one time or other, tributary to *China*, have maps of their countries, and a present state of their dominions : wherein an account is given of their revenues, number of inhabitants, and other particulars ; whence it is that the *Chinese* historians give a very good account of those countries. The *Chinese* likewise have come to

the knowledge of foreign parts, by means partly of the officers of their armies, which have often been in all the countries as far as the *Caspian* sea ; partly of the Bonzas of *Fo*, who have visited the countries near the *Ganges* and *Indus* ; partly of the *Arabs*, *Persians*, and other foreigners, who have settled in *China*. *Gaubil.*

(B) Viz. *Ma-pa-eul* (or *Mapar*), *Sû-mûn-tû-la* (or *Sumatra*), *Su-men-na*, *Seng-ki-li*, *Ma-lan-tan*, *Lay-lay*, *Na-wang*, and *Ting-ho-eul* (or *Tinghor*). The countries spoken of here are those of *Malakka*, *Sumatra*, the gulf of *Pen-ko-la* (or *Bengal*), and from cape *Komcri* to the *Persian* gulf.

Nayen joins
Hay-tû.
A. D. 1287.

JENGHIZ KHAN had divided *Tartary* into eastern and western; whose limits were nearly in the meridian of *Pe-king*. The exact extent of the western part was not known to our author; but the eastern was divided into twenty departments. That conqueror's youngest brother, *Pye-li Kû-tay*, had the country between the rivers *Liau*, *Toro*, and *Quy-ky*, with part of the country between the *Liau-tong* and the *Liau*. *Nayen*, the great grandson and heir of *Pye-li Kû-tay*, who had enlarged the possessions of his ancestor, and became very potent (C), was gained over to his party by *Hay-tû*, who persuaded him to take arms. General *Pe-yen*, who had been one of the first to give notice of the league between those two princes, was sent towards *Liau-tong*, to see how matters stood; and, having narrowly escaped being taken by *Nayen's* spies, informed *Hû-pi-lay* of the great preparations which were making by that prince. The emperor hereupon ordered *Pe-yen* to encamp between *Karâkorom* and *Shang-tû*, in order to hinder the troops of *Hay-tû*, and other princes his allies, from joining *Nayen* (D). *Li-ting* was commanded to assemble a great body of *Chinese* troops; and the *Tatars* were conducted by *Yusi Temûr* (E), grandson of the famous *Porcbû*, the principal of *Jenghiz Khân's* four intrepids. General *Tûtûba* was likewise called with his forces from *Kin-cha* ^f.

defeated, and
slain.

HU-PI-LAY, having, in *May*, taken the field in person, with design to attack *Nayen*, was advanced with a few troops, when the general of that prince's army came to observe the emperor's camp. *Hû-pi-lay*, though in danger of being carried away, shewed no signs of fear; and, as it was night, his forces, on notice given, hastened to his relief, the horse taking the foot behind them. Mean time *Nayen* lay quiet in his camp, his general not daring to attack the emperor, for fear of an ambuscade. Hereupon *Li-ting*, with ten resolute men, approaching the enemy's camp, shot a cannon (F) into it. The noise so frightened the troops of *Nayen*, which were besides undisciplined, that the general, thinking the whole imperial army was at his heels, took to flight. The *Chinese* and *Tatar* troops being now all arrived, *Nayen* was attacked by the before-mentioned commanders, at the head of their respective bodies, and by *Hû-pi-lay* at the head of his guards. The emperor's presence rendered his troops invincible, and the army of *Nayen* was entirely defeated. That prince himself was taken, and afterwards put to death. The battle was fought near the river *Liau*: after which, *Hû-pi-lay* returned triumphant to *Shang-tû*.

Losses in Gan-
nan.

THE same year, in the first month, prince *To-whan*, the emperor's son, entered *Gan-nan*; and was victorious in seventeen engagements. He plundered the city of *Chen-chen*, and returned to *Yun-nan* with a rich booty. He had scarce reached the borders, when he received advice, that king *Chin-ye-suen* appeared again with mighty forces. This obliged him to make a new expedition to *Gan-nan*; which he entered in *March* 1288, with a considerable army. The king let him advance, and amused him with deceitful negotiations; till, finding the pestilence began to rage in his army, he came with 300,000 men to attack him. The *Mungls*, on his approach, retired towards *Yun-nan*, in good order; nor could the enemy ever make any impression on the van-guard, although general *Sitûr* (G), who commanded it, was both sick and wounded. But the other troops did not escape so well; so that the prince lost a great number before he reached the borders. The emperor on this news reproached him for his imprudence, and took from him the government of *Yun-nan*; giving him a smaller one instead of it, and forbidding him to come to court. The king of *Gan-nan* however sent *Hû-pi-lay* a statue of gold, by way of tribute; and even wrote a very modest letter, in which he owned he had committed a fault in opposing the imperial armies.

Success in
Tartary,

TIMUR (H), grandson of *Hû-pi-lay*, was more successful in the war on the river *Liau*. Prince *Hatan* (I), supported by the princes *Tye-ko*, *Arlu*, and *Tûlûkhân*, having entered into league with *Hay-tû* and *Nayen*, came with a great army to that river; and threatened *Liau-tong*, with the countries bordering on the great wall of *China*. *Pe-yen* had always made head against *Hay-tû*, and hindered his junction with *Hatan*. *Hû-pi-lay* sent his grand-

^f GAUBIL, p. 204, & seq.

(C) He possessed nine of those twenty departments; the eleven others belonged to the lords of five tribes, viz. those of *Chalar* (or *Jaloyr*), *Hongkila* (*Kongorat*), *Alangû*, *Gû-lû*, and *I-kye lye-ise*. *Gaubil*.

(D) *M. Polo* speaks largely of *Nayen's* revolt. The king whom he calls *Laidu* is *Hay-tu*. But the *Chinese* history says nothing either of crosses or *Christians*, *Jews* or *Mohammedans*, being in the armies. *Gaubil*.

(E) *Polo-schan*, famous in the war against the *Song*, was one of his principal generals. *Gaubil*.

(F) The *Chinese* says *Ho-pau*; that is, *fre-pau*. This circumstance of fire, joined to the great noise it made,

makes me call it a fire-cannon. Possibly it was a petard. *Gaubil*.

(G) He was a native of *Kin-cha* [or *Kipjak*]; and was in great reputation. *Gaubil*.

(H) Or *Temûr*, third son of the late prince *Cheng-kin*, and the princess *Koko-chen*. *Hû-pi-lay* loved this young prince much; who, excepting the name and title, had all the privileges and honour of the imperial heir. This is the same *Temûr*, whom *M. Polo* speaks of. *Gaubil*.

(I) He was grandson of *Ha-cho-sen*, third son of *Tû-lûkay*, and brother to *Jenghiz Khân*. *Gaubil*.

- a son *Timûr*, a young prince of great hopes, with orders to follow the advice of *J. Hienûr*, *Tâtûba*, *Li-ting*, and *Polo-whan*. They engaged *Kin-kya-nu*, one of the late prince *Nayen*'s generals: and, after fighting a whole day, with great slaughter on both sides, the two armies separated. *Timûr* being informed, that *Hatan* and his allies were encamped near the river *Quey-ley*, marched against them with his fire-cannon, which *Li-ting* had taken great care to get ready. The battle lasted two days, and was exceeding bloody; in which perished several princes, who were *Hatan*'s allies, the generals of *Nayen*, and their best troops. This victory gave great reputation to prince *Timûr*, and filled with joy the emperor; who designed him for his successor: great elogies were likewise bestowed on the generals who served under him. The prince after this visited all the tribes, which had before been subject to *Na-yen*, *Hatan*,
b and others; and had the pleasure to see their lords submit to him. His affability and clemency gained him the love of the *Tatars*, who in great numbers encamped near the river *Lyau*, *Tiro*, *Quey-ley*, and in other places.

In *October*, *Kong-tsong*, the late emperor of the *Song*, was sent to *Pûtala*, the residence of *Emperor* the Grand Lama, in *Tibet*, to learn the doctrine of *Fo*. The *Chinese* historians blame *Hû-pi-lay* for sending one of their emperors to live among Bonzas; and paint *Kong-tsong* as a poor-spirited prince, who ought rather to have died than dishonoured his name by going to be educated in the doctrines and customs of barbarians. *Kong-tsong turns Bonzo.*

- In *January* 1289, it was resolved to make the canal, called *Whey-tong-ho*; which was to go from *Tsi-ning-chew*, in *Shan-tong*, to *Lin-fing-chew*, in the same province: likewise to make
c a communication between the rivers *Ven* and *Wey*, in the same province. This canal was undertaken to convey provisions to the court (K). In 1287, *Hû-pi-lay* had built a magnificent college (L) at *Ta-tû*, for teaching the *Chinese* sciences, and furnished it with the most able doctors in the empire. There he caused many sons of princes, lords, and great Mandarins, to be brought up. This year, 1289, a second imperial college, of the same kind, was built at *Ta-tû*. *Hû-pi-lay*, who gave the direction of it to the *Whey-hû* (M), was earnest to promote this college; and, in person, exhorted the *Tatar* and *Chinese* grandees, as well as the princes of his own family, to send their sons thither.² *Royal canal. A. D. 1289.*

- PRINCE *Hay-tû*, this year, prevailed on several *Tatar* tribes to the north and north-west of *Karakorum* to revolt against *Hû-pi-lay*. Prince *Hatan* took the field again, and made incursions
d into *Lyau-toug*, and other provinces. *Kin kya-nu*, before-mentioned, a great friend and confident of prince *Na-yen*, at length, joined *Hay-tû*, with his troops. *Pe-yen*, who commanded the imperial camp formed at *Karakorum*, detached a great body of *Kirghis* (N), to join the army commanded by *Kanmala*, eldest son of the late prince *Cheng-kin*: for all which *Hay-tû* surprised and surrounded him, near the river *Selinga*. But *Tâtûba*, being informed of this, immediately set forward with his troops of *Kin-cha* (or *Kipjâk*); and falling on *Hay-tû*, rescued *Kanmala*, who was on the point of being made prisoner. *Tâtûba* received orders after this to join *Hû-pi-lay*; who, notwithstanding his great age, in *June*, marched from *Shang-tû* against *Hay-tû*: But this prince retired, without venturing a battle. However, about the same time, prince *Naymân-tay* attacked, and defeated, *Hatan*, who was encamped near the river *Toro*, which
e falls into the *Non*. *Affairs of Tartary.*

- In *January* 1290, *Hû-pi-lay* published several sage regulations, to advance arts and sciences in the imperial colleges built at *Ta-tû*: he likewise examined into the state of printing and books. In *March*, he enquired how the orders which he had given for the cultivation of lands, silk-worms, and other points relating to commerce, had been executed. In *April*, he sent experienced persons to the kingdom of *Mapâr*, in the *Indies*; with orders to spare no expence to engage men skilled in the sciences, mechanics, officers both for land and sea, and interpreters for divers languages. It cannot be denied, says *Gaubil*, that *Hû-pi-lay* has rendered his name immortal, by what he had done for the advantage of his empire. He caused canals to be dug in several parts of *China*, for the communication of rivers: he sent mathematicians as
f far as fifty-five degrees north, and fifteen or sixteen south, towards *Kochin China*, to observe the latitude of the principal cities in *China*, the capitals of *Gan-nan*, and *Korea*, and of many places in *Tartary*. He was at immense expences to make mathematical instruments, search for old books, send able men into foreign countries, draw others from all parts of the world, *Regulations made regarding literature.*

² GAUBIL, p. 207, & seq.

(K) But it was not finished by the *Taven*, nor till the reign of *Yong-lo*, (third) emperor of the succeeding dynasty of the *Ming*, who joined it to the *W'hang-ho*. *Gaubil*.

(L) At present called *Que-tse-kyen*. A *Que-tse-kyen* was built at *Yen-king*, in the time of *Ogotay* (or *Oktay*); but it made but a poor figure, and was not much resorted to. *Gaubil*.

(M) By *Whey-hû* the *Chinese* understand a *Mohammedan*. But, under the reign of the *Taven*, by that term must be understood the people of the west; that is *Great Bukhâria* and *Karazm*, *Persia*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, and the countries to the west of the *Caspian* sea, and it may be even the *Europeans*. It is not mentioned what arts and sciences were taught in their colleges. *Gaubil*.

(N) In *Chinese*, *Ki-eul-ki-se*. *Gaubil*.

get good books translated into the *Mungl* language, form libraries, build public structures, procure rarities from distant regions, draw commerce from abroad, build ships, and do infinite other beneficial works. These actions are the more commendable, as during his whole reign he had great wars on foot against potent princes of his family, who were jealous of his power and glory.

In *June* were finished the books, containing the doctrines of the Lamas of *Tibet*, written in great letters of gold; and the historians, who had orders to collect the memoirs for the reign of *Quey-yew* (or *Kayuk*), put the finishing hand to their work: soon after which, the history of the reign of *Ogotay* was also completed.

A rapacious
minister

SANG-KO, who was no less covetous and evil-minded than *Abama*, had care of the finances; and his brother, who had succeeded to the titles and dignity of *Pa-se-pa*, disposed *Hû-pi-lay* so much in his favour, that none dared speak of his malversations: however, a lord of the imperial family of the *Song*, named *Chau-meng-fû*, resolved, at all risks, to accuse *Sang-ko*. He began by founding *Che-li*, a lord full of probity, and acceptable to *Hû-pi-lay*; telling him, that it was time to discover to the emperor the crimes of *Sang-ko*: "if we do not," says he, "posterity will accuse us, and we shall pass for men without honour: the good of the empire requires that we should make known the person who ruins it." Hereupon *Che-li*, one day when *Hû-pi-lay* was hunting, spoke freely against *Sang-ko*. The emperor, incensed hereat, ordered him to be bastinado'd, for having spoken very ill of a great man of the court. This lord was so beaten, that the blood came out both of his nose and mouth: he likewise, with faintness, fell to the ground. However, being questioned about the matter, by *Hû-pi-lay*'s order, he had the courage and fidelity to repeat all which he had declared; adding "that the good of the state and honour of the prince alone had moved him to make the accusation; which he was ready to maintain, at the expence of his life." The emperor now repented his having caused *Che-li* to be so ill treated; and knew that other great men proposed to imitate that great lord's zeal.

detested and
ruined.

PU-HU-CHU, lord of the country of *Kang-li*, before-mentioned, who was one of the most steady and sincere men of his time, had orders to examine into the affair. This minister was already acquainted with the rogueries and bad actions of *Sang-ko*: and, as he was a mortal enemy to those who did injustice, spoke of him as a wicked minister, who had deceived his prince, brought trouble and disorder every-where; procured many persons to be unjustly accused, and put to death; and was the true cause that robbers were so numerous. *Pû-hû-chû* intreated the emperor to get rid, as soon as possible, of so great an offender; and did not scruple to affirm, that, if it was delayed, a considerable change was to be feared. What this lord said was confirmed by many other grandees. Hereupon *Hû-pi-lay* complained, that he had not been informed thereof sooner: but these imprudent complaints only drew on him a slur from the censors of the empire; who declared, "that till then it had been dangerous for any one to acquaint him with the intrigues of bad ministers." *Che-li*, now become more in favour than ever, was appointed to take an inventory of *Sang-ko*'s effects, gotten by unjust means; which were immense. They found an infinite number of jewels and precious stones in his palace. They searched likewise that of *Orgun Sali*, an *Igûr*, who was an old pupil of *Pa-se-pa*; and, being in the ministry, was linked with *Sang-ko*. This last was turned out of all his places; and the marble monument demolished, which his pride had prompted him to raise to his memory, with his elogy cut upon it^a.

In *June*, *Hû-pi-lay* forbade the *Mungls* to go trade in the countries of the west: and, in *August*, some foreigners presented him with books written in gold characters, and several lions.

A villainous
Lama

At this time there was a Lama of *Tibet*, in the southern provinces, in great reputation among the *Mungls*. For all this, he was a mere hypocrite, and corrupt mortal, who loved money to excess. He counterfeited the emperor's mandates, and gave false licences; intimidated several wealthy families, promised and procured places: in short, he made use of all sorts of unlawful means to become rich. His passion for money carried him so far as even to take up the bodies of the *Song* emperors, princes, and great men, whose tombs were near *Shau-king-fû*, in *Che-kyang*; where, it is said, he found abundance of gold, silver, and jewels. Of their bones, mixed with those of oxen and horses, he raised a pyramid; which sight filled the *Chinese* with indignation; nor needed there more to excite a general revolt. Hereupon the Mandarins of those places imprisoned the Lama, confiscated his goods, and condemned him to death; but, being supported at the court by several *Mungl* lords, and the ladies, at the instigation of the Lamas, who had great influence over them, so wrought on *Hû-pi-lay*, that the Lama was discharged, and great part of his treasures restored to him. This unjust change of the sentence did the emperor's character much prejudice. The *Chinese* cannot forgive him

condemned, yet
pardoned.

^a GAUBIL, p. 211. & seq.

a this weakness: and their history, on this occasion, renews its complaints against him, for having had so great an affection for the Lamas: *Men*, says it, *at least very useless to the empire.*

HU-PI-LAY, being told of several isles, named *Lyew-kyew* (O), to the east of *Fo-kyen*, was *Expedition: land side.* immediately for sending an army to subdue them; but was diverted from that enterprise: however, he was at great expences to fit out ships to discover those isles. He would likewise have sent armies into the kingdom of *Gan-nan*: but the generals and ministers presented him a petition, exhorting him not to renew a war, which experience had shewn to be so hurtful to the state; and pointed out other ways of inducing the king of that country to become tributary to the empire. *Hû-pi-lay* followed their advice; and turned his thoughts wholly to secure *Tartary* against the designs of *Hay-tû*, and the other rebel princes.

b THE first day of the *Chinese* year (P) is a day of public rejoicing at the court, and through the *Chinese super-* provinces. The sight of the princes, great men, and Mandarins, who, on this occasion, *sition* appear at the palace, in their habits of ceremony, to strike their heads nine times before the emperor, gives a grand idea of the majesty of the empire. But if an eclipse of the sun, which *about natural* was always a bad omen with the *Chinese*, happens on that day; it is, according to the *Chi-* *events.* *nese* astrology, a certain token that heaven threatens an approaching danger. Towards the end of the year 1291, the tribunal of mathematics presented a petition to the emperor, to A. D. 1291. acquaint him; that, by the calculus, a solar eclipse would happen on the first day of the next year. After the examination usual on such occasions, the court thought proper to order, that on new-year's day there should be no compliments of felicitation, nor public rejoicing (Q);

c The *Chinese* likewise, who piqued themselves on their wisdom, did not fail to lay hold of this opportunity to exhort *Hû-pi-lay* to correct any defects which he might, on examination, find in his conduct or government; and by that means render heaven propitious. The eclipse was observed with the usual ceremonies; and the day which should have been a day of public joy, was a day of sadness.

THIS year, 1292, was made the canal, called *Tong-whay* (R), which runs from *Pe-king* to *Victory in* *Tong-chew*: and several Mandarins belonging to the finances, who were friends of *Sang-ko*, *Tartary.* were put to death. Prince *Mengli Timûr*, leagued with *Hay-tû*, appeared also to the north of A. D. 1292. the great *Kobi*, or desert. *Pe-yen* retired towards *Karakorum*, as it to defend that city; but it was only to watch an opportunity for attacking that prince with advantage. At length, one

d day in *October*, he drew out his army; and, without giving any orders or directions but to follow him, with his sword drawn, galloped full-speed towards the camp of *Mengli Timûr*: who, not able to resist the attacks of *Pe-yen*'s troops, fled with a few horsemen, and left his army to the mercy of the enemy, by whom the greater part of them were slain.

HU-PI-LAY had an extraordinary fondness to be known and esteemed in foreign countries. *Expedition to* The great number of *Indian* ships which arrived in *Fo-kyen*, gave him frequent opportunities to *Qua-wa,* send Mandarins to treat with the princes of *India*; and induce them to communicate to him the curiosities of their respective dominions. The *Indians* were great gainers by their commerce with *China*; from whence they brought vast sums of money: and *Hû-pi-lay*'s deputies had been often well received by the king of *Mapâr*. But not long before, having sent a *Chinese* grandee, named *Mengki*, to *Qua-wa*; the king, for what reason does not appear, caused him to be branded in the face with the marks which are often put on highwaymen, and then dismissed him. The *Chinese* lords, enraged to see a great Mandarin of their nation dishonoured by a prince whom they considered as a barbarian, petitioned the emperor to revenge the affront. *Hû-pi-lay* made a great stir about this insult upon one of his envoys; and ordered a considerable number of ships of war, and other vessels, to be gotten ready, at *Tsuen-chew-fû*, in *Fo-kyen*. This province, with those of *Kyang-fû* and *Hû-quang*, furnished 30,000 resolute soldiers, *a part of In-* and the *Chinese* grandees were very earnest to have the fleet well provided. It consisted of one dia.

(O) It is doubtful, whether the isles of *Lyew-kyew*, which *Hû-pi-lay* would have conquered, were the same with those at present called *Lyew-kyew*. The geography *I-tong-chi* gives that name to the isles of *Pong-hû* and *Formosa*: affirming, that *Formosa* is the *Lyew-kyew* which *Hû-pi-lay* wanted to subdue. *Lyew-kyew* is the name of several islands, whose prince often sent deputies to the emperor of *China*, to pay him homage and tribute. They lie between *Formosa* and *Japan*. One of them is near *Sasuma*, which the *Portuguese*, and, after them, some *French*, write *Saxuma*: but I do not know any thing exactly about the number or largeness of those islands. *Gaubil.*

(P) The first day of the year is the first of the first moon; and the first moon is that in the course of which the sun enters the sign of *Pisces*. *Marco Polo* says, the first day of the year at the court of *Kublay* answered to the first of *February*: but it appears from the annals of

that emperor, both in the *Chinese* and *Tatar* language, that the civil year was then the same that it is at present. *Gaubil.*

(Q) These superstitious notions about the ill presage of an eclipse of the sun, have sometimes thrown the *Chinese* Kalendar into confusion. It has been often dangerous to declare that an eclipse would happen on the first day of the year: so that more than once, to avoid disturbing the emperor, and to deceive the people, they have intercalated a month. They have made the eclipse fall on the last day of the twelfth month of the former year, on the first of the twelfth intercalated month, or on the first of the second month of the same year. *Gaubil.*

(R) It is named at present *Ta-tong-ho*, the river or canal of *Ta-tong*. In digging the earth, they found remains of an antient canal, which joined the rivers *Wben* and *Pe* together. *Gaubil.*—P. 588 called *Whay-tong ho*.

thousand

thousand ships, including vessels of burden and others, with provisions for a year. *She-pe*, a native of *Pau-ting Fu*, in *Pe-che-li*, had the chief command. *Kau-bing*, of *Ju-ning-fû*, in *Ho-nan* was general of the 30,000 troops; and *Ye-be-mi-she*, an *Igâr*, commanded the sailors. *Ye-be-mi-she* and *She-pe* had been in the *Indies* before, and understood the language of *Qua-wa*.

THE fleet set sail in *December*, and steered directly for the south part of *Tong-king*, bordering on *Kochin China*; then, sailing along a mountainous coast, they entered the sea of *Wen-tun* (S). At length, they came in sight of certain mountains (T); where they cut wood to build little barks; and, in *September* 1293, by help of those barks, landed their troops¹.

The country described.

THE kingdom of *Qua-wa* is near that of *Ko-lang*. The *Chinese* books of geography say, *Qua-wa* is the name given in the time of the *Twen* to the country antiently called *Tû-po*; which is represented as a great island in the sea, lying to the south of *China*; and that the *Bonzas* of *Fo* call it the kingdom of the *Quey*, or *spirits*: but nothing is spoken of the situation of *Quey*; and others say, that *Qua-wa* is not far from the kingdom of *Kamboja*, in the farther peninsula of the *Indies*. In a very large general chart or map, made by order of the late emperor *Kang-hi*, and kept with great care in the palace, whereon that monarch ordered to be written the names which the *Chinese* give to foreign countries known to them, the characters of *Qua-wa* take up good part of the hither peninsula where *Kochin* stands. But our author thinks this cannot be the *Qua-wa* in question. He rather judges it to be the island of *Borneo*; especially, as a *Chinese* fleet, with 30,000 troops on board, could not, in his opinion, sail in sixty-eight days from *Kochin* to *Tsven-chew-fû*, in *Fo-kyen*: although he confesses most of the *Chinese* geographers have committed great errors, both in the distances and bearings of the islands (U) off the coasts of *India*, *Persia*, and *Arabia*.

The Mungl general

BUT to return to the history. *Ta-nay-kya-lay*, king of *Qua-wa*, going to war with *Hachi-ka-fû*, king of *Ko-lang*, was killed in battle. Hereupon *Tû-han-pi-tû-ye*, his son-in-law, undertook to continue the war: but, being baffled in all his attempts, as soon as he heard of *She-pe*'s arrival, and the occasion of his coming, he submitted to him; and offered to give up all he was possessed of. This he did the better to deceive the *Chinese*, while he took measures underhand to destroy their army. He gave the general a map of the country of *Ko-lang*, and persuaded him to conquer it; promising to join him with his troops. *She-pe*, who believed all which *Tû-han-pi-tû-ye* told him, left officers to guard the fleet, and divided his forces into three bodies, in order to attack *Ta-she*, the capital of *Ko-lang*. The *Chinese* found an army of 100,000 men ready to oppose them: but, after a battle, which continued from sun-rise till noon, the *Ko-lang* troops were defeated, and retired into the city. However, the king, unwilling to undergo a siege, came out and surrendered, with his wife and children; who were all killed.

duped by the king.

A. D. 1293.

TU-HAN-PI-TU-YE after this asked leave to return to his dominions; which motion was opposed by *Qua-heng*: but *She-pe* and *Ye-be-mi-she* gave their consent; which they in a little time repented: for, next year (X), that king, renouncing all which he had promised, instead of obeying *She-pe*'s orders, came with a considerable force to cut off his retreat towards the fleet; which was thirty leagues distant, *She-pe*, who too late saw he was betrayed, defended himself with much valour, and retired in good order to the sea-coast; where, having embarked with his troops, he, in sixty-eight days, arrived at *Tsven-chew-fû*. In this expedition he lost 3000 men; but brought off a great booty in gold and precious stones. The emperor punished both him and *Ye-be-mi-she*; and confiscated two thirds of their effects, for not obeying his commands, and for letting *Tû-han-pi-tû-ye* escape. However being good officers, they were soon after pardoned; and the *Chinese* grandees were satisfied to let the king of *Qua-wa* and others see, that, notwithstanding their great distance, they would not fail to revenge the affronts offered to them.

Pe-yen recalled

GENERAL *Pe-yen* had hitherto kept *Tartary* in subjection, in spite of the power and efforts of *Hay-tû*, and other princes of the imperial family: the emperor was fully convinced of his great services, and resolved to reward them in a signal manner. However, several grandees, jealous of that general's glory, told *Hû-pi-lay*, that it was dangerous to let him continue so long at the head of the troops of *Tartary*: and even insinuated that he was clandestinely in league with *Hay-tû*. The emperor well knew that jealousy was the ground of their informations, although he said nothing. In *June* he talked of declaring *Timûr* hereditary prince; and ordered him to prepare forthwith for going to command the army against *Hay-tû*. General *Yusi-temûr* was named to succeed *Pe-yen*; who received an order to repair to *Tay-tong-fû*, as

¹ GAUBIL, p. 214 & seq.

(S) That is, the immense chaos, which seems to be the ocean. *Gaubil*.

(T) *Kan-lan*, *Yu-kya*, *Li-ma-ta*, and *Kew-lang*. *Gaubil*. —It is not said in what country; but we presume they belong to *Qua-wa*.

(U) Yet, by attending to the account which is given of those different parts, it is easy to know many of them. *Gaubil*.

(X) In *January* this year, the buildings of *She-tsi* were finished. *Gaubil*.

a soon as *Timûr* arrived at *Karakorum*. This prince made no great haste to get to the imperial camp, as he loved *Pe-yen*, and was sensible he knew better than himself how to deal with *Hay-tû*: *Yûsi-temûr* was in the same sentiments with *Timûr*. Mean time *Pe-yen*, though informed of all, behaved as if he knew nothing of what passed: he decamped from *Karakorum*, and marched northward to meet the army of *Hay-tû*, who was again defeated and obliged to retire.

A FEW days after the battle, *Timûr* and the new general arrived at the camp: where, in out of the presence of the officers, the prince notified to *Pe-yen* the emperor's orders; and commanded him to repair to *Tay-tong-fû* in *Shan-si*, there to wait his imperial majesty's further pleasure. The generals who served under *Pe-yen*, and were strongly attached to him, could not forbear b expressing their surprise: but grew easy again, when they saw that the prince made him eat at his own table, and bestowed considerable presents on him. Before *Pe-yen* set out, *Timûr* sent is greatly for him, and with tears embraced him, intreating him to give him some instructions. Prince, poured. said the general, *love neither women nor wine, and every thing will succeed with you*. *Pe-yen* went to *Tay-tong-fû*, and there received an order to repair to court. Where being arrived, the emperor, to the confusion of the jealous grandees, received him with much honour; publicly extolled his fidelity and services; declared him his prime minister, and gave him in particular the general command, as well of the troops which composed his own guard, as those which encamped in great numbers about *Ta-tû* and *Shang-tû*^k.

c IN September, *Hû-pi-lay* returned from *Shang-tû* to *Ta-tû*; and next month was frightened at the sight of a comet. The Chinese history carefully takes notice of these phænomena which d have happened, as well as the panics which have seized the emperors on such occasions. The astrologers have likewise been assiduous to collect the events which came to pass after a comet had appeared; and pretend that it is designed as a favour from heaven to warn crowned heads to take care of themselves. *Hû-pi-lay* had given into these false ideas: the first day of the comet he sent for *Pû-hû-chû*, one of his ministers, to know what he had best to do to appease the anger of the deity. *Pû-hû-chû* passed the whole night in the emperor's chamber, and recited several passages of the *I-king* and *Shi-king* (Y); to shew with what respect he ought to receive the advice which heaven gives, and how much its anger ought to be dreaded. He produced instances from the ancient history, to shew that the principal business of a prince d should be the practice of virtue; and that on the appearance of eclipses, comets, and earthquakes, he ought seriously to examine his own heart, and, above all, in what manner he governs his people.

THE minister dwelt particularly on the history of *Ven-ti*, emperor of the western *Han*; and Kublay's set forth the use which that prince had made of the appearance of several phænomena. *Hû-pi-lay* was so well pleased with the instance of *Ven-ti*, that he thought he could never talk himself, or hear *Pû-tû-chû* talk, enough about it. Mean time he fell sick, and, in January 1294, died A. D. 1294: in his palace at *Ta-tû*, in the eightieth year (Z) of his age.

THE Chinese historians charge *Hû-pi-lay* with being superstitious to excess, and ridiculously and character: attached to the Lamas. They likewise accuse him with loving women and money; with e having sacrificed too many men in the wars of *Japan* and *Gan-nan*; and too much promoted foreigners of the west. On the other hand, the *Tatars* and foreigners have always considered the reign of *Hû-pi-lay* as one of the most glorious that ever was; and it is certain this prince had great qualities. He was learned, courageous, and magnificent, a friend to men of letters; and if he loved money, it was with a view to execute the great designs which he conceived in his mind; whose object was generally the glory of the empire, and the public good.

HU-PI-LAY was the fourth son of prince *Toley* and the princess *Sarkutna*; brother to the Wives and emperor *Meng-ko* and the king *Hyu-la-gû*; and grandson of *Jenghîz Khân*. He married a great f many wives, five of whom bore the title of empresses. By these he had ten sons: 1. *Turchi*, who died without issue. 2. *Cheng-kin*, who had been declared heir, but died in 1285. 3. *Mang-kola*, governor general of *Shen-si*, *Se-chwen*, and *Tibet*. 4. *Gantan-pûwha*. 5. *Nan-mû-han*. 6. *Ukoche*. 7. *Gayyache*. 8. *Gaulûche*. 9. *Kokochû*. 10. *Choan*. Besides these princes, he had several daughters¹.

^k GAUBIL, p. 218, & seq.

¹ Ibid. p. 221, & seq.

(Y) Two of the classical or canonical books of the Chinese; which *Konfutsius*, and his successors in doctrine, have commented on. These false notions are inculcated as supposed to be the only check on princes.

(Z) *La Croix* puts his death in the same year; and

says, he reigned twenty-five (a mistake, perhaps, of the press for thirty-five) years. *Abû'lghazi Khân* says, he reigned thirty-five, and lived seventy-three years; but does not mention that of his death: of these thirty-five years he reigned fifteen over *China*.

his extensive
power.

THE *Persian*, and other western historians of *Asia*, have written entire books on the exploits a of this famous Khân; but scarce any thing of moment hath as yet been communicated from them. Besides what has been already inserted in our notes, relating to *Arikbuga* (or *Alipuko*); the sum of all is as follows: that *Hulâkû*, being wiser than his brother *Arikbuga*, sent to compliment *Kublai*, or *Koplay Khân*, upon his advancement to the empire; and had all the countries possessed by the *Mungls* to the south of the *Amû*, granted to him in return: that *Kublai*, hearing of *Hulâkû*'s death in 1265, installed *Abâka Khân* in his room: that *Burgha* (or *Berek*) *Khân* remained in possession of *Kipjâk*: and *Algû* (A), *Jagatay*'s grandson, had for his share all the countries lying between the *Amû* and mount *Altay*: lastly, that *Koplay* died full of glory, after he had taken the town of *Zimû*, or *Jinû*^m; a mistake, perhaps, for the country of *Chin*, or *China*. *Hû-pi-lay* was the sixth Khân of *Great Tartary*, and the first *Mungl* emperor who b reigned over that country and all *China*.

Remarks on
him,

BEFORE we proceed to the next Khân, it will be proper to make a few remarks. *Hû-pi-lay*, that he might please his conquered subjects, and not disoblige his natural ones, divided his reign between them, residing part of the year in one country, and part in the other. For which purpose he fixed the capital of each near the frontiers of both, as well as one another; and his successors followed his example as long as they remained in possession of *China*, where he founded the empire of the *Mungls*: for, although his ancestors were possessed of the northern part of it, yet the *Chineses* would not acknowledge them as their sovereigns, so long as any of the *Song* emperors, their natural lords, reigned in the southern provinces. After the subjugation of the whole *Chinese* empire, and extinction of the *Song* race, they were obliged to acknowledge them c for their masters: but they, in effect, subdued the *Mungls* in their turn, by giving them their manners, customs, and even their forms of government and policy. In consequence of this, their historians have, in effect, turned the *Mungl* emperors, from *Hû-pi-lay* downwards, into *Chineses*: they have separated them from the line of *Jenghîz Khân*, made a distinct dynasty of them, and placed *Hû-pi-lay* as the head and founder of it; considering all his predecessors as Khâns of *Tartary* only. The more also to naturalize this race, and make them their own, they have changed the title of the dynasty from *Mungls*, or *Moguls*, into that of *Ywen*; as well as the name of *Hû-pi-lay* (or *Kublai*), and his successors, who reigned in *China*.

and the Chi-
nese histori-
ans.

respecting his
dynasty.

THE *Mungl* emperors, therefore, from *Hû-pi-lay*, are to be considered in two different respects: viz. either as they make part of the *Mungl* Khâns of the line of *Jenghîz Khân*, who d reigned over the *Mungl* empire in *Tartary*, *China*, and other countries; or only as a distinct race of emperors reigning in *China*, to which those other regions, and even *Tartary* itself, is supposed to be subject. It is in the first of these lights that we have treated of them here (although, for want of other sources, we are obliged to draw our materials from the *Chinese* authors): because the province which we have undertaken in this place, is the history of the *Mungls* and *Tatars*. They will likewise be considered briefly hereafter in the second light, when we come to speak of *China*.

^m LA CROIX, ubi supra, p. 400. ABU'LGHASI, ubi supra, p. 162.

(A) The same, probably, called *Hay-tû*, in the *Chinese* history: although the reign neither of *Algû*, nor his successor *Baruk Khân*, who, according to the oriental

historians, made war on *Kublai*, will synchronize with the time of this latter, or of *Hay-tû*. See hereafter.

B O O K VI.

The history of Jenghîz Khân's successors in Tartary and China.

C H A P. I.

The reign of Timûr, called by the Chinese Ching-tsong.

AFTER the death of *Hû-pi-lay* (or *Kublai*), *Pe-yen*, as prime minister, and general of the army, gave the necessary commands, to prevent all disorder; and invited *Timûr* to come immediately, and be acknowledged emperor, pursuant to the last will of his grandfather. This appointment he also notified to the princes, and other generals of the troops; giving them to understand, at the same time, that he would not suffer the least opposition to it. The assembly met, by agreement, in *April* 1294; where, notwithstanding, several princes intended to declare somebody else emperor. Then *Yusi Timûr* spoke; and said, That it was proper, without delay, to instal *Timûr*, according to the intention of *Hû-pi-lay*. *Pe-yen* seconded *Yusi Timûr*; and, drawing his sword, declared he would never acknowledge any other emperor than *Timûr*. The general *Ywe-chechar*, great grandson of *Porgû*, one of *Jenghîz Khân's* four intrepids, was of the same opinion, as well as all the other generals: it was known also, that the *Chinese* great men would declare for *Timûr*. Hereupon *Kanmala*, eldest son of the late prince *Cheng-kin*, gave his vote for *Timûr*, his youngest brother: the other princes did the same; and, in short, all fell on their knees before that prince, to acknowledge him for emperor. Notice was immediately given of this to all the tribes, generals of troops, and mandarins of the provinces of *China*: a general amnesty was published likewise, according to custom.

Sixth Khân, Timûr.

A. D. 1294.

ONE of the first acts of *Timûr*, who is known to the *Chinese* by the name of *Ching-tsong*, was, to give the title of emperor to his father, and that of empress to his mother. He likewise erected monuments to the memory of his father *Cheng-kin*, grandfather *Hû-pi-lay*, and the princess his grandmother; punctually paid what was due to the princes and princesses of his house, to the generals and mandarins: shewed great marks of confidence to his brother *Kanmala*, and declared him his lieutenant-general in *Tartary*. He appointed generals to oppose *Hay-tû*, and other princes of his party. He provided for the security of the provinces by a choice of good officers, giving full powers to *Pe-yen*, *Yusi Temûr*, *Ywe-chechar*, *Tûtûba*, and others, in all matters whatsoever which concerned war. He caused the finishing stroke to be given to the history of *Hû-pi-lay*; made peace with the king of *Gan-nan* (*); and ordered commerce with *India* to be renewed, which had been interrupted by the war with *Qua-wa* (†).

His first act.

IN *December* this year died the famous *Pe-yen*, at the age of fifty-nine, with the reputation of being one of the greatest men whom either *China* or *Tartary* ever produced. The emperor, the princes, the generals, and universally all the officers, mourned his death a long time; and the *Chinese* historians have bestowed on this general a magnificent elogy.

Death of Pe-yen.

THE year 1295 is marked for the first of *Timûr's* reign by the *Chinese*, who usually reckon to the deceased emperor that in which he dies (A). At the beginning of it, lands were given in the southern provinces, to the soldiers, on condition, to keep in awe the *Myau-tse*: a kind of independent people, who inhabit certain mountainous parts of *Se-chwen*, *Quey-chew*, *Hu quang*, *Quang-si*,

(*) Containing *Tong-king* and *Kochin China*.(†) Supposed to be near *Kamboja*.(A) Altho' this rule or custom is not always observed, many instances being found to the contrary. *Gauth.*

Quang-tong, and elsewhere; having languages and laws different not only from the *Chinese*, but from one another. In *April* there happened a grievous famine, on which occasion *Timûr* shewed his readiness to succour the people; he caused large alms to be distributed every-where to the poor, and the public granaries to be examined: henceforth also he forbade the felling of civil employments^a.

Good regulation.

In 1296 the daughters and sisters of the *Mungl* emperors, as well as the princes and grantees their husbands, were possessed of very great privileges. By little and little they had assumed to themselves the right of judging, and putting to death, their vassals and domestics. Several abuses on this occasion determined *Timûr* to make a law, that no person whosoever should condemn another, without having the emperor's consent; which regulation is highly praised by the *Chinese*s.

A. D. 1297. In 1297 the empress-mother had a mind to go to *U-tay-shan*, a mountain near the city of *U-tay* (B), to see the temple which she had built in honour of *Fo*. As this journey must have been very chargeable to the people, and besides, was not agreeable to the emperor her son, who, through respect, would not oppose it openly, the *Chinese* great men, deeply averse to the worship of *Fo*, presented that princess with a petition full of spirit and eloquence. After delicately setting forth her known tenderness and compassion for the people, they exaggerate the number of persons ruined, or dead, on occasion of that temple; and make a dismal representation of the evils which such a progress would bring on the inhabitants of *Pe-che-li* and *Shan-si*; nor did they spare to exclaim against the worship of *Fo*. Hereupon the empress desisted from her design; and, as she saw that the emperor did not approve of it, she was unwilling to give him the least uneasiness.

Hay-tû defeated.

A. D. 1297.

TIMUR, when he appointed his brother *Karmala* for his lieutenant-general in *Tartary*, and *Ywe-checkar* for general of the troops, ordered them to follow the counsels of *Tûtûba*, prince of *Kin-cha* (C), who had beaten prince *Hay-tû* in several engagements. *Tûtûba* died in 1295, at *Swen-hû-fû* in *Pe-che-li*, as he was setting out for *Tartary*, to command one of the armies designed against the same enemy. He was succeeded in his title and honours by his son *Chobangûr*, who was as great a captain as his father, under whom he always served with distinction. This general, being in 1297 appointed to oppose *Hay-tû*, who was advanced as far as the country of *Parin*, marched at the head of his troops of *Kin-cha*; and, finding him encamped along the river *Arû*, prepared to attack him: but in *October* he fled, and retired towards the north. Next year prince *Tuwa*, *Hay-tû*'s brother, was defeated by *Chobangûr*, to the west of the mountain *Altay*, towards the source of the river *Irtish*. In *August* a detachment of *Hay-tû*'s army, being met by prince *Ko-li-ki-tse*, who had married the emperor's daughter, he defeated them three times: but, falling from his horse, was taken, and carried to *Hay-tû*, whose great offers he refused, chusing to be slain, rather than prove unfaithful to *Timûr*.

Timûr's charity.

A. D. 1299.

In *January* 1299 this monarch sent mandarins into all the provinces, to examine into the losses which the people had suffered; the damages which the troops had caused; the families of mandarins, who had not wherewithal to live on, suitable to their condition; and the peasants, who could not cultivate the lands. These commissioners gave a real relief to the poor, the diseased, the old officers who were no longer able to serve, and to their families. This conduct loaded *Timûr* with the publick applause: he refused continually to declare war against *Japan*, altho' several *Mungls*, who delighted in blood and slaughter, urged him to it. The emperor declared, that he would live in peace, and banish the vices which reigned in the empire. He daily inquired into the miseries of the people, and seemed to be sensible only of the glory of making them happy.

The history, however, blames *Timûr* for having sent a bonzâ, in quality of envoy, to *Japan*, in *February* this year: it praises the emperors, who sent deputies to foreign courts; and adds, that, for such commissions, it is necessary to chuse out men of credit and titles, and such as do honour to the empire by their magnificence, gravity, and air of grandeur, worthy the dignity of their prince.

An eclipse mistaken.

The tribunal of mathematics having foretold an eclipse of the moon for *August*, which did not happen; the great lords, to save its credit, represented to the emperor, that heaven had for that time, in his majesty's favour, caused a change in the motion of the sun. *Timûr* did not believe what they said; yet, without punishing the tribunal, sent them notice, to set the stars in order again.

In the year 1300 *Lyew-shen*, a general of the troops, represented to the court, that the kingdom of *Pa-pe-si-fû* (D) would not receive the calendar of the empire; and prayed his majesty

^a GAUBIL, hist. Gentel. p. 223, & seq.

(B) In the district of *Tay Tzen-fû*, capital of *Shan-si*. *Gaubil*.

(C) The same with *Kapchak* or *Kipjak*.

(D) A pretty large country, between *Ten-nou* and

Bengâl in *India*; but the air is very unwholesome, and the people poor; and were, at that time, cruel and barbarous. *Gaubil*.

a to permit him to compel the inhabitants to follow the form of the *Chinese* year, and reckon their months like the subjects of the emperor. One of his ministers, called *Wan-tse*, considering this as a serious affair, persuaded the emperor, in *December*, to attack the kingdom of *Pa-pe-si-fû*. *Alaasun* opposed that resolution; alleging, that the people, whom they would attack, were barbarians; that, indeed, they might be instructed, if his majesty thought fit; but that it would be of no use, as well as dangerous, to make war upon them. The emperor said nothing to the minister *Alaasun*; but, contrary to his custom, he fell in a passion at another mandarin, who went about to give his advice. In effect, *Lyew-shen* was ordered, with 20,000 men, to attack *Pa-pe-si-fû*^b.

Pa-pe si-fû invaded.

But it was not long before *Timûr* repented this unfortunate war: most of the troops perished by famine or sickness, and the province of *Yun-nan* suffered much. The bordering people, who, till then, had lain quiet, took arms, and plundered several countries subject to the emperor. This war at length became serious; many excellent officers died in it; so that the troops of *Hû-quang*, *Se-chwen*, *Sben-si*, and *Yun-nan*, were obliged to march; and *Koko* (E), son of *Hû-pi-lay*, had orders to support those troops, in case of need. *Teshtar* (F) and *Lyew-kû-kyay* (G), after many difficulties and losses, subdued *Pa-pe-si-fû*, and pacified the troubles which the *Myau-tse*, and the people of the frontiers, had excited: nor was it till the year 1303 that an end was put to the war. The emperor often let *Alaasun* know, that he repented having not followed his advice: which occasion a great mandarin laid hold of to represent to his majesty, that, for thirty years past, the empire had been at exorbitant expences to make war on *Japan*, *Gan-nan*, *Qua-wa*, and *Lyew-Kyew*, without the least profit. He compared those wars to that of *Pa-pe-si-fû*; and added, that the honour of the emperor required that he should put to death the general *Lyew-shen*, as having deceived his prince. Several of that general's friends represented, that he ought to enjoy the amnesty: but *Alaasun* made the same representation as the mandarin; and *Lyew-shen* had his head struck off.

and reduced.

A LORD of the kingdom of *Myen* (or *Pegû*), having revolted against his king (H), seized him, confined him in a stable, and, in *May* 1300, slew him. The king's second son escaped to *Ta-tû*, and, on his knees, asked assistance from the emperor. *Timûr*, by advice of his council, granted his request, as being a tributary prince; and *Suechawr*, great general in *Yun-nan*, was ordered to enter *Myen*, and attack the rebels. He did so; but was worsted, with his lieutenants, who returned to *Yun-nan*, after spreading a report, that they had made all things quiet. However, the court had intelligence, that several great officers had been corrupted by the rebel; who, being tryed for the same, were found guilty, and put to death: nor did *Suechawr* escape punishment; for he was degraded, and his goods were confiscated.

Rebellion in Pegû.

The same year died *Pû-hû-chû*, one of the ministers; a *Kangli* by nation, and one of the wisest men of his time. He held the chief employments in the empire, and yet died very poor. His children inherited his probity, and love for the sciences. His wife, who had as much virtue as her husband, was continually at work with her hands, nor was ashamed to make use of them to maintain her family.

Timûr had sent his nephew *Hayshan* into *Tartary*, to learn the art of war under the generals *Iwe-chechar* and *Choangûr*. This prince had defeated *Hay-tû* in several engagements; but the latter, tho' always beaten, was still in a condition to make himself feared; so that the emperor was obliged to have great armies continually in that country, commanded by princes of his family, and his best generals. *Hayshan*, having, in 1301, joined together the five great bodies of troops which had been employed in different parts of *Tartary*; in *August* had several bloody battles, between *Karakorum* and the river *Tamir*, with *Hay-tû* and his brother *Towa*, whose troops were, for the most part, cut in pieces. *Hay-tû*, who, for more than thirty years, had made war on the princes of his family, on pretence that they had usurped the empire of *Ogotay*, or *Oktay*, to his prejudice, died with vexation. His brother *Towa* was dangerously wounded, but escaped with a few followers. Such a continued run of losses, and bad success, at length induced most of the princes who were of *Hay-tû*'s party to acknowledge *Timûr* for the true successor of *Jenghiz Khân*.

Death of Hay-tû.

In *January* 1302 died prince *Kanmala*, the emperor's eldest brother; whose excellent qualities, joined to his fidelity and courage, made him lamented. In *March* the court was under great uneasiness on account of the emperor's illness: but he recover'd his health, and learned, with a sensible joy, how much the people had been afflicted to hear he was sick. He, on his

and prince Kanmala. A. D. 1303.

^b GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 225, & seq.

(E) He had the title of regulo of *Yun-nan*. This is the prince whom *M. Polo* calls *Kograkam*. *Gaubil*.

(F) He was the son of *Nyew-lyen*, general under *Meng-ko* and *Hû-pi-lay*. *Gaubil*.

(G) A *Tatar* of *Nyu-che*, and one of the best officers

in the empire. Great praise is bestowed on the conduct of prince *Koko*, and those two generals. *Gaubil*.

(H) Called in the *Chinese* history *Ti-li-pu-wa-na-na-ti-ti-ya*.

Konfusius
honoured.

part, caused great largesses to be distributed, and a general pardon to be published. In *April* ^a he removed, as usual, to *Shang-tû*; and, in *May*, an eclipse of the sun happening, which the tribunal had neglected to calculate, the mandarins thereof were punished, by lowering the degrees of some, turning out others, and lessening the salaries of the rest. The establishing of an imperial college at *Ta-tû* gave great satisfaction to the *Chinese* Literati: but they could not forbear expressing their concern, to see that a palace had not been built to honour the memory of *Konfusius*. This being represented to *Timûr* by *Alaasun*, that prince, who had a high esteem for the philosopher, and understood his doctrine, caused a magnificent palace to be erected for him, which is still to be seen at *Pe-king* ^c.

Timûr's hu-
manity.

JENGHIZ KHAN brought with him into *Tartary*, from *Persia*, *Khorassan* and *Great Bukhâ-ria*, a considerable number of *Mohammedan* families, among whom there were many excellent ^b officers; and, ever after, the *Mohammedans* were very powerful at the *Mungl* court. There were, of that religion, generals, and whole bodies of troops; chiefs of merchants, and mandarin in all the tribunals, especially that of the mathematics; doctors, and even ministers of state, of whom, in *July*, *U-tû-pû-ting* was nominated one.

In 1303 *Timûr*, ever attentive to the good of the empire, sent judicious persons into all the provinces, to inform themselves how things stood. One of his views was, to procure an exact account of the misery of the people; and to find out men of merit, who were not employed, either for want of money, or friends at court. The emperor, in regard to the evils which had been occasioned by the long wars with *Hay-tû* and *Towa*, appointed generals to command in the territory of *Qua-chew* and *Sha-chew* (I). There he ordered magazines to be erected for the ^c troops, and lodgments for them in several places between *Kan-chew*, in *China*, and *Sha-chew*. This monarch grew daily more beloved; and the *Tatar* princes were charmed with his integrity, clemency, and liberality.

All Tartary
submits.

PRINCE *Towa*, tired with so long a war, assembled all the lords, his vassals, and declared he was resolved to acknowledge *Timûr*, whom he highly praised. *Chapar*, eldest son of *Hay-tû*, did the same. The other princes followed their example; and, after having caused the emperor to be recognized in their respective territories, sent deputies in their names to implore his pardon, and reckon them in the number of his subjects. *Timûr* granted their request; and, by that act, saw all *Tartary* united to his empire; a design, which his grandfather *Hû-pi-lay* could never compass. *Timûr*, on this occasion, conferred great honours on the prince *Choangûr*, in *July*. ^d He gave him, with his own hand, a gold seal, jewels, and habits, in presence of the whole court: he praised his merit, and bestowed on him the principal posts in the army. But that which redounded most to this prince's honour, was what passed in the assembly; where the princes leagued with *Hay-tû* and *Towa* resolved to submit. One of them said, that, *Choangûr* being appointed to govern *Tartary*, they reckoned they should be more soundly beaten than they were in the time of *Pe-yen* and *Tû-tû-ha*; which reflection was one of the chief motives that induced them to a submission. In *October* this year the *Han-lin*, who were appointed to examine the *Chinese* history, and write annals, presented the emperor with the annals of *Jenghîz Khân*, *Ogo-tay*, *Quey-yew*, *Toley*, and *Meng-ko* (K).

Religious cere-
monies fixed.

A. D. 1305.

THE *Ywen*, or *Mungls*, had, by tradition, their certain rules and rites for the worship of ^e Heaven: but they had neither fixed ceremonies, places, nor times, for sacrificing thereto. Therefore, in 1305, *Timûr* set able persons to examine what had been the practice on that head, from the foundation of the *Chinese* empire to his own time. *Alaasun*, with some others, who were *Chinese*s, reported to the emperor the result of their researches, and settled the ceremonies which were thenceforth to be observed in the worship of Heaven. The history speaks this year of precious stones called *Ta u-ta*, sold by the western merchants for sixty van (L).

Timûr dies.

TIMUR had one son called *Te-shew*, and one daughter by *Pe-yew*, the princess of *Hongkila*. *Te-shew* was appointed heir: but died without children during the life of his father; who died himself in *January* 1307, in his forty-second year, without either leaving issue, or naming a suc- ^fcessor.

His character.

THIS prince passed, in the judgment of the *Chinese*s, for a perfect emperor. The wise conduct which he observed in the war against *Hay-tû* and *Nayen*; the judicious choice which he made of generals and ministers; the constant aversion which he shewed for the vices which

^c GAUBIL, ubi supra, p. 228, & seq.

(I) Cities to the north-west of *China*, between *Kya-yu-guan*, at the west end of the wall, and *Khamû*, or *Hami*, in *Little Bukhâria*. *Sha-chew* is the *Sachium* of *Marco Polo*, according to *Gaubil*, who observes, that this city and *Qua-chew* have always had *Chinese* garrisons to cover the western frontiers.

(K) These are the *Chinese* names for *Jenghîz Khân*,

Oktay, *Kayûk*, *Tûli*, and *Mungo*. The work spoken of is, according to *Gaubil*, one of the best which the *Chinese* have on the subject of their history; and therefore in great esteem. He has spoken of it at large in a dissertation on the ancient history of the *Chinese*s.

(L) That is, three millions of livres, or about 1,500,000 sterling.

- a reign but too often in the courts of princes; and the extraordinary care which he took to comfort the people; give a high idea of this prince's abilities in government. He was sixth khân of *Tartary*, and second emperor of *China*^d.

^d GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 230.

C H A P. II.

The reign of Hayshan, called by the Chineses Vũ-tsông.

- b **W**HEN the emperor *Timûr* died, *Hayshan*, eldest son of *Talamapala* (A), the son of *Cheng-kin*, the son of *Hû-pi-lay*, was lieutenant-general in *Tartary*, and at the head of a great army to the north of *Karakorum*. This prince was esteemed by most of the princes of his family, whom he had seen in *Tartary*, and had gained reputation in the war with *Hay-tû*. He had likewise a considerable interest among the grandees, many of whom expressed a desire to see him emperor; while none seemed to think of setting any of the sons of *Kanmala*, eldest son of *Cheng-kin*, on the throne. Mean time the empress *Pe-ya ü*, widow of *Timûr*, having conceived a hatred against a princess of her own house, the wife of *Talamapala*, caused her to be banished to *Whay-chew*, at present *Whay-kin Fû*, in *Honan*, with her son *Ayyulipalipata*; and, fearing the resentment of *Hayshan* (who was also her son, and secretly enraged at her treatment), in case he became emperor, sent for the minister *A-ü-tay*, prince *Mingli Temûr*, with several other princes and grandees of her court. To them she proposed the prince *Honanta*, eldest son of *Mangkola*, third son of *Hû-pi-lay*, who then governed the provinces of *Sben-si*, *Se-chwen*, and *Tibet*, as his father had done before; and usually resided at *Si-gan Fû*, capital of the first of those provinces. *Honanta*, who readily embraced the offer of the empress, came by post to *Ta-tû*; while the parties above-mentioned took measures to hinder *Hayshan*'s return.

- c THE first thing they did, was to go to the palace, and intreat the empress to pull down the curtain (B), in order to give audiences, and govern the state, till *Honanta* was installed. After this, *A-ü-tay* assembled the grandees at the palace of the ancestors; and, under pretence of consulting about the succession, they began by force to perform the ceremonies which are usually observed after the recognition of a new emperor. Two great mandarins opposed this attempt; and insisted, that they ought first to see the name of the new emperor. *Ho-wbey*, one of the prime mandarins, declared the same thing. Hereupon *A-ü-tay* fell in a passion, and threatened with death the opposing lords: but, as they stood firm to their principles, the assembly dissolved.

- d ON the other side, *Alaafun*, as prime minister, seizing the seals of the tribunals, caused the treasury to be shut up; likewise the chambers where were kept the robes, and jewels of the crown. Then, in concert with the officer of the inner guard of the palace, suffered no-body to enter. At the same time he feigned himself sick; and, in spite of the repeated orders and threats of the empress, remained firm; sending underhand some trusty lords to *Hayshan* and *Ayyulipalipata*, to hasten to the court. This latter, having received the express in *February*, was at a loss what course to take. Hereupon *Li-meng* his master quoted him the law of *Shi-tsû* (C), which excluded bastards from the succession; and represented to him, that, as his brother *Hayshan* was above a thousand leagues from the capital, he ought to set out with the princess his mother for *Ta-tû*. *Li-meng*, who was but little known at the court, went before; and, counterfeiting the physician, as such, was brought into the chamber of *Alaafun*. A lord, sent by the empress to know how the minister did, was with him when *Li-meng* entered; yet, no-body suspecting him to be

(A) These, and other names, tho' *Tatarian*, yet being transcribed from the *Chinese* characters, differ more or less from the true pronunciation: nor is it in our power to give them in their true orthography; since neither our author *Gaubil* has done it, nor have we any account of them, except a few, in our extracts from the oriental writers.

(B) This is in allusion to an ancient custom observed by the *Chinese* princesses, who governed during the minority of the princes their sons. *Gaubil*.

(C) The *Chinese* title for *Hû-pi-lay*. But it is difficult to know with certainty whether the law of *Hû-pi-lay* excluded the children of other ladies than the first empress, or those born of his other wives, excepting those five who had the title of empresses; but it is clear, that *Honanta*, who was the eldest son of *Mangkola*, *Hû-pi-lay*'s third son, was looked on as illegitimate. *Gaubil*, p. 238.

other than a physician, he had opportunity enough to deliver what he had to say on the part of *Ayyulipalipata*. After this he took post-horses; and, while *Alaasun* prepared every thing necessary for the reception of that prince, *Li-meng* travelled day and night; so that the empress was much surprised, when soon after she was informed, that *Ayyulipalipata* and his mother were arrived in the city. They made their entrance into the palace early in the morning, followed on horseback by their retinue in deep mourning; and were introduced by the officers of the guards, into their old apartment^a.

Palipata arrives.

THE partisans of *Honanta* agreed to declare him emperor on the third of *March*; and chose that day, under pretence of celebrating the birth of *Ayyulipalipata*. *Alaasun* promised *Honanta* to assist at the ceremony; and, the same night, gave *Ayyulipalipata* notice; acquainting him, that it was necessary to prevent the authors of the plot, without waiting for the arrival of *Hayshan*. Prince *Filla*, who was great captain, undertook forthwith to conduct an army; and, two days before, entered *Ta-tû* at the head of a considerable body of troops, without declaring on what design: but the empress could easily perceive, that the prince would never suffer *Honanta* to be proclaimed emperor, and, from that time, was in very great fear. *Ayyulipalipata*, seeing himself strengthened by an army at his devotion, caused a report to be spread, that *Hayshan* had sent a commissioner to inquire into what had passed with respect to *Honanta*. Then prince *Mengli Temür*, being seized, was carried in chains to *Shang-tû*. *A-tay*, and the other mandarins his accomplices, were condemned to death; but execution was stayed till the arrival of *Hayshan*. Guards likewise were placed at the gates of both the palace and city; so that the empress, and prince *Honanta*, saw themselves quite disabled from proceeding in their design; and, as it were, prisoners in their own palace. c

The conspirators seized.

Li-meng's modesty.

MEAN time the princes of *Ayyulipalipata*'s party proposed to him to assume the empire: but he refused; and declared plainly, that the crown belonged to his elder brother. He added, that the prosecutions he had set on foot were in favour of *Hayshan*, and to punish those who had the audacity to attempt to violate the rules of the succession. *Li-meng* was nominated for one of the chief employments, and to have had a general inspection over all; but he declined the same. He had never seen *Hayshan*; and, as soon as he heard that prince was on the road, he disappeared: nor was the place of his retreat known, the love of study and retirement having induced him to conceal it.

Hayshan's resolution.

As soon as *Hayshan* received advice of his uncle *Timür*'s death, he repaired from the mountain *Antay*, or *Altay*, to *Karakorum*; where he assembled as many princes and great men as he possibly could, in order to deliberate what he had to do. The troops, who loved him, were desirous that he should be acknowledged emperor in that antient capital; but *Hayshan* would not agree to it. He received an express from the princess his mother, by which he found, that she was inclined to have *Ayyulipalipata* elected; induced thereto by the words of an astrologer, who had promised the empire to that prince, at his departure from *Whay-chew*. On this advice, *Hayshan* sent for *Toto*, who had brought him the news of *Timür*'s death, and told him: "That, as he was older than *Ayyulipalipata*, the speech of an astrologer ought not to disturb the order of the succession: that he knew how to punish those who had infused such sentiments into his mother; and that he was resolved to set out for *Shang-tû*, there to take possession of the throne of *Jenghîz Khân*." Having spoken thus, he ordered *Toto* to go before, to acquaint his mother, brother, and *Alaasun*, with the other princes and faithful lords, with his resolution. e

Marches towards Ta-tû.

HAYSHAN chose 30,000 soldiers out of the army at *Karakorum*, appointing the prince *Gan-why* and *Choangür* to command them. Then, putting himself at their head, made them march in three bodies, and at an easy rate, to avoid fatiguing them. The princess, *Hayshan*'s mother, charmed to hear from *Toto* the true intentions of her son, sent that lord back; requesting him to speak in her behalf to *Hayshan*, and especially to explain to him fully in what sense she seemed to wish to see *Ayyulipalipata* on the throne. Mean time this latter prince caused his brother's approach to be published in *Ta-tû*; and, after he had provided for the security of that city, set out with the guards, accompanied by several princes and grandees, for *Shang-tû*, to prepare every thing for the reception of *Hayshan*^b. f

Proclaim'd emperor.

THIS prince expected with impatience the return of *Toto*; and, seeing him at a distance, rose up in his chariot, and ordered him to come and sit by him. *Toto* was accompanied by his brother *Ashapüwha*, sent by the princess. *Hayshan* was never tired with hearing *Toto* relate what his mother and brother had said to him. He appointed *Ashapüwha* to be one of his ministers; and, being near *Shang-tû*, drew up his troops. He entered that city in *May*, attended by his generals, and was conducted to the palace by the imperial guard, through the acclamations of the people. As soon as he saw his brother, he advanced to embrace him, both shedding tears;

^a GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 233, & seq.

^b GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 235 & seq.

thanked

a thanked him for his zeal, and praised his management. After this, the two princes went to pay their duty to the princess their mother, who reckoned this the most glorious day of her life. *Hayshan* was then acknowledged emperor with much pomp. He declared his mother empress; and gave to his father the title of emperor: he likewise appointed his brother hereditary prince: which ceremonies being over, the court set out for *Ta-tü*.

WHEN they were arrived there, *Hayshan*, attended by the princes of his house, went to the palace of his ancestors, to honour the memory of *Tay-tsu* or *Jenghiz Khin*, *Ogotay*, *Quey-yew*, *Meng-ko*, *Toley*, *Sbi-tü* or *Hü-pi-lay*, *Timür*, *Cheng-kin*, and *Talamapala*, who, by the advice of *He-whey* and *Alaafun*, were ranged in the following order. The tablet of *Jenghiz Khin* being placed in the middle, on the east were, 1. *Talamapala*; 2. *Timür*: to the west, 1. *Toley*; b 2. *Hü-pi-lay*; 3. *Cheng-kin*. *Toley* and *Cheng-kin* had, besides, particular palaces, where they were honoured. The above arrangement was made apart from the tablets of the emperors *Ogotay*, *Quey-yew*, and *Meng-ko*. Hereupon the history blames those two mandarins for committing two essential faults, contrary to the Chinese ceremony, in which they were thoroughly versed: first, to build palaces, to honour those princes as emperors, who had not been emperors; secondly, to place princes, who had not been emperors, above those who had been. Those princes, though brothers or fathers of emperors, were no more than subjects, and therefore were intitled only to the honours due to subjects.

AFTER this ceremony of respect paid to his ancestors was over, *Hayshan* ordered the sentence of death obtained by *Ayyulipalipata* against the mandarins of *Honanta*'s party, to be carried into c execution: he likewise put to death the empress *Pe-ya-ü*, and prince *Honanta*, as well as the minister *A-ü tay*. In *July* he caused to be distributed through the empire the *Mungl* translation of the book written by *Konfusius*, intituled, *Hyau-king*; with an exhortation to the *Tatar* princes and grandees to read that book, and conform to the doctrine contained in it. Afterwards, alluding to the pains that philosopher had taken to put the classical books in order, he says: "That, but for *Konfusius*, they would have known nothing of the antient sages; nor would " the sages of the times posterior to those of *Konfusius* have had examples of the antient and " true virtue to imitate."

THE year 1308 is reckoned the first of the emperor *Hayshan*, whom the Chinese intitle *Vü-tsong*. Hayshan's d He was warlike, equitable, generous, mild, and a patron of learned men: but he had three faults; was too much attached to the Lamas, loved wine, and was fond of women. In *January* *Ashapüwha*, a faithful minister, fell on his knees, and, with tears in his eyes, conjured him "to " take care of his health, which was so dear to the empire; assuring him, that wine and women " would soon put an end to his life." As the emperor loved *Ashapüwha*, he did not take that lecture ill, and would have him drink in his presence a glass of good wine. A few days after, the great mandarins came in a body, to felicitate his majesty on having a subject so sincere as *Ashapüwha*. To this latter, who was brother of *Toto*, and grandson of the king of *Kangli*, *Hayshan* gave the title of count of *Kang*.

LI-PI, one of the great mandarins of *Shang-tü*, intending to punish a Lama, who had abused some of the commonalty; that Lama, and several others, armed with sticks, entered his tribu- e nal, beat and confined him in a little room: yet, on complaining, he had no redress. At the same time another Lama had the impudence to stop the chariot of a princess on the road, and get before her; and, when her attendants attempted to seize him, he beat the princess, and then went on. Neither could this great personage obtain any satisfaction from the emperor: on the contrary, an imperial order was published, importing, that the hand should be cut off which struck a Lama; and the tongue of him who abused any of them: but the prince appointed heir revoked that order. The historians speak with great vehemence against these acts of injustice; and add, "that the Lamas ruined the empire of the *Ywen*: that the dynasty of the western *Han* " was destroyed by the relations of the queens; that of the eastern *Han* by the eunuchs; that " of the *Tang* by the great mandarins; and that of the *Song* by bad subjects."

f THE *Mungl* emperors laid out a great deal of money in rare birds, jewels, pearls, precious stones, and rarities of all kinds. As they had given commissions to the foreign merchants of the west to search for such things in the provinces, the sea-ports, and elsewhere; those strangers travelled over the country with a mark at their girdles (D), to shew that they belonged to the emperor; and, in that quality, took post-horses where-ever they came, under pretence of searching for curiosities for the court: but, in *November*, there appeared an edict, forbidding thenceforward to furnish the western merchants with post-horses. In the same month, *Chapar*, eldest son of *Hay-tü*, the eldest son of *Ta-tü* (E), and others, came in person to the court, to acknow-

* GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 238, & seq.

^d See before, the years 1257 and 1258.

(D) Perhaps they wore a yellow girdle, or sash, which is sometimes allowed to the emperor's envoys.

(E) Perhaps it should be *Toua*.

ledge *Hayshan* for their sovereign. At the end of the year *Alaafun* died at *Karakorum* in *Tartary*, where he had been removed on the following occasion.

*Alaafun
disgraced.*

A-U-TAY, the minister before-mentioned, who was for installing *Honanta*, being a person of so great strength, that no-body durst attempt to seize him, it was feared he would have escaped. Upon this, prince *Tûla*, descended from *Ogotay*, by *Myeli*, undertook the task; took him with a great deal of resolution, and bound him. In consideration of this piece of service, *Hayshan* conferred on him the title of regulo of the country of *Tsee*. *Alaafun*, on this occasion, represented, that it was against the rules of the imperial family to give that title to a prince of so remote a branch as *Tûla* was. *Tûla*, in revenge, accused *Alaafun*; and shewed his name among those who were to have installed *Honanta*. The emperor knew the charge to be false; yet, seeming to be angry with *Alaafun*, reduced his titles some degrees: but appointed him governor-general and prime minister at *Karakorum*, which was one of the first posts in the empire.

*Death and
character.*

ALAASUN repaired to that antient capital of *Tartary*; and it was there that he displayed his talents in their full light. He began by putting to death a *Tartar* lord, the head of a gang of robbers who destroyed the country: he bestowed large gifts on the poor officers and soldiers: took a great number of oxen, cows, sheep, and horses; giving, in exchange, silks, linen, rice, and tea: he sent for skilful fishermen, plowmen, labourers, and peasants, from *China*; taught the *Tatars*, who dwelt along the lakes and rivers, to fish; caused canals to be dug for watering the lands, and rendering them fit for culture; likewise corn and rice to be sown; and established public granaries, posts, and carriages. In the distance of twenty-five or thirty leagues there were ten post-houses, where one met with victuals and drink, voitures and guards. In a word, the emperor was agreeably surprised to understand, that the department of *Karakorum* was in a condition to furnish subsistence to the army, and fill magazines. *Alaafun* was of the hord of *Walano* (or *Alano*, *Alans*), who, *Marco Polo* says, were *Christians*. *Likisili*, his great grandfather, was an intimate friend *Jenghiz Khân*, and had saved his life upon a certain occasion: they two loved each other as if they had been brothers.

*New money.
A. D. 1309.*

IN *January* 1309 prince *Tûla* was guilty of want of respect to the emperor: he was brutish, as well as addicted to wine; and, as very bad consequences was to be feared from his outrageous temper, he was put to death. *Hayshan*, about this time, examined into the state of his finances; and ordered kashes, or copper deniers, to be cast. New tickets were likewise issued, each bearing the value of an ounce of silver. The kashes were of three sorts: each of the first sort was worth one li (F): one of the second kind contained, within a small matter, ten of the first; and each of the third sort was worth several kashes, current under the dynasties of the *Tang* and *Song* (G).

A plot discovered.

IN *February* a conspiracy was discovered, at the head of which was *Koko*, son of the emperor *Hû-pi-lay*, and the son of prince *Tûla*. Twenty-four Lamas, who were in the plot, were punished with death, and the two princes banished. In *June* the lands of the Bonzas of the sects of *Fo* and *Tau*, which had been exempt from paying tribute, were declared thenceforward liable to the tax, as well as those of other people. In *November* the dispute, which had arisen in the reign of *Timûr*, touching an article in the worship of Heaven on the days of the two solstices, was at length decided.

Unjust execution.

ONE of the great mandarins of *Ta-tû* was a foreigner, named *Arslin*, who was much loved by the people, and esteemed by the soldiers: but being accused, by some of his enemies, of a design to revolt, was beheaded, with his brother, and seventeen other persons. The people cried out aloud, That *Arslân* was innocent; and, in effect, his innocence appeared, when it was too late. On this occasion the history blames *Hayshan* much, for having, on such slender grounds, put to death a foreign nobleman, invested with a great employment, and in reputation for his virtue.

Hayshan dies.

IN *January* 1311, the emperor *Hayshan* died, at the age of thirty-one. He had no children by the empress *Chenko*, princess of *Hong-kila*; but he had two by two of his queens, who were both afterwards emperors: the eldest was named *Hoshila*, the other *Tûtemûr*^e. He was the seventh Khân of the *Mungs*, and third of the *Chinese* dynasty of the *Twen*.

^e GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 240, & seq.

(F) Ten li make a fen; ten fen one tsyen; and ten tsyen one ounce. *Gaubil*.

(G) There are still extant kashes of all these kinds, which are preserved by the curious. *Gaubil*.

C H A P III.

The reign of Ayyuli-palipata, styled by the Chinese Jin-tsong.

^a **A**S soon as *Hayshan* was dead, his brother *Ayyuli-palipata*, who had been early declared the *Eighth Khán* hereditary prince, was acknowledged emperor, and styled by the *Chinese Jin-tsong*. Several *Ayyuli palipata* ministers, during the reign of his predecessor, had abused their power, and taken advantage of that prince's inclination [to pleasure, in order to enrich themselves, and committed a thousand acts of injustice, which the emperor knew nothing of: the new monarch began his reign, by making examples of these bad ministers; he put some to death, and banished others, not sparing even the princes of the blood. Orders had been given to new-case the antient walls of *Ten-king* (A), and enlarge it; but, as this work had been very inconvenient to the inhabitants, *Ayyuli-palipata* caused what had been already built to be demolished, and satisfaction made to those who had been sufferers. After this, he chose mandarins, remarkable for their integrity, ^b to act at the head of affairs.

In *January* 1312, the emperor gave orders concerning the tribunal of historians of the empire: *Several regulations* and had always a great inclination for the study of history. In *February* the famous (B) stones on which *Sven-vang* (C), emperor of the *Chú* race, had caused many *Chinese* characters to be cut, were, by his command, deposited in the imperial college at *Tatú*. The department which depended on *Si-gan Fú*, called that of *Gan-si*, was thenceforth ordered to be named the department of *Tong-ywen* (D), and *Ho-lin* (or *Karakorum*), was called *Ho ning*. As the emperors have often caused the tablets of learned men to be placed in the temple of *Konfusius*, to honour their memories at stated times, *Ayyuli-palipata* commanded, that, for the future, those ceremonies should be performed to *Tse-ma-quang*, *Chú-bi*, *Shau-kang-tsyé*, *Nan-hyen*, *Chew-tung*, *Ching-hau*, *Chang-tsay*, *Lu-tsú-kyen*, and *Hyu-beng* (E).

^c THE emperor *Hú-pi-lay* had promised the Literati to institute the examination of men of their *Public calamities* class: but that design was never put in execution, till *November* this year, when *Ayyuli-palipata* ^{issued} a mandate for that purpose. About the same time, *Alimating*, a foreigner, presented the emperor with a new kalendar, which, he said, would serve for ten thousand years; but no mention is made either of the author, or the principles it was formed upon. As this emperor loved the people, he beheld, with grief, the ravages which epidemic diseases made in his capital: with no less grief he saw, that, since his accession to the throne, the sun had been eclipsed, a comet had appeared, and there had been two earthquakes; besides, the famine, drought, and inundations of rivers, had ruined several provinces. On occasion of these calamities, he assembled the grandees: some said his majesty ought to imitate the example of *Ching-tang*, founder ^{imputed to the} of the *Shang* dynasty; others, that the false worship of *Fo* had caused so many evils. The emperor readily drew up writings, wherein he deplored the misfortunes which befel his people; and even declared, they were sent by way of punishment, for the faults which he had committed in government, and promised to correct: but whether it was that he believed the worship of *Fo* to be good, or that, in policy, he ought to tolerate it, for fear of causing a revolt in the princes of his family, and his *Mungl* subjects, who were bigotted to the doctrine of the Bonzas, he would not hear of abolishing that superstition ^{Bonzas}.

^e In *January* 1314, the emperor ordered a search to be made after such men of learning and virtue, as were either unknown, or without employment; and in *March*, made new regulations for the imperial college at *Tatú*, and that of the *Whey-há* (F), both of which were much

^a GAUBIL, p. 243, & seqq.

(A) Now *Pe-king*, or very near it.

(B) They are called *She-kú*, that is, *stone drums*, on account of their figure. There are nine or ten of them still seen in the college at *Pe-king*. The diameter is one foot, and the height three. *Gaubil*.

(C) Or *Sven-vang*. He lived before the *Christian* æra.

(D) The changes often made in the names of cities and countries, by order of the *Chinese* emperors, is one of the greatest difficulties in the *Chinese* history and geography. There are indeed lists of those names; and if a man, who writes on those subjects, would be exact, he must have them continually before him. *Gaubil*.

(E) All these authors were of different provinces, and wrote under the *Song* dynasty, excepting *Hsu kong*, spoken of before, in the reign of *Hú-pi-lay*, at which time he flourished. *Tse ma quang* is one of the best historians of the empire; and most of his works are still extant. *Chú-bi* composed the great work on the history called *Tong-kyu-kang-mu*, besides others on the classical books. *Gaubil*.

(F) *Whey-kú* is one of the names given by the *Chinese* to *Mohammedans*, and denotes, in general, the people of the west of *Asia*. The sciences and characters taught among the *Whey Lú* are called *Whey tsyey*. *Gaubil*.

Learning encouraged. declined. In *June*, taking into consideration the evils, which had, by their authority, been brought on the preceding dynasties, he ordered, that they should not be made mandarins. Commissaries were likewise sent into the southern provinces, to examine into the saleable and cultivated lands: they found many reforms to make; and rectified the land-tax according to the price of goods.

Examinations established. IN *March* 1315, *Ayyuli-palipata* instituted examinations among the doctors, who were divided into two bodies, one of *Mungls*, the other of *Chineses*; and, having assembled them, made them compose, in his presence, upon a subject, which he gave them himself. Three of each body were to be chosen, that they might have titles and rewards conferred on them. The same custom is still in force; but no distinction is made between the *Chineses* and *Tartars*. The *Chinese* historians, on this occasion, are lavish of their eulogies on *Ayyuli-palipata*, and consider him as the most illustrious emperor of the *Yuen*: however, they censure him, for having, the next month, constituted an eunuch a great mandarin, after the prohibition which he had issued to the contrary.

Effects of oppression; TYE-MU-TYEL, one of the principal mandarins for the finances, finding fault with the taxes imposed in 1314, augmented them in the southern provinces. One of his chief commissioners, named *Ni-cha-ma-ting*, a *Mohammedan*, committed all sorts of vexations in *Kyang-si*; and his avarice carried him so far, as to rob the sepulchres, in hopes of enriching himself. The city of *Kan-chew*, in *Shen-si*, revolted; and one of the seditious assumed the title of emperor. The great mandarins of the province stifled this rebellion in the beginning: the *Mohammedan* was punished; and the people were eased, not only in *Kyang-si*, but also in *Che-kyang*, *Kyang-nan*, and other provinces; which happened on the following occasion.

and a comet. IN the beginning of this year, *Ayyuli-palipata* sent commissioners into all parts of the empire, to examine into the conduct of the mandarins: he knew that the people in the south had suffered several grievances from those magistrates; and that the revolt of *Kan-chew* was the effect of their ill conduct. The emperor, who feared nothing so much as an intestine war, became very uneasy; and his apprehensions increased, on the appearance of a comet, which happened in *November*. The people were struck with the sight of this phenomenon, which they considered as sent to inform them, that heaven designed to punish the emperor (G), by taking from him the dominion, to give it to a person more worthy of it. *Ayyuli palipata*, who was one of those princes best acquainted with the genius of the *Chineses*, as soon as he saw the comet, caused a general pardon to be published; and discharged the provinces of *Kyang-si* and *Che-kyang*, which had suffered most, from all kinds of taxes, for two years: declaring, that it was to indemnify them for the wrongs which they had suffered. The other provinces (H) were eased in proportion; and the Literati took care every-where to bestow great encomiums on the emperor (I), who had attached them to him by his love for the sciences, as well as the examinations instituted for their order in general, and the doctors in particular.

Meng-tse honoured. IN 1316, the prince *Hoshila*, eldest son of *Hayshan* the late emperor, was appointed to govern *Yun-nan*: at which, being discontented, he left *China*, and went to reside to the north-west of the mountain *Kin* (K). Several great men followed him; and he was received with open arms by the princes of the imperial house, particularly by prince *Chakotay*. Mean time, *Ayyuli-palipata* ordered a palace to be built at *Wey-whey*, in *Honan*, to honour the memory of the celebrated *Pi-kan*; and another at *Chang-ping-chew*, a city of *Pe-che-li*, to honour that of *Ti-jin-kyay*. He declared the famous *Meng-tse*, or *Mençius*, a count; and gave a title to his mother. At the end of the year, he appointed his son, a prince of high esteem, to be his heir.^b

IN *February* 1317, the emperor caused the public granaries, through all the provinces, to be visited, and put in good condition. This year that monarch discovered his love for wine; and several times drank to excess: but he was brought off that vice by *Ma-tsi-chang*, a foreigner, of the west (L); who was one of the censors of the empire, and esteemed for his knowledge in mathematics and other sciences.

Classic books of Fo. IN *February* 1318, the classical books of the sect of *Fo* were written out, in gold characters. A mandarin likewise crossed the sea to *Korea*, carrying back an exiled prince, with design to

^b GAUBIL, p. 245, & seqq.

(G) The remarks which the Literati have made on the original and sense of the title of *Son of heaven*, which is given to the emperor, have often afforded occasion to deceive the people, and induce them to revolt: and the great men have frequently abused this notion of the *Son of heaven*, as well as the celestial appearances, to seize the empire, take up arms, excite troubles, and the like. *Gaubil*.

(H) The imperial commissioners found a book in the district of *Fau-chew*, in *Shen-si*, which is a bibliotheque of authors, books, and sciences. It was written by *Ma-ti-on-lin*, of *Lo-fing*, in the same country, towards the end

of the *Song* dynasty; and, being a very elaborate work, was ordered, by the emperor, to be printed, in 1314. *Gaubil*.

(I) It is well known that, in *China*, the Literati are in great credit with the people, and have no small ascendancy over their minds. *Gaubil*.

(K) A celebrated mountain in *Tartary*; but I know not its distance from mount *Altay*. *Gaubil*. See before, p. 130.

(L) Born in the country of *Teng-kû*: but *Gaubil* knows not where it is.

a stir up the people in his favour : but that officer was taken, and condemned to death, with seven of his accomplices.

In 1319, the emperor, who tenderly loved the prince his heir, had an inclination to cede the empire to him ; and most of the grandees approved of his design. But one of the great lords of the court having induced them to change their sentiments, his majesty desisted : however, he declared the prince lieutenant-general of the empire, and gave him the management of all affairs. *Shotepala* had a great soul, as well as a true filial affection for the emperor and the empress. A. D. 1319.

b In January 1320, *Ayyuli-palipata* fell sick ; and his disease being judged mortal, the young prince never left his father's chamber, day nor night, so overwhelmed with grief, that it had like to have killed him. Without acquainting any person, he one day retired to his own apartment, fell on his knees, and addressing himself to heaven, offered to die in the room of his father : but a few days after his father died (M), being in the thirty-sixth year of age. The history praises him for his aversion to hunting, and other pleasures ; his application to affairs ; his duty to the princess his mother ; and the protection which he gave to the sciences, and learned men. *The emperor dies.* A. D. 1320.

AYYULI-PALIPATA married *Anoshosheli*, princess of *Hong-kila*, by whom he had *Shotepala*, the appointed heir. He had also another son, called *Utûfû-pûwba*, and a daughter ; but it is not said he had them by the princess of *Hong-kila* : however that be, this emperor never was given to women.

c In the beginning of his reign he had war with a prince of his house, called *Isyen-pûwba*, supported by several other princes ; but their army was defeated in the country of *Itebaymish*, by *Choanggûr*, then one of the generals of the troops, which were very numerous about *Karakorum*. He afterwards beat their general *Utû Temûr*, in the country of *Chemeykan*, and pursued the enemy as far as the country of *Chayr*, near the defile called the *iron gate* (N). The account of this war, which the Chinese history makes no mention of, is taken from the elogiac history of *Choanggûr*. This last was prince of *Kincha* (or *Kipjak*), and had been loaded with honours by the emperors *Hû-pi-lay*, *Timûr Hayshan*, and *Ayyuli-palipata*. He died under *Ing-tsong*, president of the privy-council. *Choangûr's exploits.*

d AYYULI-PALIPATA was eighth Khân of the *Mungl* empire in *Tartary* ; and fourth emperor of the Chinese dynasty of the *Ywen*.

^c GAUBIL, p. 248, & seq.

(M) There happened a total eclipse on the first day of the first month : and we have already seen how much the superstitious Chinese have for a long series of ages, dreaded such phenomena. *Gaubil.*

(N) A famous gorge of the mountains to the west of *Samarkand*, in *Great Bukharia*, where the war here spoken of was carried on. *Gaubil.*

C H A P. IV.

The reign of Shotepala, called by the Chinese, Ing-tsong.

e A S soon as *Ayyuli-palipata* was dead, the appointed heir was saluted emperor ; and, to gratify the empress his mother, declared *Tye-mû-tyel* prime minister. This *Mungl* lord *Shotepala* had been often employed in affairs under the late monarch. He understood the finances ; and had frequently paid great sums of money. He had, besides, a great deal of wit and cunning. He was hated by the people, as well as the great men ; and although he was in disgrace at the death of the late emperor, yet he was supported under-hand by the empress. This evil minister, grown proud with his new elevation, committed all sorts of oppressions, and threw every thing into disorder. In February, under false pretences, he caused *Syau-pay-chû* and *Yang-tûrchi* (A), two of the most judicious lords of the court, to be put to death : they had belonged to the tribunal of ministers, and often made known the flagrant acts of injustice which he had done. He put to death several other persons ; and threatened to give the wife of *Yang-tûrchi* to a slave. As soon as this lady, who was no less remarkable for her wisdom, modesty, and honour, than her beauty and high birth, had notice of his menace, she caused her hair to be cut off, disfigured her face, and took an oath to remain a widow. *Ninth. Khân.*

(A) The first a *Tartar*, of *Nyu-che*, or *Eastern Tartary* ; the other of *Ning-hya*, in *Sen-fi*. *Gaubil.*

the minister's
violences.

So many violent proceedings incensed the grandees ; but they dared not complain, either to the empress or *Shotepala*, who was acknowledged emperor in *March*. After the installation, *Tye-mû-tyel* became more powerful than before ; and to revenge himself on the sage *Li-meng*, his enemy, put him a degree lower in the class of mandarins ; and demolished a stone monument, which the emperors had raised in honour of him and his ancestors, in the place of their sepulchres. *Li-meng* seemed very little concerned at the disgrace which was put upon him ; and the emperor was surprised to see, that he did not so much as utter one murmuring expression against the author of it. Taking from thence an occasion to inform himself of *Li-meng*'s actions, he repaired the monuments of stone and marble, restored him to his titles and employments, and warned *Tye-mû-tyel* to be very careful, for the future, not to accuse persons of so much virtue ^a.

Pay-chû
made minister.

WICKED men vested with power can never reform. This minister saw, with great uneasiness, that the emperor had much esteem for *Pay-chû*, general of the imperial guard. *Pay-chû*, descended from the famous *Mû-hû-li* ^b, by *Gan-tong* (B), was a young lord, learned, brave, handsome, modest, and irreproachable in his manners. *Shotepala*, who was of the same character himself, had always a great liking to *Pay-chû*, which increased, in proportion as he became acquainted with the excellent qualities of his favourite. The emperor resolved, at last, to do nothing without the advice of his dear *Pay-chû* ; and, after several refusals, obliged him to take on him the charge of prime minister. This lord began his ministry, by making known the injury which *Tye-mû-tyel* had done his majesty, and concealed nothing of what had passed. The emperor *Shotepala* was equitable, and very sensible on the point of honour. He caused an inquiry to be made after those who had been sufferers, and resolved to make them satisfaction, as far as he was able. He did not indeed think it yet convenient to remove *Tye-mû-tyel* ; but he put no manner of confidence in him, and took care that he should not treat any body ill. ^b

Shotepala
visits the

MEAN time, sending for such lords and princes as he knew were men of most wisdom, he employed them about him. After this, he made himself thoroughly acquainted with the ceremonies which are observed in the temple of ancestors, without disclosing his design : but when they least thought of it, he sent for the princes of his house, and declared to them, that, in *November*, he would go to the hall or palace of ancestors, in habit of ceremony. The *Chinese* great men had orders to make every thing ready ; and habits were prepared for the guards, grandees, and all the officers. This news created a general joy in the city among the *Chinese* : the emperor and his retinue appeared in the streets on horseback, magnificently dressed. This sight charmed the people ; but, when they found that they were not hindered from seeing the emperor, they made the streets ring with acclamations, and wept for joy. *Shotepala* was the first of the *Mungl* monarchs who performed this ceremony ; and, as he had not appeared in public before, every body was delighted to see their prince discover such an air of grandeur, mixed with popularity : nor did ever any monarch receive from his subjects more encomiums, and sincere wishes, than *Shotepala* did on this occasion. It was known that *Pay-chû* had counselled the emperor to perform this ceremony : the palace of that lord was continually filled with the *Chinese* great men and Literati ; the people congratulated him loudly as he passed along ; while every honour done to *Pay-chû*, gave *Tye-mû-tyel* the greatest anguish. A general pardon had been already published throughout the empire ; and, from *Ta-tû*, the rejoicings spread over all the provinces. Both *Chinese* and *Tatars* promised themselves every thing from the reign of *Shotepala*, whose first year was 1321. ^d

temple of
ancestors.

Takes good
advice.
A. D. 1321.

As this prince, called *Ing-tsung* by the *Chinese*, loved hunting, he proposed, at the beginning of that year, to aggrandize the places set apart for that exercise in the neighbourhood of *Shang-tû*, by building, at proper distances, palaces, stables, and lodges, for the men assisting in the chace. *Pay-chû*, though he loved hunting also, yet did not approve of this design. He represented to the emperor, that it could not be executed without great expences, and incommoding the people. Hereupon *Shotepala* dropped his project ; and protested, that he would think of nothing but easing the empire. In *April* a conspiracy was discovered, formed by *Afan* (C), and several other great lords ; who, by the advice of *Pay-chû*, and the empress grandmother, were condemned and executed. *Tye-mû-tyel*, who, by means of the empress, mother to *Shotepala*, still maintained his ground, caused the prince *Tûtemûr*, second son of the emperor *Hayshan*, to be banished to *Kung-chew* (D), capital of the island of *Hay-nan*. Towards ^e

^a GAUBIL, p. 250, & seqq.

^b See before, l. iii.

(B) The mother of *Pay-chû* was a princess of the *Que-lye* tribe, of the family of the princess *Sarkutna*, wife of *Toley*, and mother of the emperors *Meng-ko* and *Hû-pi-lay*. She was a widow at the age of twenty-two years, yet never would marry again, resolving to employ her time wholly in educating her son *Pay-chû*. *Gaub.*

(C) This *Afan* seems to be the same spoken of in a

note, p. 249. by our author *Gaubil* ; who says, he was a foreigner of the west, very understanding in affairs, and one of the principal ministers of state.

(D) Latitude, by observation of *Du Tartre*, 20° 0' 35" ; Longitude, by the bearings, and measured distances, from *Kanton*, near three degrees more west. *Gaubil.*

a the end of the year, the emperor judged it would be for his honour to make magnificent presents to the Lama who had been his master, and had a mind to return to *Tibet* ^c.

SHOTEPALA, who was a zealous believer in the doctrine of *Fo*, in the beginning of the year built a magnificent temple to that false deity, in the mountains to the west of *Pe-king*. While the work was going forward, several censors of the empire made very smart representations upon the occasion. The emperor, contrary to his custom, falling into a passion, caused some of them to be put to death, and banished others. One of the most illustrious among the former, was *To-yau-el Hatimisshi* (E), a native of *Hami*, or *Khamil*, in *Little Bukbária*. The historical elogy of this lord ascribes his death to the calumnies of *Tye-mû-tyel*, and his son *Sonan*; who, bearing him, as well as the other censors, an ill-will, told his majesty, that, instead of giving him notice of what had passed, they did nothing among themselves but speak ill of him. The *Chinese* Literati, who were great enemies to *Fo*, but full of esteem for *Shotepala*, praise exceedingly the courage of these censors. Some time after, the memory of these mandarins was re-established; and the emperor was too wise not to repent having so imprudently followed the motions of his anger. In *April* he caused the temple which the *Whey-hû*, or western *Mohammedans*, had at *Sbang-tû*, to be demolished; and afterwards forbade those foreigners to buy young boys and girls of the *Mungls*, in order to give or sell them again for slaves to the *Chinese*. ^{Censors put to death.}

In 1322 *Pay-chû* had obtained leave to go into *Lyau-tong* to raise a monument of marble, with an inscription on it, in praise of *Gantong* his grandfather, who died in the reign of *Hû-pi-lay*. *Tye-mû-tyel*, who, through vexation, kept for some time in his palace, without stirring out, took the opportunity of *Pay-chû*'s absence to go to court; but the guards stopped him at the gate, and told him, they had orders not to let him enter. The anguish which this disgrace gave him, threw him into a fit of sickness, of which he died in *August*, hated by every body. In *June* 1323 he was deprived of his titles; the monuments of stone and marble, inscribed with his elogy, were pulled down, and his goods confiscated. Mean time *Pay-chû* caused the taxes and annual tribute, paid by the provinces, to be remitted; and, withal, considerable sums of bounty-money to be distributed every-where. Debauchery, avarice, luxury, and other vices, were banished from court; so that the *Chinese* great men could not but admire such wise conduct in a *Tatar* prince only twenty-one years of age. ^{The court reformed.}

d WHILE things seemed thus to promise happy times, *Tye-she*, the adopted son of *Tye-mû-tyel*, and one of the principal lords of the court, bent his thoughts wholly on contriving how to be revenged for the affront done his father, and the confiscation of his effects. In order to this, he first fomented the inclinations of several discontented princes, with those of the relations and friends of the mandarins who had been put to death in *April* 1320: after which, he engaged several officers and soldiers in his interest. On the third of *September*, the emperor, being at *Sbang-tû*, and not able to compose himself to sleep, ordered prayers to be said to *Fo*. *Tye-she*, and his accomplices, were seized with fear. They had prevailed on the Lamas to require that sacrifices should be offered to *Fo*, as the only means to avoid the evils which threatened the empire. *Pay-chû* sent away the Lamas, treating them "as men who thought of nothing but how to get money, and, in reality, protected wicked people." These words being heard by the associates of *Tye-she*, who was one of the commanding officers in the guards; the lords *Chinkin Temûr*, *Syen Temûr*, formerly ministers, prince *Ganti-puwba*, and others, immediately met, and consulted how to prevent the measures of *Pay-chû*, whose probity, vigilance, and valour, they feared. The same night, therefore, *Tye-she*, followed by several soldiers, slew that lord; and then, entering the tent of the emperor, who was in bed, killed him with his own hand. The place where this assassination was committed, is called *Nan-po*, to the south of the city *Sbang-tû*. ^{Pay chû and the emperor assassinated.}

f THE emperor *Shotepala* married *Sukopala*, princess of the tribe of *Ikilye*, and daughter of *Ilibaya*, daughter of the emperor *Timûr*: but he had no children by her; nor does the history speak of his having any other wife ^d. He was ninth emperor of the *Mungls*, and fifth of the *Chinese*.

^c GAUBIL, ubi supra, p. 151, & seqq.

^d Ibid. p. 252, & seq.

(E) His grandfather, in the fourth degree, was an officer under *Jengbiz Khân*, and followed him to the first siege of *Pe-king*; and afterwards in his other expe-

ditions. His grandfathers in the third, second, and first degree, as well as his father, were all illustrious officers. *Gaubil*.

C H A P. V.

The reign of Yesun-temûr, styled by the Chinese Tay-ting.

Tenth. Yesun-temûr, or Tay-ting,

promotes the conspirators ;

but, soon after,

puts them to death :

others banished.

*Lectures on government
A. D. 1324.*

AT the time when the above-mentioned conspiracy was carried on at *Sbang-tû*, *Yesun-temûr*, eldest son of prince *Kanmula*, brother of the emperor *Timûr*, commanded to the north of the *Great Kobi*, or *Sandy Desert*, in *Tartary* ; and encamped near the river *Long-kû*, or *Panchuni* (A), famous for the oath made there by *Jenghîz Khân*, and his adherents. This prince had in his court a lord named *Taulasba*, whose son *Hafun* was an officer in the imperial guards under the command of *Pay-chû* ; but as he knew of a long time, that *Tye-she*, intended to kill his general, he quitted his service. In *March* this year, 1323, a mandarin, called *Tan-te*, leaving the court, informed *Taulasba*, that the emperor did not care for *Yesun-temûr* ; and, it was to be feared, would, in a little time, put him to death. After this intelligence, the two became intimate friends. *Tye-she*, before he put his design in execution, sent a mandarin, named *Walû-tse*, to acquaint *Taulasba*, that he, *Alasan*, *Yesyen-temûr*, and others, as soon as they had brought their plot to bear, would proclaim the young prince *Yesun-temûr* emperor.

As soon as this affair was communicated to *Yesun-temûr*, he caused *Walû-tse* to be arrested, and instantly dispatched several couriers to inform the emperor of what was plotting against him : but the messengers arrived too late. The prince *Ganti-purwba*, and *Yesyen-temûr*, having seized the seal, and imperial robes, hastened over the desert ; and, on their arrival at the river *Long-ku*, *Yesun-temûr* caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in *September*. After this, he published a general pardon, and declared *Taulasba* his prime minister : he likewise appointed *Tye-she*, and his accomplices, to be his principal mandarins.

As *Shotepala* was the delight of the people, the news of his death spread a general sorrow among the princes, grandees, and chiefs of tribes, as well as the *Chinese* mandarins and *Literati*. On the other hand, the princes and lords of the family of *Mubûli*, which was one of the most powerful and considerable among the *Mungls*, were impatient to obtain justice for a murder committed on one of the principal persons of their house, who was general of the imperial guards, and prime minister. The new emperor might easily see, that he was in danger of suffering, for having had a hand in the assassination of the prince, and his minister. Prince *Maynû*, descended from the grandfather (B) of *Jenghîz Khân*, finding the emperor inclined to make use of *Tye-she*, and his accomplices, and even to advance them to be great mandarins, represented to him, that such a conduct would not only lose him the affections both of the *Chinese* and *Tatars* ; but that posterity would reproach his majesty with dipping his hands in the blood of his sovereign, and that of a minister sprung from the great *Mubûli*, to whom the *Mung's* owed the empire of the *Tatars*. *Yesun-temûr*, struck with this idea, ordered *Yesyen-temûr*, *Wang-che*, *Tumen*, and other lords, to be put to death that instant, in the camp of *Long-kû*. He likewise dispatched officers to *Ta-tû*, to seize *Tye-she*, and his associates ; who were all executed on the spot, their families extirpated, and their effects confiscated. *Sonan*, son of *Tye-mû-tyel*, had only been sentenced to be banished ; but, on representing that he was the first who struck *Pay-chû* on the shoulder with his sword, the emperor ordered him also to be put to death, and his goods to be forfeited ; although the latter part of the sentence was not put in execution.

THE lives of *Ganti-purwba*, and other princes who were in some sort parties in *Tye-she's* treason, were spared ; but they were all banished, and carried the brand of their infamy along with them. *Yesun-temûr*, arriving at *Ta-tû* in *November*, restored the memory of the two lords whom *Tye-mû-tyel* had caused to be put to death in *January* 1320. The emperor did the same justice to those impeached the year following by that minister, and his son *Sonan* ; some of whom were put to death, and others banished, on their accusations, which were declared to be malicious.

IN 1324, which is the first year of *Yesun-temûr*, styled by the *Chinese* *Tay-ting*, one of the ministers proposed to his majesty to appoint doctors, whose business should be to expound daily, in the palace, such books as were most proper to form the princes and grandees for government. The emperor approved of this design ; and ordered his son, as well as those of other princes, to go every day to hear the lectures. The first book pitched upon was the *Chinese*

(A) Our author, *Gaubil*, does not know the exact situation of this river.

(B) *Maynû* was the fifth descendant of *Talickin*, fourth son of *Palitan*, father of *Yesu-kay*, father of *Jenghîz*

Khân. *Yesun-temûr* augmented his revenues and titles ; which exceedingly pleased the family of *Pay-chû*, and all the grandees. *Gaubil*.

a history, written by *Tsema-quang*; and this custom is still observed. *Chang-quey*, the projector of this fine institution, was one of the most steady and discerning ministers the *Twen* ever had. He was the son of general *Chang-bong-fan*,^a and educated by a great Mandarin of the *Song* empire.² *Chang-quey* This Mandarin, being in the fleet of *Chang-shi-kyay*, near the mountain *Ay-shan*, when *Hong-fan* came to attack it^b, was going, with others, to throw himself into the sea: but the general hindered him; and, finding that he was a great lord, and a man of merit, kept him, and desired his friendship. The Mandarin, out of gratitude, would never quit the house of *Chang-bong-fan*, and undertook to educate his son.

Soon after the above-mentioned lectures were established, the emperor declared his son *Asikepa* the prince inheritor. Mean time the *Chinese* grandees and Literati, who were watching for an occasion to make known to posterity their sentiments touching the treason of *Tye-she*, the worship of *Lo*, and several other abuses, met with one in *April*; for, during that month, wherein the emperor made a progress to *Shang-ti*, there happened a violent storm, an earthquake, and a total eclipse of the moon. These, they publicly declared, were sent in punishment of the murder of *Shotepala* and *Pay-chü*. The emperor, seized with fear, sent for the grandees, and ordered them to draw up a memorial, sincerely setting forth their sentiments. *Chang-quey* was pitched on by them to perform this task; which he did with much freedom, and addressed it to the emperor.

He demanded, in the name of the empire, “that, in time, justice should be done on all concerned in the horrible crime of *Tye-she*: that the sons of *Sonan*, who still appeared at court, and were even in the guards, should be banished; and the effects of their father, which had been restored them, confiscated: that *Ganti-puwba*, and the other princes who had been convicted of being accomplices in the treason, and were only banished, should be put to death, as unworthy subjects, who dishonoured the imperial family: that prince *Toto* (C), governor of *Lyau-tong*, having, in the time of the troubles, taken away the lives of several princes and princesses of the blood, and confiscated their goods, instead of being rewarded, as he was, ought to be punished, by confiscating his own effects, resuming his titles, and banishing himself; for that, if such crimes were left unpunished, there would be reason to fear the ruin of the empire was near at hand: that as, during the ministry of *Tye-mi-tyel*, and since *Tye-she*’s conspiracy, many innocent persons had been put to death, an inquiry ought to be made after such, and satisfaction made to their families; and that, considering how many villains those evil ministers employed, as well as acts of injustice they committed themselves, it was to be feared many innocent persons still groaned under oppression; the prisons therefore ought to be visited, and the state of the cities and villages inquired into: that commissioners ought to be sent to the frontiers, and regard had to what the troops had suffered: that care should be taken to send the bodies of the dead into the countries where their parents lived; and to give them wherewithal to inter the corpses: that remedies, and other assistance, ought also to be administered to the sick poor; and the fishing for pearls in the province of *Kanton* prohibited, as occasioning the death of too many people.”

BESIDES these demands, the memorial of *Chang-quey* pointed out several abuses which required a reform. He complained, “that two Mandarins, who had been convicted of counterfeiting the emperor’s orders, and carrying off an officer’s wife, had been pardoned: that, under pretence the court wanted precious stones, a sordid commerce was carried on by certain persons, who were not ashamed to make his majesty pay ten times more for them than they cost: that such persons cared not if whole families and provinces were ruined, so they could make their court by presenting precious stones, which, in reality, were of no use: that a prince ought not to think of governing the empire any other way but as a father of his subjects; and that it was not by the Bonzas, or priests of *Fo*, that he should seek to be happy: that since the Bonzas, the Lamas, and the *Tau-tse*, made so many prayers and sacrifices to *Fo*, heaven had shewed continual marks of its displeasure; and that, till such time as they saw the worship of *Fo* abolished, and all the Bonzas driven out, they might expect to be unhappy: that the palace of the emperor was filled with idle persons, eunuchs, astrologers, physicians, and others, whose maintenance amounted to exorbitant sums: that, as the empire was a family, of which the emperor was father, it was not fit that any of his children should die for want of care and assistance; much less was it fit that a prince should think it inconsistent with his dignity to listen to the cries of the miserable.”

The emperor read this discourse of *Chang-quey* with pleasure: but durst not abolish the worship of *Fo*, for fear the *Mungls* should revolt: nor would he put to death prince *Ganti-puwba*. With regard to the other articles, he appeared to be pretty indifferent: on which

^a GAUREL, ubi supra, p. 255, & seqq.

^b See before.

(C) He was descended in the fifth degree, from *Tyemüke*, brother of *Jenghiz Khan*. *Gaubil*.

occasion the history, on one side, praises the lords, at the head of whom *Chang-quey* spoke a with so much zeal; and, on the other, deploras the unhappiness of the times.

The empire divided.

PRINCE *Tûtemûr*, youngest son of *Hayshan*, who had returned from his exile in *Illy nan*, was ordered to go to *Kyen-kan*, now *Nan-king*, there to reside. *Yesun-temûr*, this year, divided the empire into eighteen great governments, which was before parted into twelve. Those twelve governments depended on a council (D) called *the lords of provinces*. It is remarked also, that the rice sent by sea from the southern provinces, for provisions of the court, amounted to 170 *van* of *tan*; and, the following year, to 335 *van*, and 1000 *tan*.

Lamas influence curbed.

IN 1326 there was a great famine in *Pe-che-li* and *Sban-tong*; of which the emperor having received the particulars from *Chang-quey*, at his return from *Pau-ting Fû*, where he had been to see his relations, that prince followed his sage advice, in succouring the people of those two provinces. The Lamas were all-powerful at court, especially with the princesses. They had patents to take post-horses (E), and ran about with the equipage of princes. They were a great charge to the people, who were obliged to furnish them with horses and provisions. Their lives and manners were often very disorderly; and the *Chineses* on all sides made most bitter complaints of them. The emperor, being at length informed of these abuses, put a stop to them. It being found, that more money had been given to the occidental merchants, who traded in precious stones, than they ought to have had, the same was confiscated: but *Upetula* (F) and *Taulasba* (G), who, either through interest or inclination, were much attached to them, caused the money to be returned to them; and put many Mandarins, who had been turned out, into their places again.

Great calamities.

IN 1327 the grandees invited the emperor to go in person, and sacrifice to heaven: but his majesty refused; and cited a law of *Hû-pi-lay*, importing, that the emperor should perform that sacrifice by a deputy. On this occasion the history represents *Yesun-temûr* as a prince who was not exact in observing the duties of his station; and that he was punished for his faults by the shortness of his reign (H). It is added, that this year all sorts of evils afflicted the empire; drought, famine, inundations, the falling or sinking of mountains, an earthquake, and an eclipse of the sun. In *June* the emperor caused the great work of *Tse-ma-quang*, intituled, *Tse-chi-tong-kyen*, containing what passed under the emperors from before Christ to a long time after, with very elaborate notes, to be translated into the *Mungl* language. In *December* (I) died the illustrious *Chang-quey*, regretted by all the men of worth in the empire.

Care about silk.
A. D. 1328.

IN the beginning of the year 1328 the emperor caused prints to be distributed through the empire, whereon was delineated the art of rearing silk worms, and making silk, with the manner of cultivating lands. Besides these prints, he ordered a book to be printed, and distributed, consisting of fourteen chapters, wherein the antient method of doing those things was treated of. In *February* his imperial majesty went from *Ta-tû* to *Sbang-tû*, and left the guard of the former to *Yen-temûr*. His majesty at the same time ordered *Tûtemûr*, son of *Hayshan*, to go to *Kin-chew*, a city of *Hû-quang*: but, in *July*, *Yesun-temûr* died, at the age of thirty-six, leaving the court full of intrigues and factions.

Emperor's death,

marriages,

and sons,

THIS emperor married *Papûban*, princess of *Hongkila*, who had the honours and titles of empress. Besides this princess, he likewise married his own niece, by one of his elder sisters; and two other ladies, of the house of *Hongkila*, near relations of the empress. The history gives him four sons, of whom *Asikipa*, the prince inheritor, was the eldest. It likewise remarks, that the emperor *Shotepala*, through bad advice, removed from court *Heshila* and *Tûtemûr*, the two sons of *Hayshan*; so that, after his assassination, *Yesun-temûr*, taking advantage of their absence, had himself proclaimed emperor: farther, that *Ayyuli-palipata* and *Hayshan* made an agreement, whereby the two families were alternately to possess the empire; and that the former broke his word, in declaring his son *Shotepala* hereditary prince^d.

YESUN-TEMUR was tenth Khân of the *Mungls*, and sixth emperor of the *Chinese Ywen*.

^c GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 257, & seq.

^d Ibid. p. 260, & seqq.

(D) *Marco Polo*, chap. 22, speaks of this council. *Gaubil*.

(E) They carried news every-where, and even as far as the frontiers. *Gaubil*.

(F) This seems to be *Abd'ollah*, or *Obejde'llah*, a Mohammedan name.

(G) Doubtless *Yesun-temûr*'s prime minister, mentioned before.

(H) Yet the reign of amiable *Shotepala* was not only

as short, but his death tragical; which shews the absurdity of such superstitious conclusions.

(I) It is related, that in this year, 1327, a stranger from the country of *Pusayn* presented the emperor with a lion and a leopard. The cities of *Nichapûr*, *Terpen* (or *Derbend*), *Baghdâd*, *Ijefnan*, *Kû-fa*, *Sûntania*, (or *Soltania*), and others, are put in the kingdom of *Pûsfayn*. *Gaubil*.

C H A P. VI.

The reign of Hoshila, known to the Chinese by the title of Ming-tsong.

a **A**FTER the death of the emperor *Yesun-temür*, the empress *Papühan*, in the name of ^{Eleven:th} the prince inheritor, her son, sent the minister *Upetüla* to *Ta-tü*, in order to secure the ^{Khân.} seals, as well as appease and gain the people. On the other hand, *Yen-temür*, as governor and ^{Hoshila.} commander-general in that capital, posted troops in all the quarters, reinforced the guards at the gates both of the city and palace, and resolved to raise to the throne *Hoshila* and *Tütemür*, the two sons of *Hayshan*. *Yen-temür*, one of the greatest captains of his time, was the third son of *Chobangür*, prince of *Kin-cha*, (or *Kipchak*). His fine personal qualities, joined to his ^{A. D. 1328} birth, and the services which his father and grandfather had done, made him esteemed at court. As he had been raised by *Hayshan* to the prime dignities, and was loved by that prince more than any other lord of his court, *Yen-temür* thought himself bound in gratitude to be

b attached to his family.

In these sentiments *Yen-temür*, in concert with the Regulo of *Gan-si*, great grandson of *Yen-temür's* *Ilü-pi-lay*, by *Mangkola*, having picked out his officers, and most resolute soldiers, on the day ^{real} *Kyaw* of the eighth month, summoned the great Mandarins to one of the halls of the palace.

All the lords being assembled, *Yen-temür*, followed by seventeen men of his party, proposed the two sons of *Hayshan* to be emperors; and said, he would put to death on the spot any who should oppose that resolution. After these words, he ordered his men to seize *Upetüla*, and ^{for Hayshan's} several other of the great Mandarins, who did not concur with him, and conduct them to ^{family.} prison. He then appointed Mandarins of his own party; and gave full power to general

c *Chau-shi-nen* (A), (or *Chau-shi-yen*). The subaltern officers knew nothing of what was intended; and the generals who were in the secret, having assembled the troops, ordered them to kneel, with their faces to the south, and beat the ground with their heads; by which ceremony they perceived that *Yen-temür* designed to proclaim *Tütemür* emperor, at that time banished into *Hü-quang*. For a whole month this general appeared always on horseback, and but a few persons knew where he slept at night. He had taken right measures to hasten *Tütemür* to *Ta-tü*, and give *Hoshila* notice, who was in *Tartary*: at the same time he spread a report, that the first was advancing by great journeys; and that the latter would soon return from the north, with the princes of his family (B).

d **W**HEN *Pe-yen*, governor of *Ho-nan*, a *Merkit* by nation, and one of the best officers of the ^{His great} *Twen*, knew *Yen-temür's* design, he entered into his views; and, putting to death several ^{activity.} officers whom he distrusted, made the troops declare for *Tütemür*. *Satün*, brother of *Yen-temür*, seized the important post of *Ku-yong-quang*; and *Tang-ki-shi*, *Yen-temür's* son, took *Kü-pe-kü* (C). Mean time that general used the necessary precautions for executing his design at *Ta-tü*: on which principle he put to death prince *Koko-chü*, and some other great lords, who went about to supplant him: but he compassed all which he undertook, by his resolution, activity, genius, and the reputation he had gained in the opinion of the troops.

e **W**HILE *Yen-temür* was thus busy at *Ta-tü*, in favour of *Tütemür*, *Taulasba* caused *Asüküpa*, *Asüküpa* known to the *Chinese* by the name of *Tyen-shun*, to be proclaimed emperor. This party was ^{set up.} powerful: for, besides many princes of the blood, and governors of provinces, most of the western officers and soldiers were inclined to follow it; and, according to the *Chinese* law, *Asüküpa* was the lawful emperor; having been acknowledged for the prince inheritor in the life-time of the emperor his father. Prince *Wang-chan* (D) also had given an army to general *Tashe Temür*, son of the minister *Toto*, prince of *Kangli*, in order to oppose that of *Yen-temür*.

At length, in *August*, *Tütemür* arrived at *Ta-tü*, and, by his presence, exceedingly ^{Tütemür} strengthened his party. He made a promotion of Mandarins; and bestowed a great dignity ^{proclaimed.} on *Timé-puwba*, a prince descended from *Itübü* (or *Idiküt*), prince of *Türfün*, who put himself under the protection of *Jenghiz Khân*. In *September* *Tütemür* put *Upetüla* to death; and banished several other Mandarins, whom *Yen-temür* had imprisoned. This general pressed him to be proclaimed emperor. He put it off, saying, he would wait the return of his brother

(A) A descendant of general *Ganchor*, who served with much glory in the wars of *Jenghiz Khân*. *Gaub.*

(B) He had a brother called *Machartay*, the father of *Tashe*, both famous for the great posts they held. *Gaub.*

(C) A fortress and gate in the wall of *China*, to the north of *Pe-king*.

(D) Son of *Song-shan*, son of *Kanmala*, and cousin-german to *Asüküpa*. *Gaubil.*

Hoshila, and yield the empire to him. However, at last he suffered himself to be prevailed on, and was declared emperor. *Yen-temûr* was immediately declared generalissimo; and *Pe-yen*, governor of *Ho-nan*, was likewise much advanced. Manifestos were sent into all parts; and it was affirmed, that *Tûtemûr* was resolved to surrender the empire to his brother *Hoshila*.

Asûkipa proclaimed.

PRINCE *Wang-chan*, being advanced as far as *Yulin* (E), was there stopped by *Satûn*, brother of *Yen-temûr*, and received some losses: but taking advantage of *Yen-temûr*'s absence, who had been sent to the frontiers, to oppose prince *Yesfen-temûr*, reduced *Ku-yong-quan*. On advice of this, that general returned; and, in two battles, defeated the prince, near the river *Yu* (F), and obliged him to retire into *Tartary*. *Wang-chan*, though full of courage, yet being young, and without experience, was no match for an old warlike commander, like *Yen-temûr*. Prince *Koko*, who declared for *Asûkipa*, with the troops of *Shen-si*, seized the important pass of *Tong-quan*. Prince *Yesfen-temûr* likewise entered *Shen-si*, and proclaimed him emperor. *Tyemûko*, the *Tatar* general, following the same party, advanced with a great army to the borders of *Ho-nan* and *Hû-quang*, where he made great conquests. *Ho-nan* was at this time full of formidable armies of both parties^a.

His troops defeated.

MEAN while *Yesfen-temûr*, who had marched from *Shen-si* into *Pe-che-li*, reduced *Tong-chew* (G); and, being reinforced by many succours, drew near *Ta-tû*, in order to besiege it. On this news, *Yen-temûr* took his best troops, and, attacking the prince vigorously, cut his army in pieces. The most valuable officers belonging to *Asûkipa* were slain in this battle; and the prince had much ado to escape with the ruins of his army. Prince *Ulatay*, who also declared for *Asûkipa*, made great marches with his troops, in order to join *Yesfen-temûr*. He had taken *Tse-kin-quan*, an important post in *Pe-che-li*, and alarmed the whole country; but when he came to the bridge of *Lû-kew-kyau*, he there heard of the prince's total defeat; and, fearing to be overwhelmed by *Yen-temûr*, retired.

Shang-tû taken.

WHEN *Pû-wba-temûr*, paternal uncle of *Yen-temûr*, who was great general of the *Mungls* in *Tartary*, to the west, north, and north-east, of *Lyau-tong*, knew that *Tûtemûr* had been installed at *Ta-tû*, he invited prince *Ywelû-temûr* (H) to join him with his troops; and both went, in October, to lay siege to *Shang-tû*. *Taulasba* defended the place at first with much courage; and, followed by the princes and great men of *Asûkipa*'s party, several times attacked the besiegers, but was always repulsed; and, being at length reduced to extremity, surrendered at discretion. He delivered up to *Ywelû-temûr* all the jewels, precious stones, and whatever else belonged to the emperor *Asûkipa*. Prince *Wang-chan* fled; prince *Toto*, heretofore governor of *Lyau-tong*, was killed: but it was not known how *Asûkipa* died.

Asûkipa slain.

ON the news of *Asûkipa*'s death, and taking of *Shang-tû*, the princes and great lords, who were leagued against *Tûtemûr* in *Shen-si*, *Shan-si*, *Hû-quang*, *Che-kyang*, *Lyau-tong*, and other countries, laid down their arms; and, in November, *Tûtemûr*, seeing himself without a rival, sent a lord to his brother *Hoshila*; banished to *Tong-gan-chew* (now called *Tong-gan-hyen*) (I) the empress *Papûhan*, wife of *Yesun-temûr*; and put to death the general *Taulasba*, with the princes *Wang-chan*, *Yesfen-temûr*, and others. He would have done the same by all the *Tatar* and *Chinese* grandees taken at *Shang-tû*, if a great Mandarin had not told him such a proceeding was unjust, and might cause a general disaffection. The history, on this occasion, speaks of *Tûtemûr* as an usurper, who, without reason, put to death the princes and great men, for having supported their lawful sovereign. He is blamed likewise for exiling the empress *Papûhan*. Mean time *Nankyatay*, one of the commanders in *Yun-nan*, got himself proclaimed emperor, and appointed ministers to act in affairs.

Princes put to death.

Hoshila installed.
A. D. 1329.

PRINCE *Hoshila*, having been informed of what had passed, in January 1329 decamped (K); and, marching southwards, encamped to the north of the city *Ho-ning* (L) (or *Karakorum*), and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. This installation was performed with the concurrence of *Tûtemûr*; and the lords of both courts made great rejoicings on the occasion. In March *Tûtemûr* sent *Yen-temûr* to carry the seal of the empire, with the imperial habits and ornaments, to *Hoshila*, who declared him prime minister, and general of the troops; and *Tûtemûr* was appointed the prince inheritor. For all this, *Tûtemûr*, in reality, carried

^a GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 262, & seqq.

(E) A small city of *Pe-che-li*, about five miles east of *W'hai-lay-hyen*. Gaubil.

(F) A little river which passes to *Ku-yong-quang*, in *Pe-che-li*, and falls into the *Pe-ho*, or river *Pe*. Gaubil.

(G) A city on the west side of the river *Pe*, some leagues [about twelve miles] to the east of *Pe-king*.

(H) *Ywelû-temûr* was descended, in the fifth generation, from *Sho-chi-han*, second son of *Tsjutay*, and brother of *Jenghîz Khân*. Gaubil.

(I) A city in *Pe-che-li*, a little to the south-east of *Pe-king*.

(K) The history says *Hoshila* encamped in summer on mount *Ha-lo-û-chay*. I know not if this be the mount *Altchay*, which *M. Polo* speaks of, and where he says *Jenghîz Khân* is buried. This (*Altchay*) is mount *Altay*. Gaub.

(L) Otherwise called *Ho-ling*. Gaubil.

a himself as emperor, independent of his brother. He sent a lord into *Se chwen*; who publishing that the emperor *Tütemür* would pardon *Nankyatay*, who, towards the end of last year, was proclaimed emperor, that general submitted; but was immediately put to death. Mean time *Hoshila* prepared to go to *Shang-tü*; and being arrived, in *August*, within two days journey of that city, *Tütemür* went thither to salute him: but, soon after, *Hoshila* was found dead in his bed. The second of that month he gave a great entertainment to the lords of both courts; and, on the sixth, died suddenly. The historians accuse *Tütemür* with having, *His sudden death.* out of ambition, procured his brother's death.

HOSHILA is the emperor whom the *Chinese* call *Ming-tsung*: he gave the title of empress to the princess *Papúsha*, who was of the tribe of *Naymanchin*, by whom he had a prince named b *Iinchipin*, who was proclaimed emperor, as the reader will see hereafter. When he was in *Tartary*, he married also the princess *Maylayti* ^b, daughter of *Nabanlülü*, descended from ^{sons.} prince *Arslün*, who came from the west to submit to *Jenghiz Khán*, and had large territories given him to the north of the *Great Kobi*, or *Desart*. *Hoshila* had, by the princess *Maylayti*, *Towhan-temür*, who was the last emperor of the *Mungls* in *China*. He had likewise another son named *Han-chi-pan*, who reigned before his brother about two months ^c.

HOSHILA was the eleventh Khán of *Tartary*, and seventh emperor of the *Ywen*, who reigned over the *Chinese*.

^b GAUBIL, ubi supra, p. 265, & seqq.

^c GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 267.

C H A P. VII.

The reign of Tütemür, styled by the Chinese Ven-tsung.

c **A**S soon as *Hoshila* was dead, *Tütemür* sent for the seal of the empire; and, after he had ^{Travelled.} performed the last duties to the deceased, he returned to *Shang-tü*, where, on the ^{Tütemür, or} fifteenth of the same month of *August*, he was acknowledged emperor; and appointed that ^{Ven-tsung.} the year 1329 should be reckoned the second of his reign. This same year *Tütemür* ordered the book, intitled, *King-shi-ta-tyen*, to be composed in *Chinese* by the most able doctors of the empire. It is often cited in the great history of the *Mungls*; by which quotations it appears (A) to contain many curious matters relating to the origin, government, conquests, and geography, of the *Mungls*. One of the doctors, appointed to be concerned in this grand work, was *Shen-se*, a native of *Khorassán*, and a *Mohammedan*: but, as he could never agree with the other doctors, about several articles treated of in that book, which yet are not mentioned, he obtained leave to write on other subjects: among the rest (B), he composed, in d *Chinese*, a geography of the western countries of *Asia*, to which he has subjoined remarks upon their doctrinal books, with a large catalogue of their eminent men.

In *March* 1330 prince *Túkyen* revolted in *Yun-nan*, and assumed the title of king. He ^{Rebellion in} committed a thousand disorders; took the cities, slew the Mandarins, and stirred up the ^{Yun-nan.} *Nyau-tse*, with other people who live independent in the neighbouring provinces, to rebel against the emperor. Hereupon the prince *Alatenasheli*, son of prince *Tüla*, was ordered to march with an army to oppose the designs of *Túkyen*. Mean time the empress *Pútasili*, or *Pútasbeli*, of the house of *Hongkila*, and wife of *Tütemür*, not able to endure the empress dowager *Papúsha*, employed an eunuch to make away with her. The historians take occasion from hence to represent the dangerous consequences of a bad example in princes. *Tütemür*, say they, caused his brother *Hoshila* to be sent out of the world; and that wicked example induced *Pútasili* to destroy *Papúsha*.

In *October* the emperor went to the temple of heaven, and there sacrificed in person, honour- ^{The emperor's} ing at the same time *Jenghiz Khán*, founder of the dynasty. *Tütemür* was the first of the ^{sacrifices.} *Ywen* (or *Mungl*) princes, who in person had been at the temple of heaven, and made the solemn sacrifice, which, before that time, had been performed by others. After this ceremony was over, a general pardon was published; and a law was made, that, among the

(A) The author, when he wrote this, had not yet found that book.

(B) He composed several other works on the *Chinese* classical books; the great men under the *Kin* dynasty;

the books of *Lau-tse* and *Chewen-tse*, &c.: the books of *Shen-se* remain in his family; nor does *Gaubil* know if they were printed.

emperor's wives, only one should bear the title of empress. It is remarked in a note, in the great history of the *Mungls*, that *Jenghîz Khân* had twenty-one ladies, who, besides the princess of *Hongkila*, his principal wife, had the title of empresses; and that the other emperors, down to *Shi-tsu*, or *Hû-pi-lay*, had five or seven: which custom was followed by his successors, till *Tûtemûr*, who limited their number to one.

Yun-nan submits. IN *December* the emperor declared his son the prince *Alatenatala* prince inheritor: but, in *January 1331*, this prince died, to his father's great affliction. Mean time the prince *Alatenasheli*, with an army of more than 100,000 men, carried on the war against prince *Tû-kyen*, who defended himself with courage; but, having been beaten in above twenty battles, in *April* both *Yun-nan* and *Se-chwen* submitted to the victor. However, soon after one of the rebels, named *Lû-yu*, who had laid concealed for a while, excited new troubles, supported by the brothers and sons of *Tû-kyen*. But *Kyay-lye* (C), great general of the *Mungls*, made a terrible slaughter of his followers, and intirely dispersed them. Two brothers and three sons of *Tû-kyen* were killed; and another of his brothers fled as far as the sea, where he perished.

A new conspiracy. MEAN time one of the Lamas, of the country of *Igûr*, which abounds with them, was then chief of the Lamas of the empire, and what regarded their religion; several of the Bonzas of *Igûr* formed a conspiracy in favour of *Ywelû-temûr*, son of the prince *Honanta*, whom the emperor *Hayshan* put to death.

YEN-TEMUR, who had been created a Vang. or Regulo, by the emperor, had a son called *Targay*; which young prince was so beloved by his majesty, that he would have him educated in his palace, and sent his own son *Yentye-kûtse* to be bred up in the palace of *Yen-temûr*. He likewise this year conferred on *Pe-yen* the *Merkit* the title of *Vang* (or *Wang*), which is the greatest honour that the emperor can bestow on one of his subjects; and is attended with pensions, but not estates.

Tûtemûr dies. IN 1332 *Tûtemûr*, according to custom, removed in the spring to *Shang-tû*; where he fell sick, and died, in *August*, in the twenty-ninth year of his age; ordering, that one of the sons of his brother *Hoshila* should be proclaimed emperor^a.

TUTEMUR was the twelfth Khân of the *Mungls*, and eighth of the *Ywen* dynasty in *China*, where he was known under the title of *Ven-tsong*.

^a GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 267, & seqq.

(C) Or *Que-lye*, is the name of a general from the west, who did great services for *Hû-pi-lay* in *Yun-nan*; but I know not if this be the same, or one of his family: *Gaubil*.

CHAP. VIII.

The reign of Towhan-temûr, styled by the Chineses Shun-ti.

SECT. I.

The distractions and rebellions which attended his bad government.

Thirteenth. AFTER the death of *Tûtemûr*, the minister *Yen-temûr* went to the empress *Pûtasbeli*, and proposed to advance her son *Yentye-kûtse* to the empire: but she rejected that motion; and, pursuant to the intention of her deceased husband, caused the prince *Ilinchipin*, second son of *Hoshila* (by the empress *Papûsha*, whom she had put to death), then no more than seven years old, to be proclaimed. This new emperor, known in *China* under the title of *Ning-tsong* (A), dying in *November*, *Yen-temûr* again proposed to enthrone *Yentye-kûtse*: but *Pûtasbeli* would by no means consent to it; declaring, that the empire belonged to *Towhan-temûr* (B), son of *Hoshila*, by the princess *Maylayti*, who was at this time thirteen years of age.

(A) But, as he lived only two months, he is not reckoned among the *Chinese* emperors. See *Du Halde's*

China, vol. i. p. 217. fol. edit. We shall observe in a note at the end of this dynasty of the *Ywen*.

(B) Written *Toboantemour* by our author *Gaubil*.

After

a After the death of the empress *Parishpa*, he was banished into *Korea*, from whence he had been removed to *Queylin Fû*, the capital of *Quang-si*.

THE emperor of the *Song*, who was carried into *Tartary*, and became a Lama^a, had lands *Reports of him*, in that country, where, it is said, he married a princess, and had children by her. This princess, according to some, was *Maylayti*; and had, by him, *Towhan-temûr*. After this, prince *Hoshila* contracted a friendship with the deposed monarch; and, having taken an inclination for *Maylayti*, married her, and adopted *Towhan-temûr*. These reports were, without doubt, false; but they were not the less current, for all that, at court, and in the provinces. However this be, the president of the tribunal of mathematics, being consulted about his election, declared it very dangerous to make that prince emperor. Notwithstanding all that could be said to the contrary, *Pûtasbeli*, persisting in her resolution, sent a great lord to bring the prince from *Quey-lin Fû*, and declare him emperor.

AT the entrance of the year 1333, the empress having received advice that *Towhan-temûr* *Afraid of* was arrived at *Lyang-byang*, a city some leagues short of *Ta-tû*, sent thither the guards, the *Yen-temûr*, princes, and grandees, to meet him. *Yen-temûr*, as generalissimo and prime minister, appeared at their head, and complimented the prince in the name of the empress regent. After this, placing himself by the prince's side, he spoke to him about the state of the court, and manner in which the ceremony of the installation should be performed. *Towhan-temûr* appeared afraid at the sight of *Yen-temûr*; and did not speak a single word: the lords of his retinue seemed likewise to be seized with fear. No wonder the prince should be suspicious of him; since many believed that he was the person, who, by *Tûtemûr*'s direction, put his father *Hoshila* to death. However that be, *Yen-temûr*, touched to the quick at *Towhan-temûr*'s silence, delayed the ceremony of his inauguration; resolving, if possible, to exclude him from the throne, and place the crown on the head of *Yentye-kûtse*.

THE discontent of *Yen-temûr* gave no small uneasiness to the regent and the prince. This latter, being sensible of the fault he had committed, when that lord went out to meet him, *Marries his daughter*, endeavoured to repair it, by marrying his daughter *Peyaw*, and making her his principal wife. *Yen-temûr* had grand qualities; but he was cruel, and void of modesty. He became enamoured with one of the wives of the emperor *Yesun-temûr*, and had the rashness to marry her; a thing almost without example. In *March* he died of his excesses; and his death secured the empire d to *Towhan-temûr*: who, removing with his court to *Shang-tû*, the empress regent declared the last will of *Tûtemûr*; and the grandees agreed to declare the prince emperor.

TOWHAN-TEMUR (C), whom the *Chinese* name *Shun-ti*, at first gave all power to the *Is proclaimed* empress *Pûtasbeli*, and conferred on her the title of empress-grandmother; but, from that time, resolved to get rid of her. This princess informed her son *Yentye-kûtse* of *Tûtemûr*'s will, and of what had passed between *Ayyuli-palipata* and *Hayshan*. The new emperor, to gain the family of *Yen-temûr* to his interest, in *August* caused his wife *Peyaw* to be declared empress.

TOWHAN-TEMUR soon discovered his inconstant and wavering temper; his aversion to state- *Neglects af-* affairs, and his inclination to pleasure. *Alûwhentemûr*, the eighth in descent from the emperor *fairs*.

e Ogotay, perceiving his natural indolence, shewed him the great number of faults he would commit, in case he governed by himself: he therefore advised him to leave that toil to his ministers; and, by that pernicious counsel, was the first cause of the destruction of the empire of the *Ywen* (D). *Towhan-temûr* followed his advice, and thought of nothing but gratifying his passions. *Satûn*, eldest brother of *Yen-temûr*, was honoured with the title of Regulo (or Vang) as well as *Tangkishî*, eldest son of *Yen-temûr*, and brother of the empress *Peyaw*. *Satûn* and *Pe-yen* were the prime ministers; and were, besides, the great generals of the troops. The history loudly exclaims against the advancement of *Pe-yen* to this high post, representing him as a man of bad principles, debauched, and void of honour; it adds, that heaven shewed marks of its displeasure the same day that so much honour was conferred on him; for the earth quaked, f and a mountain fell.

THE history likewise records several presages, in 1334, of the unfortunate reign of *Towhan-temûr*: as that, in the southern provinces, no fewer than two millions two hundred and seventy *Calamities of his reign* thousand families, that is, more than thirteen millions of people, died; and that, in *August*, A. D. 1334, there was an earthquake at *Ta-tû*. The *Chinese* historians, who composed the history of the

^a See before, p. 389.

(C) The *Chinese* books of geography say, that one of *Shun-ti*'s daughters espoused *Tamerlan*, to whom they give the title of *Tû-ma*, that is, son-in-law of the emperor. *Gaubil*.—This answers to the title of *Kur Khân*, given to that prince by the oriental historians, which signifies son-in-law of the *Khan*. See *D'Hierbelot*, *Bibl. orient. art. Timûr*, p. 878.

(D) The history blames the prince *Alûwhentemûr*, and makes an odious comparison between him and *Kau-yau* and *Chew-kong*, who rendered themselves famous by the sage advice which they gave the emperors of their respective times. *Gaubil*.

Ywen, or *Mungl* race, lived at the beginning of the dynasty of the *Ming* (E), who ruined that of the *Ywen*. These authors have taken great pains to render this emperor odious on all occasions: they have represented his faults in their full light; and set down all the famines, inundations, popular sicknesses, earthquakes, falls of mountains, comets, eclipses, and other events: which they thought proper to shew, that *Towhan-temür* ought not to have been emperor; and that the *Ming* (or *Ta-ming*) wrested the empire from the *Mungls* with justice ^a.

A point decided,

relating to tablets.

IN October a question was decided, which had exercised the wits of all the *Chinese* Literati. Several empresses, and, among the rest, *Ching-ko*, first wife of *Hayshan*, had no tablets in the hall of ancestors, near those of their husbands, under pretence that they had no children; while princesses, who were only the second or third wives of emperors, were honoured with tablets, because they had borne sons who afterwards enjoyed the title of emperor. The mothers of *Hosbila* and *Tütemür* had their tablets, and were there respected as empresses; although they lived in the time of *Ching-ko*, who was the chief wife, as well as the princess who had the rank and title of empress. One of the great Mandarins, whom *Pe-yen* consulted, answered, that *Ching-ko*, although without issue, ought to enjoy, after her death, the honours of empress; and that it was an indecency to honour as empresses those who, in reality, were no more than concubines. Another Mandarin, enemy to him who spoke in favour of *Ching-ko*, cited the example of *Tay-tsung*, emperor of the *Tang* dynasty, who, he said, gave two of his ladies the title of empress. The Mandarin, who wanted *Ching-ko* only to have tablets, no-way embarrassed with the objection, instead of staying to consider the passage of history cited by his adversary, ran for another, to oppose it, as high up as the emperor *Tau*; affirming, that the prince did not put the tablet of his mother near that of *Tiko* his father, because the mother of *Tau* was not an empress. Every body applauded this answer: *Pe-yen* rewarded the Mandarin; and *Ching-ko* had her tablet set up near that of her husband *Hayshan*. ^b

Tangkishi's conspiracy. A. D. 1335.

IN 1335 *Satün*, brother of *Yen-temür*, died; and that death occasioned the ruin of his illustrious and powerful family. *Tang-kishi*, a prince naturally fiery, and apt to speak his mind, finding all his uncle's places, of which he expected no small share, given to *Pe-yen*, who, by that means, became the first lord of the court, complained loudly of the injustice done him; and, on this occasion, cried up the services which his ancestors had done the empire, more than became him. At the same time he ran down *Pe-yen*, saying he was too inconsiderable a person to be raised so high; and, in concert with *Talyentali*, his paternal uncle, took measures for setting on the throne *Whang-bo-temür*, son of the rebel prince *Siliki*, slain in *Tartary* in the reign of *Hü-pi-lay*. *Talyentali* had often refused to obey the orders sent him to come to court. The plot was discovered by a prince of the blood; and *Pe-yen* was commissioned to seize the conspirators. In June *Tangkishi* concealed a troop of soldiers to the east of *Shang-tü*, where the court then was; and the thirtieth of the same month, designed to attack the palace on all sides. But *Pe-yen* prevented him, and seized both him and his brother *Targay*, who were then in the palace. *Tangkishi* was killed immediately; but *Targay* fled, and, trembling, ran to the chamber of the empress his sister. This young princess was frightened to see her brother wounded, and, with tears, begged his life of her. The empress, being informed of what had passed, sought to save her brother: but she sought in vain; for presently the lords entered her chamber with their naked swords, and slew him in her presence. ^c

Empress put to death.

WHEN they had done their work, *Pe-yen* went and informed the emperor; who, instead of severely punishing them for daring to enter the chamber of the empress with arms in their hands, consented that *Pe-yen* should even take and put her to death. Pursuant to this horrid permission, that bloody minister turned executioner, went directly to the apartment of that princess; who, perceiving that he came to seize her, set up a loud cry, and fell on her knees before the emperor, intreating him to spare her life. The hard-hearted husband, after reproaching her with the revolt of her uncle and two brothers, told her he could not save her. These cruel words were her sentence of death. *Pe-yen* took her away, led her to a house in a neighbouring village, and there slew her with his own hands. *Talyentali* defended himself the best ^d

^b GAUBIL, hist. Gentchis, p. 270, & seqq.

(E) Among the *Chinese*, the rule is, daily to commit to writing the actions of their princes, and drop the papers into close chests, which are never opened while the family then reigning possess the empire. On the accession of a new family, the chests are opened, and the history of the preceding is compiled from the memoirs found inclosed therein. Although the custom of having a palace, with halls, for honouring the ancestors of princes, is as antient as the monarchy itself; yet it is

not easy to fix the time when the several ceremonies for that purpose were settled, much less of the changes that have been made in them. It is said, that *Ti-ko*, father of *Tau*, had four wives; but 'tis difficult to prove that, in his time, there were tablets in the palace of ancestors; and that, in case there were, none but the tablet of the first wife, who was empress, was placed near his. The series of facts and times before *Tau* is uncertain. *Gaubil*.—and, in our opinion, for many ages after.

a he could; and, after several fruitless efforts with the lords of his conspiracy, took refuge with prince *Whang-ko temür*; where being taken and killed, the prince slew himself.

NOTWITHSTANDING the representations of the Literati, a great *Mungl* lord caused the *Examinations* examination of their order to be suppressed. The *Chineses*, who every-where testified their *suppressed* discontent at this proceeding, set themselves to inquire into the life of that *Tatar*; and soon found faults enough in his conduct, to render him suspected by *Pe-yen*, who thereupon sent him into banishment, where he died not long after.

In 1337, troubles arose in the provinces of *Quang-tong*, *Ho-nan*, *Se-chwen*, and the A. D. 1337. province of *Koko-nor*, where the people appeared discontented with *Towhan-temür*, and *Troubles arise* censured his conduct. The *Chineses* were forbidden to instruct the *Mungls*, and to keep arms. Mean time, the emperor declared a princess of *Hong-kila* empress. In May a comet appeared, which was visible for sixty-three days, and had its course from the *Pleiades* to the head of *Scorpio* (F).

MACHARTAY, youngest brother of *Pe-yen*, had the good qualities of that minister, without his faults: he was a good general; and esteemed by the troops. The emperor would have given him the title of Wang, or Regulo, but he constantly declined it. As one of *Pe-yen*'s bad qualities was cruelty, and a bloody disposition, he proposed to the emperor to have all those put to death, whose *Se-ing* (G) was *Chang*, *Vang*, *Lyew*, *Li*, and *Chau*. The occasion of this barbarous demand is not mentioned; but it was rejected, and drew on *Pe-yen* an infinite number of enemies.

c Toto, son of *Machartay*, was one of the officers of the guards; and, by his prudent behaviour, soon became esteemed by the emperor, as well as the great men at court, with whose A. D. 1340. intrigues he was thoroughly acquainted. He knew that *Towhan-temür* was grown suspicious *Toto undertakes to* of his uncle *Pe-yen*, ever since November 1339; when that lord, under a false pretence, had put to death *Che-che-tü*, great grandson of *Meng-ko*, by *Yulong-tashe*, his fourth son. *Pe-yen* was hated by all the world; and had an intolerable pride: for some time he went abroad with the state of a great king; and *Toto* was one day witness of his pompous train, at a time when that of the emperor was very moderate. The *Mungl* monarch himself observed it, and was offended. More than this, he believed that *Pe-yen* had ill designs in his head (H); and *Toto* knew for certain, that *Towhan-temür* intended to destroy him. *Toto* informed his father d *Machartay* of what had passed; and consulted *U-chi-vang*, a *Chinese* Literato, in whom he had much confidence, as having been his governor. *U-chi-vang* cited the passages, which teach, *that a man must sacrifice his family to justice; and that a great Mandarin ought to have no other object in view, than fidelity to the empire.*

Toto, who was a lord of parts, having found a favourable opportunity to speak to the e emperor, fell on his knees, and said, *that he renounced his family to serve his majesty.* *Towhan-temür*, who believed there was dissimulation in his words, pretended not to understand his meaning. Most of the lords who were about the emperor were creatures of *Pe-yen*. *Shi-kyay* and *Ali* were almost the only two with whom he durst intrust a secret. These he ordered to sound the fidelity of *Toto*, whose motions they narrowly inspected; and then acquainted e his majesty, that they would answer for his integrity. Hereupon *Towhan-temür* sent for *Toto*, and shed tears while he spoke to him of his uncle's behaviour. After this *Toto* and *Shi-kyay*, having become intimate friends, resolved to seize *Pe-yen*; which they did, with the emperor's approbation, in the following manner.

Toto placed new guards in all the posts, and augmented the number of them; ordering f them to give him an exact account of all who either entered or went out. *Pe-yen* was surprised to see the guard reinforced, without having had notice of it, as great general; and, on that occasion, chid his nephew; who answered boldly, "That too good a guard could not be kept in the palace where was the emperor." On these words, *Pe-yen* thought fit to strengthen his own guard; and concluded, that he could not depend on *Toto*. After this, f *Pe-yen* acquainted the guards, that he wanted to speak to his majesty: they asked what his business was; and understanding that it was to invite him to a hunting, *Toto* dissuaded the emperor; so that *Pe-yen* repeated his instances in vain. *Towhan-temür* ordered *Xentye-kotse* to encamp without the city: at the same time *Pe-yen* heard, with astonishment, that *Toto* and *Shi-kyay* had caused the city gates to be shut, and kept the keys, after posting troops, devoted to them, in all the quarters of *Ta-tü*. At night those two lords advised the emperor to change his apartment; and made prince *Xentye-kotse* to return into the city. They ordered *Pe-yen*

^c GAUBIL, p. 272, & seqq.

(F) This *Chinese* manner of expressing the course of the comet deserves explanation. *Gaubil*.

(G) We think this passage needs explanation, as much at least as that relating to the comet.

(H) *Pe-yen* was accused of a design either of seizing the emperor or killing him, and setting another on the throne. *Gaubil*.

to be watched ; and, in *February*, on the day named *Ki-hay*, all the titles and places which a that minister had at court were taken from him ; and he was ordered to set out for *Ho-nan*, there to exercise the office of a Mandarin. He designed, before he went, to salute the emperor, which was refused him ; and, when he was on the road, a second order overtook him, to let him know, that he was banished. After this, he continued his journey ; but fell sick near *Nan-chang-fû*, capital of *Kyang-si*, where he died, hated by all the great men, as well as the people (I).

Affairs at court.

UPON this change, *Toto*, and his father *Machartay*, had new employments ; but the latter still refused the title of Vang, and even that of Targhan, or Tarkan, which implies being exempt from imposts and service. However, the change of ministry went no farther : public notice was given the Mandarins, that they had nothing to fear, and would be continued in their employments. In *June*, *Towhan-temûr* being at *Sbang-tû*, caused a manifesto to be published through the empire ; wherein he set forth all which the emperor *Tûtemûr* and the empress *Putasheli* had done against *Hoshila* and the empress *Papûsha* : he complained bitterly, for that they had exiled him, without having committed any offence ; and endeavoured to make him pass for the son of another person than *Hoshila*. After this, he deprived *Putasheli* of the title of empress grandmother, and banished her ; which treatment she did not long survive. Prince *Tentye-kotse* was ordered to depart for *Korea* : he set out accordingly ; but was killed on the way (K). The tablet of *Tûtemûr* was taken out of the temple of ancestors ; many of the Mandarins, put in by him, were discharged ; and several of the lords punished, who had served him. In *August* *Towhan-temûr* returned to *Ta-tû* ; and, in *December*, re-established the examination of the Literati ^d.

Examinations restored.

A. D. 1342. IN 1342, the famine was so great, that the people ate human flesh (L). Two or three leagues to the north of the bridge *Lû-kew-kyau* (M), is a place called *Kin-kew*, on the east side of the river *When*. The *Kin* emperors formerly made a canal of communication between *Tong-chew* and *Kin-kew*, in order to bring up the provisions and merchandizes which came by water to the first city : but this canal, which passed to the north of *Ten-king*, being found to endanger that capital, was destroyed. In *January* this year, *Toto*, son of *Machartay*, undertook to open it again, with a view to join the rivers *When* and *Pe*, as before ; and although this project was opposed by one of the *Chinese* ministers, on the same reasons which caused it to be stopped up the first time, yet *Toto's* advice was followed. However, the sand and mud, as the Mandarin had demonstrated, soon rendered it useless ; and the fear of inundations obliged them afterwards to close it up a second time. 'Tis related, that a present was made the emperor this year, from the kingdom of *Fû-lang* (N), of a horse eleven feet six inches long, and six feet eight inches high ; the body black, with spots of different colours ; and the hoofs of the two hind feet white. The present was much esteemed.

A. D. 1343.
Histories finished.

HU-PI-LAY, at the beginning of his reign, commanded the memoirs for the history of the *Lyau* and *Kin* to be put in order. He likewise, after the destruction of the *Song* dynasty, gave directions to compile the history of the *Song* : but, notwithstanding the orders of this prince, and his successors, those histories were not finished. Hereupon, in 1343, *Toto*, son of *Macharty* ; *Timûrtash*, son of *Toto*, prince of *Kangli* ; *Gbew-yang-swen*, historian of the empire (O) ; *Chang-ki-yen*, *Lu-tse-cheng*, *Kye-bi-tse*, and other able doctors ; were appointed for this great work ; which was, at length, completed, under *Towhan-temûr*, each dynasty having its history apart. The greater part of what is well executed in them, is owing to the labour of *Gbew-yang-swen*. In this work, besides the annals of the emperors belonging to the three dynasties, there are separate chapters, which contain the several kalendars, and astronomical methods, with the astronomical observations of the mathematical tribunal. There is likewise an ample catalogue of the great men of the respective dynasties, with a concise account of what they have done ; and it is there you meet with the works which the learned of the time have composed. The authors have there inserted what they knew of foreign geography ; and there you find descriptions of the countries subject or tributary to the princes, whose history is set forth. The history of the *Song* hath, besides those accompaniments, a kind of *Chinese* bibliothéque, where the books composed in *China*, on all sorts of subjects, are divided into

Account of them.

^d GAUBIL, p. 276, & seqq.

(I) When he came to *Ching-ting-fû*, he asked some old men, who presented him wine, if they had heard the affair of a son who would have killed his father ? alluding to what *Toto* had done : one of them answered, they had not ; but that they heard there were subjects who would have killed their sovereign. *Gaubil.*

(K) *Ken-tye-kû-tse* had been at first declared prince inheritor by *Towhan-temûr*. The death of that prince is the only thing which the history reproaches the emperor

with, in what he did against *Putasheli* and *Tûtemûr*. *Gaubil.*

(L) The history mentions, for the reason before recited, eclipses of the sun, which happened in *August* and *October*. *Gaubil.*

(M) A few leagues to the west of *Pe-king*.

(N) By which, without doubt, *Europe* is to be understood. *Gaubil.*

(O) Native of *Chang-cho*, in *Hû-quang*. *Gaubil.*

a classes (P). 'Tis from these three histories, that the *Nyen-i-tse* and *Tsu-pyen*, inserted in the *Tong-kyen kang-mû*, have taken the greater part of what they relate concerning the dynasties of the *Lyau*, *Kin*, and *Song*.

In October this year, the emperor *Towhan-temûr* went to the palace of ancestors, to honour the princes of his family : but when he was before the tablet of *Ning-tsong* (or *Ilin-chipan*), his youngest brother, he made a difficulty to kneel. Hereupon the great *Chinese* Mandarins alleged the example of the two brothers *Hi* and *Min* (Q), counts of the country of *Lû*, in *Shan-tong*; saying, that *Hi*, though the elder, did not scruple to perform the ceremony to *Min*, who reigned before him. To support this passage of history, another Mandarin reasoned thus; *Your majesty was no more than a subject, when your brother was emperor; now, a subject ought to kneel before his sovereign.* *Towhan-temûr's* objection being thus removed, he fell on his knees, and honoured his brother *Ning-tsong*, by nine beats with the head. *Ancestors honoured.*

In May 1344, *Toto* was honoured with the title of *Regulo*, and *Alûtû*, the fourth descendant from *Po-eul-chû*, or *Porji*, one of *Jenghîz Khân's* four intrepids, proposed by him to fill his place of minister. In the same month next year, died *Nau-nau*, son of *Pû-hû-chû*, of *Kangli* (often mentioned before), much regretted by the emperor; who highly esteemed him, and was not offended at his frequent admonitions to love virtue, and govern by himself. He passed for a man of great virtue, and was withal one of the most learned doctors of the empire. He had likewise a younger brother, named *Whey-whey*, or the *Mohammedan*, who was a person of great abilities. *Toto made Kang. A. D. 1345.*

c In 1346, *Perku pûwba*, son of the minister *A-û-tay*, slain by order of the emperor *Hayshan*, having lodged an accusation against the great general *Machartay*, *Towhan-temûr* banished that officer to *Si-ning*, a city of *Shen-si* (at the end of the great wall): and *Toto*, having in vain endeavoured to ward off the blow, followed his father. The general being, by a second order, exiled to *Sa-se*, in the west, a lord of the country of *Tûrfân*, a great Mandarin, exclaimed against those who thus maltreated a great lord of merit, innocent of the crime laid to his charge: hereupon *Machartay* was ordered to live at *Kan-chew*, in *Shen-si*, where he soon after died. But the world did him justice: every body was persuaded of *Perku-pûwba's* malice, *Machartay's* virtue, and the emperor's weakness. *His father banished.*

d In 1348, *Kya-lû*, native of *Kau-ping*, in *Shan-si*, who knew something of geometry and levelling, was sent to examine the course of the *Whang-ho*, and its antient bed, in *Pe-che-li*. He made a map of it, accompanied with a discourse; wherein he proposed raising banks along that river, and turning it into a new channel. *Kya-lû* was supported by some great lords; and had inspection over the tribunals which were erected for carrying on of public works. We shall see hereafter what were the consequences of this project. In August, *Yu-chi*, one of the most renowned doctors of the empire, died, at *Li-chwen*, in the district of *Fû chew*, in *Kyang-si*, his native country: he had a considerable hand in the work, intituled, *King-chi-ta-tyen*. In 1333, *Ma-tsû-chang*, a great Mandarin, originally of the west of *Asia*, gave out, that *Yu-chi* was the person who had written an edict of *Tûtemûr*; wherein that prince related what he had said touching the birth of *Towhan-temûr*. *Yu-chi*, upon this aspersion of his enemy, retired, of his own accord; and although the emperor invited him to return, he always declined it. *A. D. 1348. Whang-ho project.*

e In November this year, a great lord, following the example of those who, in all times, have hazarded both their estates and lives, to tell the emperors their faults, laid before *Towhan-temûr* the evils which the empire suffered: he complained, that the misdemeanors of the great men were not punished; and affirmed, that such neglect would ruin the empire: he reminded him of the crimes of *Pe-yen* the *Merkit*; and said, it was a scandal to see still at court his brothers, sons, and grandsons. Another Mandarin prayed the emperor, to deprive his wife, the princess *Ki*, who came from *Korea*, of the honour and title of empress, which he had given her, although the empress, princess of *Hong-kila*, was still living (R); alleging, in support of what he demanded, a writing of *Hû-pi-lay*, in which he took an oath, never to contract affinity with the *Koreans*. The emperor was passionately fond of the princess *Ki*, who was mother of the prince whom he designed for his heir; whereas the children which he had by the princess of *Hong-kila* were all dead. In effect, he rejected the petitions of both Mandarins. *The ministers corrupt.*

f In 1349, *Tay-ping*, a lord of great wisdom, moderation, and integrity, was at the head of affairs; and, as he could not bear to see innocence oppressed, he, in spite of the difficulties

* GAUBIL, p. 278, & seqq.

(P) The author forbears mentioning an infinite number of other articles treated of in those histories; because he designs to speak of them elsewhere.

(Q) Two of the twelve princes of *Lû*, whose annals *Konfutsius* has written, intituled, *Chun-tyew*. *Gaubil.*

(R) *Towhan-temûr* had three wives, who, at the same time, bore the title of empress; and paid no regard to the order of *Tûtemûr*, not to give that title to more than one wife. *Gaubil.*

which lay in the way, demanded, and obtained, the recall of *Toto*. This prince, on his return, ^a was restored to his place of minister; and, not knowing that he owed his good fortune to *Tay-ping*, who made no mention to him of the service he had done him, joined with that lord's enemies in an accusation against him. *Tay-ping* was hereupon turned out of place; and his accusers were going to push their malice farther, when *Toto's* mother threatened to renounce him, if he did not desist; telling him that *Tay-ping* was not culpable, and that he had done him no injury. *Toto*, who loved his mother tenderly, and did not care to give her any uneasiness, ceased to prosecute that lord. Some time after this, *Toto* came to know the obligations which he had to *Tay-ping*, and was extremely sorry that he had done so much injury to his benefactor. A friend of *Tay-ping* having advised him to kill himself, he answered, *I have committed no fault: for me to kill myself, would be to confess myself guilty; let* ^b *us leave the matter to heaven* (S). Hereupon he retired, with his family, to *Si-gan-fû*, in *Shen-si*.

The prince
averse

to Chinese
learning.

TOWHAN-TEMUR being desirous that his son should learn the *Chinese* characters and literature, *Toto*, who was well skilled in both, was pitched on to direct the education of the young prince; and *Li-hau-wen* was appointed his preceptor. Some Lamas were, at the same time, chosen to instruct the prince in the doctrine and books of *Fo*. *Li-hau-wen* took much pains with his pupil: he made an abridgment of the *Chinese* history to his own time, and of the classic books; with reflections on the causes of the ruin of dynasties, and other remarks, in the *Chinese* taste, proper to form a prince for government. But his scholar had no inclination for the sciences; and was much taken with the worship of *Fo* (T). He was an enemy ^c to pains; and the study of the *Chinese* books required a great deal of application. All that his preceptor uttered, appeared to him obscure, full of empty words, and very unprofitable. One day he said, in *Li-hau-wen's* presence, "That he did not yet understand any thing which he had explained to him; whereas, in one night's time, he had comprehended the whole doctrine of *Fo*." These words set all the *Chinese* Literati and doctors against the prince, of whom they ever had but a contemptible opinion; judging him not fit to govern their country: because he either would not, or could not, understand the books, which, according to them, are so proper to teach the art of governing well ^f.

Arbitrary pro-
ceeding.

AMA and *Swe-swe*, two brothers, natives of the country of *Kangli*, were at this time very powerful at court; and, though remarkable for their disorderly courses, had free access to the palace of the empress *Ki*, which they were continually going to. ^d The censors of the empire, and the *Chinese* grandees, exclaimed against such liberties; and two of them made their complaints of it to the emperor. *Ama*, upon this, by artful stories, stirred up the resentment of the empress; who complained to *Towhan-temür*, requiring, that he would punish the two Mandarins, as calumniators, who endeavoured to stain her reputation. The emperor, enraged at what he had heard, banished the Mandarins, one of whom died in the place of his exile. This conduct appeared tyrannical to the *Chineses*, since the Mandarins had done no more than their duty. *Ama*, who, besides many other bad qualities, was excessively lewd, appeared to ^e to them to be the person who contributed most to corrupt the emperor, whom they saw devoted to the most enormous debaucheries, and intirely to neglect the affairs of government; placing all his confidence in men of dissolute morals, and without either honour or capacity.

The Whang-
ho project

causes insur-
rections.

IN 1351, the resolutions taken with regard to the new course proposed to be given the *Whang-ho* (U), or *yellow river*, considerably augmented the troubles and discontent. *Kya-lü*, supported by *Toto*, as hath been already mentioned, had persuaded the emperor to make that river pass, as formerly, through the country of *Tay-ming-fû*, in *Pe-che-li*, and fall into the sea of *Tyen-tsin-wey*. Mean time *Cheng-tsun*, president of the tribunal of public works, with the mathematicians of *Kay-fong-fû*, in *Ho-nan*, went to *Tay-ming-fû*, and other places in *Pe-che-li*, to examine the ground; and, after taking the level of it, affirmed, that to clear the old channel was impracticable; that it would require too great an expence; and that *Shan-tong* would ^f be ruined. All sorts of means were tried to prevail with the president to change his opinion; but he answered, that he would rather die than speak contrary to his judgment in a matter of so much importance to the public. *Cheng-tsun* was hereupon dismissed, and his place given to

^f GAUBIL, p. 281, & seqq.

(S) He speaks here of the emperor, whom the *Chineses* call the *son of heaven*. They believe that his power comes from heaven; and that his orders ought to be obeyed like those of heaven. *Gaubil*.

(T) This prince seems to be of a different character from *Ayyeushilitata*, the prince inheritor mentioned hereafter, p. 431: but, for want of the name of the

prince mentioned here, we cannot pretend to determine the point.

(U) On this occasion, our author *Gaubil* gives an account, from the *Chinese* authors, of the several changes which the *Whang-ho*, or *yellow river*, has suffered in its course, from the earliest time.

a *Kya-lü*, whose advice was followed; and to the titles of his patron ² *Toto*, was added that of Targhan ^b.

THE works, which were made for turning the *Whang-ho*, ruined an infinite number of people, and caused new taxes to be imposed; while the peasants could not bear to see their lands taken away, and themselves transplanted elsewhere. The discontent becoming general, different chiefs of parties in every province stirred up the people; so that the Mandarins were greatly embarrassed.

HAN-SHAN-TONG, born in the district of *Ching-ting-fü* (in *Pe-che-li*), who had been banished, Han-shan-
for his misdeeds, into *Shan-tong*; taking advantage of the troubled state of things, prevailed ^{tong and}
on great numbers of people to rebel, in *Shan-tong*, *Ho-nan*, and *Kyang-nan*. They made him
b pass for a descendant of *Whey-tsung*, eighth emperor of the *Song*; and took an oath to obey
him, sacrificing an horse, and a black ox. Those concerned in this association were distin-
guished by a red cap. The Mandarins found means to seize *Han-shan-tong*; but his wife and
children escaped. *Lyew-fü-tong* also, an intrepid man, who supported *Han-shan-tong* in *May*, ^{Lyew-fü-}
appeared in the field, near *Fong-yang-fü*, in *Kyang-nan*. He was presently joined by more than ^{tong rebel.}
100,000 men, and fortified himself in the districts of *Nan-yang-fü* and *Ju-ning-fü*, in *Ho-nan*.
At the same juncture, a pirate, named *Fang-que-chen*, scoured the coasts of *Che-kyang* and
Kyang-nan, with a great fleet, entered the rivers, plundered the towns and villages, and ruined
the trade. One of his designs was, to hinder the transportation of corn, rice, and merchan-
dizes, to the court. The armies sent first against *Fang-que-chen* were destroyed, and their
c generals taken prisoners. After this, the pirate making a sham accommodation, the great
Mandarins concealed his revolt: they even caused titles of honour, and employments, to be
given to him and his brothers. Mean time, the rebel kept the ports continually blocked up;
and did, with impunity, whatever he pleased, for want of honest captains and soldiers to oppose
him at sea.

THE emperor having, on his return from *Ta-tü*, in *August*, ordered *Tesyen-temür*, brother ^{Tsü-chew-}
of *Toto*, to assemble the troops, and march against *Lyew-fü-tong*, that general retook several ^{Whey}
places in *Ho-nan*, and put to death some rebels; but, in reality, *Lyew-fü-tong*'s party grew
in strength. In *October* *Tsü-chew-whey* took arms in *Hü-quang*, and caused himself to be pro-
claimed emperor at *Ki-shü-i*, in the district of *Hong-chew-fü*. He gave a name to the dynasty
d which he proposed to found: and the year 1351 is set down, in the history, for the first of
his reign. In *November* a comet appeared, whose tail pointed towards the west: on which
occasion it was industriously reported throughout the empire, that heaven, by several visible
marks, made known, that it would take the empire from *Towhan-temür*; and the history relates
the superstitious reflections which were made upon the appearance of this comet.

IN 1352 *Tsü-chew-whey* took *Han-yang* and *Vü-chang* in *Hü-quang*; and, after having seized ^{proclaimed}
other posts of importance, caused a fleet to be fitted out, and undertook the siege of *Kyew-* ^{emperor.}
kyang-fü, on the *Grand Kyang*. Whether through treachery, cowardice, or disgust with *Tow-* ^{A. D. 1352.}
han-temür's service, a great number of *Tatar* Mandarins in *Hü-quang* and *Kyang-fü* fled at the
approach of the *Chinese*; and *Polotemür*, general of a great body of troops which encamped
e along the *Kyang*, abandoned his post, with his *Mungls*, who dispersed merely for fear of *Tsü-*
chew-whey: these things passed in the first months of the year. On this occasion *Li-fü*, a *Chi-*
nese grandee of *Fong-yang-fü* in *Kyang-nan*, set the *Mungls* a fine example of fidelity to their
sovereign: he sent couriers to all the neighbouring villages, to cut off the retreat of *Polotemür*'s
forces, and oblige them to do their duty. *Tesyen-temür*, a *Tatar* officer, seconded *Li-fü*; and,
having joined their troops, defeated a detachment of *Tsü-chew-whey*'s army, consisting of 20,000
men. After this, *Li-fü* ordered a great number of trees to be cut down, and to be thrown,
tied together, into the *Kyang*, to hinder the passage of the rebel fleet: which, coming down
the river soon after in full sail, met with this unexpected obstacle; so that they could nei-
ther approach *Kyew-kyang-fü*, nor escape the fiery arrows, which, shot by *Li-fü*'s troops,
f burnt several barks ¹.

WHILE *Li-fü* was so zealously employed to serve *Towhan-temür*, the general *Tükyen-purwa* ^{Glorious be-}
fled out of the city by the north gate. Most of the *Tatar* officers followed his ^{barbaric.}
example; and the army of *Tsü-chew-whey* were repairing to enter *Kyew-kyang-fü*. Upon this,
Li-fü, taking what troops remained faithful, and with one of his nephews, who was always near
him, mounted the ramparts, to prevent any surprize. The enemy first burnt the west gate;
then came to attack the eastern; and, spite of all *Li-fü*'s efforts, entered the city. That brave
man still defended himself in the streets on horseback; but, wanting forces, he called out aloud,
Kill me, but spare the inhabitants. At these words he and his nephew were cut to pieces. The
citizens lamented his death; and *Towhan-temür* conferred great titles of honour on him. *Li-fü*

² GAUBIL, p. 234, & seq.

^b See before.

¹ GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 285, & seqq.

was one of the principal Mandarins of *Kyew-kyang-fû*, and the annals of that city have ranked him amongst the most illustrious of its governors.

Public calamities.

THIS year there happened an extraordinary earthquake at *Long-si* in *Shen-si*, which felt its shocks for one hundred days successively. Bones were also found nine or ten feet long, whose antiquity could not be determined. At the beginning of the year 900,000 souls perished by famine and sickness (W). The emperor ordered likewise, that employments should be given, in the tribunals, to the *Chineses* in the provinces south of the *Kyang*; who generally, till then, were preferred to places which only concerned commerce and literature. His majesty, about the same time, heard with great concern of the death of general *Tay-pûwha*, who was slain by the troops of *Fan-que-chen*, on the coast of *Che-kyang*; being led, by a relation of that pirate, into the snare unawares: but, when he perceived that he was betrayed, he slew the traitor, with others whom he distrusted; and then, being surrounded on all sides, was killed himself, after a brave resistance. Mean time the army of the rebel *Lyew-fû-tong* dispersed that of *Yesyen-temûr*, brother of *Toto*; who abandoned the open country to the enemy, and shamefully fled to *Kay-fang-fû*, capital of *Ho-nan*.

Rebels successful.

Toto's injustice.

THE emperor sent another general in his stead; and was content to say, that *Yesyen-temûr* did not understand the business of war: but several great Mandarins accused him of having destroyed an army, and, by his cowardice, dishonoured the empire of the *Mungls*. *Towban-temûr*, instead of making an example of so great a misdemeanor, intrusted the examination of the affair to *Toto*, who behaved very ill on this occasion; for he not only defended his brother, but even accused and turned out several Mandarins who had accused *Yesyen-temûr*. Among the lords of merit, and most capable of serving the state, was *Tor-chipan*, descended, in the sixth generation, from the illustrious *Moboli* (or *Mûbûli*). He had at first been minister, and was very capable of re-establishing affairs: but he was disgusted that nobody would attend to his prudent advice; and would never be any-way concerned in the criminal intrigues of those who governed the mind of *Towban-temûr*. *Tor-chipan* was versed in the *Chinese* sciences: was learned in mathematics, and the art of war. But, as he was one of those who appeared most incensed against *Yesyen-temûr*, *Toto* caused him to be banished: soon after which he died at *Whang-chew-fû*, in *Hû-quang*, at the age of forty. This severity towards one of the first and most illustrious lords of the empire did much injury to *Toto*, and infinite hurt to the emperor's affairs.

Tor-chipan banished.

The rebels overthrown.

THE court was greatly alarmed at the news of the taking of *Hang-chew Fû*, capital of *Che-kyang*, in *July*, by the troops of *Tsu-chew-whbey*. Hereupon *Towban-temûr*, fearing the loss of the southern provinces, sent a great army under the command of *Kyau-wha* and *Tong-po-syau*. The army having crossed the great *Kyang*, *Kyau-wha* demanded the advice of the other general officers. *Tong-po-syau* said, that, as the rebels were infallibly plunged in all sorts of debaucheries in so rich and delightful a city, they could not be in a condition to resist; from whence he concluded, that they ought to go and attack *Hang-chew Fû*. After much debate, this advice was followed, and the city was assaulted with great resolution. On the other hand, the rebels often sallied, and fought seven most bloody battles: but, after a cruel slaughter of them, the city was taken. This great check much weakened the party of *Tsu-chew-whbey*, who lost there excellent officers, and more than 40,000 men. In the enemy's army they found many magicians, Bonzas of the sect of *Tau*, whom they put to death, and burned their books of magic^k.

on two occasions.

Defeat the Mungls.

IN *August* *Toto* asked leave to go and besiege *Tsu-chew*, a city of *Kyang-nan*, possessed by the troops of *Lyew-fû-tong*; which was granted him: and, on this occasion, *Mlieuulmabomo* (X), president of the tribunal of war, made extravagant eulogies upon that minister. *Toto* attacked the city by the west gate: the besieged made a great sally; but, being repulsed, *Tsu-chew* was taken and ruined. The minister was hereupon rewarded, and ordered to return to court immediately.

GENERAL *Arslân*, who commanded the *Mungls* in *Kyang-si*, being much beloved by the *Myau-tse* (Y), on hearing of *Tsu-chew-whbey*'s revolt, enlisted 50,000 of those mountain people, and went with them to *Lû-chew*, a city of *Kyang-nan*. An army of *Myau-tse* in the heart of *China* was a very odious sight; so that they were dismissed, upon the remonstrance of *Tu-que*,

^k GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 288, & seq.

(W) In the district of *Ta ming fû*, in *Pe-che-li*, only, there died of famine, in *June*, 500,000 persons. *Gaubil*.

(X) This is a single word: he was a foreigner. *Gaubil*.—This seems to imply, that the names of persons which our author has given, for the general, consist of more words than one, although joined together, as if but one. However, we have seldom divided any but

such as are *Chinese* names; although all the rest must consist of two or more monosyllables, as being written commonly from the *Chinese* characters, and according to the *Chinese* pronunciation.

(Y) A sort of wild and independent people, mentioned before, who possess the mountainous parts of several provinces of *China* to the south-west.

- a who had orders to command the troops in that province. This Mandarin fortified *Gan-king* on the *Kyang* exceeding strongly, and kept his ground in the midst of the rebels: for at that time most of the province of *Kyang-si* was in the hands of *Tsu-chew-whey's* party. On the other hand, the general *Sing-ki*, having re-assembled the troops, reduced *Kyew-kyang* and *Hsi-kerw*. He then marched to attack the rebels, who plundered all the places along the rivers; but, being surrounded, and wounded by an arrow, he was taken. *Sing-ki* had the reputation both of a good man and a hero. As soon as the rebels knew his name, they fell on their knees, and set victuals before him: they treated him for seven days, in a hut, with all sorts of respect; and were greatly concerned that they could not cure his wound. The general, perceiving death to be near, made a shift to raise himself up; and, having made his reverence to the north, expired: this happened in *November*. *Sing-ki* was of an antient family of *Ning-hya*, at the great wall in *Shen-si*; and had done great services to the empire.

- Toto, who was under obligations to *Ama*, being become prime minister, brought that lord into the management of affairs, and got him appointed one of the ministers of state. *Ama*, supported by the empress *Ki*, by degrees made himself independent of *Toto*, and intirely corrupted *Towban-temür*. He brought into the palace several young debauchés, and Lamas of *Tibet*, whose hearts were corrupt, and minds poisoned with superstition: their heads were filled with notions of magic and forcery, the consequence of which was revelling and lewdness. They persuaded the emperor, that he should be overwhelmed with happiness, if he would but practise their abominable art, which is called by them *Tensher* and *Pimi* (Z). This unfortunate prince, sensible to the evils of the state, and ruin of his dynasty, thought of nothing but to perfect himself in the art which the Lamas taught him. It grieved all the *Tatars* and *Chineses*, who had any zeal for the empire, to see that all sorts of debaucheries were by him committed in the palace, in company with *Ama*, and his brother *Swe-swe*, *Tolo-temür*, his brother-in-law, and several other lords, besides the Lamas. *Ayewshilitata*, son of the emperor, and empress *Ki*, never would give into the debauches of his father, and did all in his power to drive the Lamas from the court; but his attempts were fruitless. The history observes, on this occasion, that, had the bones of *Ama* been cut in a thousand pieces, he would not have been sufficiently punished, as having been the first cause of all the evil.

- d For some time the pirates had taken every thing which came by sea; so that *Ta-tü* suffered much. To remedy this, *Toto* sent for a great number of husbandmen from the south, on whom he bestowed utensils, cattle, and a good deal of money. His view was, to have corn sown in the environs of the capital, and thence be supplied with provisions, which before came by sea; but this expedient did not answer the purpose. And now things fell into greater confusion than ever. That minister quarrelled with *Ama*; and this latter, to be revenged, supplanted him.

- In *December* 1354, *Ama* impeached *Toto* of having carried on the war very ill, and converted the revenues of the empire to his own use. His brother *Tesyen-temür* was at the same time accused of being a debauché. At this juncture *Ama* was absolute master of the emperor's will; so that, to destroy a man, it was sufficient to accuse him, without proving the charge. They began by depriving *Toto* of his titles; after which, he and his brother were removed at a distance from court.

- f MEAN while the emperor thought of nothing but entertainments, parties of pleasure, and new ways of gratifying his passions. Sixteen young girls, called the sixteen celestial spirits, were appointed for the dance; other persons were continually employed in prayers and sacrifices to *Fo*; others to discover what was to come, by forcery; others to sing, and play on music: these were all the affairs of importance which *Towban-temür* troubled his head about. This prince caused a bark to be made 120 feet long, and twenty broad. It was rowed by twenty-four men, magnificently dressed, and designed either for carrying his majesty along a great lake, from the palace of the north to that of the south; or else for going a pleasuring with him on the same lake; and, while it passed along, one beheld a dragon, whose eyes, head, and claws, were in motion. In the palace was a large press, on which was a niche called that of the three sages. In the middle of the press was the representation of a girl holding a needle, to shew the hours of the day and night, according to the *Chinese* division of time. When the needle was at the hour, water issued out. On each side was the figure of an angel: one holding a bell, the other a copper basin. When the time of night came, those two spirits beat the watches, conformable to the hour marked by the needle; and, at the same time, several statues, representing lions and eagles, were in motion on the sides. To the east and west of the press was seen a representation of the course of the sun and moon through the zodiac. Before the figure representing the twelve signs stood six antient immortals; who, at noon and midnight, marching two and two, passed a bridge called the holy bridge, and, entering after-

(Z) The signification of these two words was not known to our author *Gaubi*.

wards the niche of the three fages, returned to their first post. They highly extolled the contrivance, as well of the bark, as the other machines, the like of which they had never seen before; and the emperor himself passed for the inventor of them¹.

Han-lin-eul
proclaimed.
A. D. 1355.

At the beginning of the year 1355, a body of rebels, from *Ho-nan*, crossed the *Whang-ho*; and, in *February*, *Lyew-fû-tong* caused *Han-lin-eul*, son of the rebel *Han-shan-tong*, to be proclaimed emperor. This new usurper named ministers and generals: he gave to his dynasty the title of *Song*, and fixed his court at *Po-chew*, a city in *Ho-nan*. The history has marked the years which this power continued.

Toto slain.

Toto, upon his disgrace, was first appointed one of the Mandarins of *Whay-ngan Fû* in *Kyang-nan*, and afterwards of *Etsina* (A). But, this being represented as too slight a punishment for his faults, his goods were confiscated, and he was banished to *Yun-nan*. Ama, not content with this, counterfeited an order from the emperor, for killing him as soon as he arrived in that province. This order was sent to an officer of the army, who had his family with him; and, instead of killing the banished minister, treated him with honour and distinction. But this benevolence did not continue long: for the officer, having proposed one of his daughters in marriage, on *Toto's* refusing the offer, thought it done in contempt; and caused him to be slain, in the forty-second year of his age. This unhappy great man was a *Merkit* by nation, and very knowing in the *Chinese* literature, as well as affairs of government: but the love of glory, and his brother *Yesyen-temûr*, made him commit many faults. His conduct, particularly with regard to *Tor-chipan*, had rendered him odious to the *Mungl* princes and grandees.

The emperor
admonished;

but in vain.

To return to the civil wars. The general *Tashepa-tû*, arriving, in *October*, at *Huy-chew* in *Ho-nan*, obtained a great victory over *Lyew-fû-tong*. But although this rebel was defeated a second time by another *Tatar*, yet he always retrieved his losses; and, after being beaten, still found himself in a condition to undertake new designs. The emperor, having ordered a great council of war to be held in *July*, to consider of means for security of the provinces attacked by the rebels; a great Mandarin laid hold of the occasion to admonish him of his faults: he said, "that those measures were unavailing, while his majesty continued to live in disorder, and without mending the affairs of government; adding, that he ought to begin by looking into the state of the court, and of the empire, with his own eyes. In the provinces, said he, the officers and Mandarins think of nothing but pleasure, money, and good cheer; and, after the example of the prince, appear insensible at the loss of cities and provinces." The discourse of the Mandarin was commended: but *Towhan-temûr* never thought of mending his conduct; and left to others the care of reforming the Mandarins.

¹ GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 293, & seq.

(A) A city of *Tartary*, now in ruins, to the north of *Kanchew*, in *Shen si*.

S E C T. II.

The rise of Chû, or Hong-vû, and ruin of the Ywen dynasty.

Rise of Chû.

Fû-Chew.

IT was in *June* this year that the head of a party named *Chû* (B), setting out from *Ho-chew* (C), passed the *Kyang*, and took *Tay-ping*: let us hear what the history says on this occasion. The *Ywen*, coming from the north of *Sha-mo* (D), made themselves masters of *China*: the love of pleasure caused them to degenerate; and on all sides they saw revolts. Among the troops, there was no subordination: the years were bad, and the people could not live. It was in the year of the *Black Dragon* (E) that *Tay-tsû* raised troops in the city of *Hau* (F): his intention was, to give peace to the world, and relief to the people. With this view, he associated to himself men of virtue and courage: at the head of whom he reduced *Tû-chew*, a city of *Kyang-nan*; and, the next year, took *Ho-chew*, where he gave evident marks of his love for the people, his greatness of soul, and his knowledge in the art of government. He was quite at a loss how to pass the *Great Kyang*, for want of barks, when an unexpected succour of 10,000 men, f

(B) This is the famous *Chinese* who afterwards assumed the name of *Hong-vû*, and founded the dynasty of the *Ming*, or *Tay-ming*; to whom the *Chinese* give the title of *Tay tsû*.

(C) A city of *Kyang-nan*.

(D) The great *Sandy Desert* called *Sha-mo*, or *Sha-mû*, by the *Chinese*; and by the *Mungls*, *Kobi*, or *Gobi*, which signifies a desert.

(E) Which is the twenty-ninth of the *Chinese* sexagenary cycle, and fifth of the *Mongol* cycle of twelve years, answering exactly to that of *Christ* 1352. *Gaubil*.

(F) Now *Fong yong fû* in *Kyang-nan*; of whose district was *Chû*, or *Hong-vû*, and most of the generals who at first associated with him. *Gaubil*.

and

a and 1000 vessels, came to his assistance. On board of these *Chû* embarked, with his best officers (F); and, passing eastward, they reduced *Nyew-chû-ki* and *Tay-ping* (as before-mentioned).

AMA, who, since the banishment of *Toto*, was prime minister, in 1356 became struck with the melancholy state to which the empire was reduced; and ashamed to see that he himself had been the principal cause of it, by what he had done to debauch the emperor's mind, and divert him from affairs of government. He was informed of the severe reflections which were made, in all places, on his conduct; and saw that he was abhorred by all the honest men in the empire. Night and day these thoughts troubled his mind, and he thought seriously how to remove the evils which he had brought in. He judged that the best way would be, to oblige *Towhan-temür* to resign the throne to the prince appointed heir; by whom, and the empress *Ki* his mother, he was sure to be supported in his design. But, as he stood in need of other helps, he opened his mind to his father; and, after praising the talents of the prince, assured him, that the emperor was become stupid, and incapable of governing.

THIS discourse happened to be overheard by *Ama's* sister, who was married to *Toto Temür*, a companion of the emperor in his debauches; and she told her husband of it. This lord was sensible that he was hated by the prince, who did not love debauchery; and, judging that he had reason to fear his displeasure, in case he should become emperor, discovered to *Towhan-temür* the design of his minister. The emperor, who was more than any thing piqued with what *Ama* had said of his stupidity, was for putting both him and his brother *Swe-swe* to death that instant: but, as both had been companions in his debauches, and their mother had nursed the emperor *Ilinchipan*, he changed his resolution; and was content to forbid them the palace, and have them watched. After this, *Sbo-se-kyon*, one of the ministers, was ordered to prosecute them; and, on the repeated accusations of the great men, they were sentenced to be banished. They set out accordingly, but were killed on the road. Every body believed that *Ama* had been destroyed for putting *Toto* to death; and few people knew the real cause of his misfortune.

IN March *Chû* defeated the *Mungs* near *Nan-king*, capital of *Kyang-nan*, and took that city, *Chû* into which he made his entry. Being thus become possessed of it, he did no hurt to any person: he continued the Mandarins in their employments, and did good to all the poor. From this time it was easy to foresee, that, in a little while, he would be master of the greater part of *China*. With regard to the other chiefs who were in arms, the rebels had been now five years besieging the city of *Whay-gan-fû* in *Kyang-nan*, defended by *Chû-puwba* the governor, assisted by *Lyew-kyä*, an officer of merit, with a courage and constancy almost without example. But *Chû-puwba* having accused to the emperor a general, in the neighbourhood, of neglect of service; this latter, to be revenged, resolved to sacrifice the good of the state, by giving him no assistance. For this purpose, at the beginning of the year 1356, he ordered *Lyew-kyä* to decamp from before *Whay-gan-fû*, under pretence of sending him to attack a detachment of the rebels; who thereupon invested the city on all sides, dug trenches, and laid the environs under water.

MEAN time the treacherous general remained quiet, without sending the least succours to the place, which he might easily have done. *Chû-puwba*, upon this, applied to the neighbouring governors of cities for aid, no fewer than nineteen times, yet received no answer. The inhabitants and soldiers, finding themselves thus abandoned, resolved to die with their commander, whom they loved as their father. After they had eaten all the animals, vermin, and leather, to be found in the city, they were reduced to kill those who fell down through weakness, in the streets, and feed on their flesh. At length *Whay-gan-fû*, which, before the siege, was very populous, surrendered for want of inhabitants to defend it. *Chû-puwba* was taken, with his son *Pan-ko*, fighting to secure the western gate, and both were cut to pieces. The eulogiac history of his life says, that, during the siege, he sustained more than one hundred engagements with much valour. Altho' a foreigner, yet the *Chinese* still boast of the courage and fidelity of *Chû-puwba*, and compare him to the celebrated *Chang-tsun* (G).

f IN February the *Song* rebels having ravaged the district of *Si-gan-fû* in *Sben-si*; the general, and prince *Alatenasheli*, descended from *Jagatay*, second son of *Jenghîz Khân*, had thoughts of leaving the city, when a Mandarin proposed sending for *Chobantemür*, governor of *Ho-nan*. This general came with 5000 cuirassiers, and cut in pieces the body of rebels: but he was surprised to hear that *Kay-fong-fû*, capital of that province, had been taken in August by *Lyew-fû-tong*: and, for all the loss which the *Song* received near *Si-gan-fû*, other rebels of the same

^a GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 293, & seq.

(F) The names of them, as mentioned in the text, are, *Su-ta*, *Fong-que-ong*, *Sbau-jong*, *Tong-ho*, *Li-shan-chang*, *Chang-yu-chan*, *Teng-you*, *Keng-kun-yong*, *Mau-quang*, and *Lyau-yong-gan*.

(G) He was of *Nan-yang-fû* in *Ho-nan*, and one of the

best officers of the *Tang* dynasty. The siege of *Quy-te-fû*, in the same province, which he sustained at several times in the year 757, is one of the finest actions to be met with in the *Chinese* history. *Gaubil*.

party appeared near *Fong-tsyang fû*; but *Chobantemür*, marching twenty leagues in one day and night, fell upon and defeated them, when they least expected an attack. Mean time *Chü* made great advances in *Kyang-nan*, and, among other cities, took *Chang-chew-fû* and *Tang-chew-fû*. While the rebels of *Tsi-chew-whey*'s party seized, this year, the capital of *Se-chwen*, and became very powerful in that province.

Gan-king
taken

THE general *Yü-que* was exceeding strongly fortified in *Gan-king*; and had placed good troops in the posts which are on the two banks of the *Great Kyang*, in the part where that river passes between the mountains *Sya kü*, in the district of *Syew fong-hjen* in *Kyang-nan*. However, *Chen-yew-lyang*, the general of *Tsi-chew-whey*, attacked these important posts; and, fighting for four days continually both by land and water, made himself master of them, in spite of the stout resistance of the commander. The passage of the *Kyang* being thus laid open, the rebel general went and laid siege to *Gan-king*. *Yü-que* drove him off at first: but the rebels, who were encamped at *Jau-chew-fû* in *Kyang-fû*, came and attacked the west gate, while *Yew-lyang* assaulted that of the east; and both parties had actually scaled the walls, when *Yü-que*, at the head of the townsmen, who were willing to hazard their lives, falling boldly on, slew a great number of them, and made the rest give way. For all this, the rebels returned to the charge with more fury than before; so that there was a great slaughter on both sides.

by Yew-lyang.

IN *January* 1358 the body of rebels which was at *Chi-chew-fû* in *Kyang-nan* came and attacked the east gate; that of the south was undertaken by the troops come from *Jau-chew-fû*; and *Yew-lyang* assaulted that of the west; while the enemies fleet covered the *Great Kyang*. *Yü-que*, invested thus on all sides, after placing the officers in their respective posts; at the head of his bravest soldiers, fell on the enemy, of whom he made a great slaughter: but, while he fought with greatest ardour, the rebels forced the three gates, and took the city. *Yü-que*, perceiving this misfortune by the fires which were lighted on the occasion, and having already received ten wounds from the multitude of enemies who beset him, ran himself through with his own sword. His wife, sons, and daughters, threw themselves headlong into a well: the officers of the garrison likewise slew themselves, rather than surrender; and a considerable part of the inhabitants chose rather to cast themselves into the fire, than be subject to the rebels. *Yü-que* was esteemed and beloved by every-body: his tomb is still to be seen at *Gan-king*. He was born at *Lu-chew* in *Kyang-nan*; but was originally of the country of *Tan-gü*.

Rebels plunder
Shan-tong.

IN *March* one of the generals of the *Song* rebels spread an alarm far and near, by the reduction of *Tsi-nan-fû*, capital of *Shan-tong*. The *Tatar* commander of *Tong-chang-fû* (in the same province) abandoned both the city and country. About the same time *Mau quey*, one of the best *Song* officers, came from *Ilo-kyen-fû* (H): and, joining with him who had taken *Tsi nin-chew* and *Tsi-nan-fû* (I), the rebels plundered *Shan-tong*, and the country about *Ta-tü*. The first detachment of the *Song* attacked an important post near that imperial city, whose commander was slain; and, the rest of the *Song* troops arriving, the court was in great apprehensions. Several of the grandees counselled the emperor to retire, and remove his residence elsewhere. The minister *Tay-ping* opposed that advice, and called in troops on all sides.

Take the capital.

Lyew Kara-puwba attacked the enemy some few leagues from the city; and, defeating them, constrained *Mau-quey*, who commanded them, to retire back to *Tsi-nan-fû*. *Tay-puwba*, a *Tatar* general in *Pe-che-li*, of the illustrious family of *Hong-kila*, being an enemy to *Tay-ping*, would not obey his orders; hereupon that minister accused him of neglecting the service, for which he was condemned to die.

Chü's success.

MEAN time *Chü* became admired in the southern provinces. In *December*, at the head of 100,000 men, he took *U-chew* (K); and, assembling his generals, it was determined neither to commit slaughters, nor plunder. While this head of a party (L) took good measures to maintain his footing in the south, *Quan-syen-seng*, one of the *Song* generals, penetrated into *Lyau-tong*, plundered *Lyau-yang*, and then marched into *Korea*. On his return from that country, he attacked *Shang-tü*, which he took, and burnt that beautiful city, with the magnificent palace which the emperor *Hü-pi-lay* had built there. On this occasion a Mandarin presented a memorial to the emperor, wherein he exhorted his majesty to reform his manners, and follow the

Shang-tü
burnt.

^b GAUBIL. Hist. Gentil. p. 296, & seq.

(H) A city in the province of *Pe-che-li*.

(I) In the *French* it is only *Tsi-nin* and *Tsi-nan*. The author frequently leaving out the last syllable, which distinguishes the rank of the city, the reader is not only deprived of that useful information, but may be often led into a mistake. For instance, meeting with *Tsi-chew*, he would be apt to take it for a city of the second rank; whereas it is a city of the first rank in *Shan-tong*, only the final *Fû* is omitted: but this defect we have generally supplied.

(K) This, we presume, is *U-chew fû*, in the east borders of *Quang-fû*; but are less sure, as our author is not punctual in adding the final syllable which distinguishes the rank of cities, as we have just now observed in the preceding note.

(L) It is observable, that *Chü* is nowhere called a rebel, as the other heads of parties are, nor his followers rebels, because he proved successful; and the *Chingis* looked on him as their deliverer from the *Mongol* yoke.

law

- a *law of heaven* (M). The Mandarin was praised for his zeal, but that was all the effect of his harangue. The love of pleasure had rendered *Towhan-temür* quite insensible of the evils which afflicted the empire: and there are but few instances to be met with, of a prince, so powerful as he, who saw his dominions lost with so little concern.

MAU-QUEY, one of the principal *Song* generals, was killed, at the beginning of the year *The Song* 1359, by a *Chinese* in *Sban-tong*. Hereupon several officers, who had served under him, came *descried* on purpose from *Liau-tong* to revenge his death, and slay the murderer. These assassinations A. D. 359. begat divisions in the *Song* party, which from that time dwindled every day.

- b PEYEN-PUWHA TEKIN, an *Igar* prince, descended from *Itügü* (or *Idiküt*) spoken of in the reign of *Jenghiz Khan*, in the year 1358 commanded at *Ku-chew-fü* (N), a considerable city of *Che-kyang*. When this prince, who was brave and experienced, knew that *Sin-chew* (now *Sin-chew* *Qyang-sin-fü*), in *Kyang-si*, was besieged, he set forward to succour that place. At his approach, *Ta-shing-nü*, a prince of the blood, and general *Hay-lü-ting*, a foreigner from the west, came A. D. 1359. to meet, and gave up to him the command. After this he entered the city with his troops, in spite of *Chen-yew-lyang*, who lay before it; and, having visited all the posts, took an oath to defend it to the last extremity. *Ta-shing-nü*, *Hay-lü-ting*, and the other officers, did the same: such an impression had the gallant defence of *Gen-king* and *Whay-gan-fü* made on the mind of many commanders. It is needless to relate here in detail the assaults that were sustained, and the sallies which were made: the adverse parties were continually fighting; and *Pi-wha Tekin*, with the other officers, shewed their valour in its full lustre. At length, provisions failing, the inhabitants fed on human flesh: at the same time one of the rebels got into the city by a subterranean passage. Ten days together both parties fought with great obstinacy; after which, for want of soldiers and provisions, the place was taken in *June* 1359; when the three commanders before-mentioned, and other officers, chose rather to die than surrender. *lyang*.

- WHILE these things were doing in *Kyang-si*, the general *Chahan-temür*, who had rendered himself illustrious in 1358, by several victories gained over the rebel *Song* in *Sben-si*, assembled troops from several places; and in 1359, at a time when least expected, went and besieged *Kay-fong-fü*, capital of *Ho-nan*. This great city was then quite unprovided of every thing; and *Chahan*^c, after the example of *Su-pu-tay*^d, caused it to be inclosed with a strong palisade. One day he gave a general assault at all the gates, and took the places: but *Tsu-chew-whay*, with his master *Han-lin-cul*, made their escape.

MEAN time *Peyen Temür*, president of the tribunal of war, and *Tashe Temür*, general in *Che-kyang*, arrived at *Hang-chew-fü*, capital of that province; and, having gotten together great quantities of rice, sent it up the *Whang-ho* into *Ho-nan*, where it was conveyed by land to the river *Wey*: by which it arrived safely at *Tong-chew*, and from thence at *Ta-tü*. A considerable number of troops were employed to convoy this provision; so that the rebels never dared to attack them. As the scarcity of victuals had, for several years before, occasioned great famines in the imperial city, this relief came very opportunely.

- HOWEVER, the joy which this supply gave the court was damped by the loss of *Nan-chang-fü*, capital of *Kyang-si*, taken by *Chen-yew-lyang*. As soon as the news reached *Tsu-chew-whay*, the rebel emperor of the *Song*, he embarked on the *Great Kyang* for that city, resolving to keep his court there. But his general, who had other designs in view, being determined to prevent him, hastened to *Kyew-kyang-fü* (in the same province); and, having ordered the gates to be shut, slew those who were about *Tsu-chew-whay*, whom he afterwards kept as a prisoner, leaving him nothing but the title of emperor.

THE ambition of *Ayyewshilitata*, the prince appointed heir, caused no less troubles this year at the court of the emperor *Towhan-temür*, which, besides, was full of intrigues. The prince took a great deal of pains to get his father to renounce the empire; and this was the view also of his mother the empress *Ki*, who left no stone unturned to gain the minister *Tay-ping*, without whose concurrence nothing that way could be done. But all her efforts were ineffectual. The minister answered neither one way nor the other. The prince, upon this, thought to get *Tay-ping*, and other lords, accused: but the great men made the emperor such pompous elegies of this minister, that the prince found he only lost time in attempting to remove him. However, to be revenged of those grandees, he caused several of them to be accused; and had his ends so far, that some of them were imprisoned, and sentenced to die: among them were

^c GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 299, & seq.

^d See before, l. ii. c. i.

(M) By the law of heaven is not to be understood the sacred books of *Fo*, or any other revelation: for the *Chinese* Literati, who follow the doctrine of *Konfusus*, their chief philosopher, pretend to none: but by those words is meant the law of nature, or reason, which is, or may properly be called, the established religion of *China*; and

of which the emperor, as well as all the officers both civil and military in the government, must be, by the constitution of that great and happy monarchy.

(N) Or *Kyu-chew-fü*, written only *Ku-chew* in the *French*.

men of wisdom and authority. This unjust proceeding gained the prince powerful enemies, a and sowed division among the great men, and generals of the army.

The minister
retires.

A. D. 1360.

Two mis-
creants suc-
ceed.

ONE of the principal ministers was *Nyew-ti-bay*, who descended from *Porchû*, and had governed both the eastern and western *Tartary*. His air, his prudence, and experience, joined to his high birth, and post of minister, made him appear to great advantage. He was *Tay-ping*'s intimate friend; and it was he who supported that minister against the attacks of the prince, and the empress *Ki*. *Nyew-ti-bay* fell sick; and, finding himself near his end, at the beginning of the year 1360, spoke in praise of *Tay-ping*; and told his friends, that minister could not continue long at court. He died much regretted by the emperor, and the grandees who had at heart the honour of their sovereign. *Tay-ping*, seeing himself now without a prop, and every day exposed to the intrigues of his enemies, retired to his own house. Thus *To- b*
whan-temûr lost his best servants; and all the authority fell into the hands of two miscreants: one an eunuch named *Pû-pû-wha*; the other a great lord of *Que-lye*, called *Sbo-se-kyen*. These execrable men let all be lost, never acquainting the emperor with any thing, nor minding aught else but to enrich themselves.

Han dynasty.

New distrac-
tions.

CHEN-YEW-LYANG, general of the rebel emperor *Tsû-chew-whay*, having taken from his master all his authority, as before has been mentioned, in *May* this year caused him to be killed, and assumed himself the title of emperor; giving the name of *Han* to his new dynasty. Mean time new feuds daily arose among the *Mungls*. *Chaban-temûr*, governor of *Ho-nan*, having recovered from the rebels a considerable part of *Shen-si*, pretended that those conquests ought to make a part of his government: on the other hand, *Polo-temûr*, general of the troops at *Tay- c*
tong si in *Shan-si*, alledged that *Shen-si* was in his department. These two generals were alone able to have re-established the affairs of the empire; but their disputes made a noise, and caused an irreconcilable hatred between their families. The emperor undertook to settle the limits of their jurisdictions: but *Polo-temûr* thought himself injured, and took up arms against *Chaban*: his majesty afterwards gave *Polo* content, and discontented *Chaban*, who, in his turn, made war upon *Polo*: so that both parties had armies in the field to oppose each other. The prince inheritor at length brought about an agreement between them; but it was only a counterfeit one, as will appear by the sequel.

IN *August* 1361 *Chaban-temûr* retook *Tsi-nan-fû*, capital of *Shan-tong*, with the greater part of that country. At the same time *Chû* wrested *Kyew-kyang-fû*, and *Nan-chang-fû*, in *Kyang-si*, d
out of the hands of *Chen yew-lyang*.

A Mungl re-
bel

delivered up.

New rebel
emperor.

THE emperor *Towhan-temûr* having often sent officers into *Tartary*, to desire the princes of his family to send their troops to his assistance; *Aliûwen-temûr*, eighth grandson of *Ogotay*, by *Myeli*, came at length with a formidably army. When this prince was some days march from the great wall, he sent to let *Towhan-temûr* know, that he came to recover the empire, which he (the emperor) held in wrong to him; and required that he would surrender to him all his right and title. Hereupon *Towhan-temûr*, instead of receiving aid against his old enemies, found himself obliged to send an army against this new one: but his forces were beaten, and forced to retire to *Shang-tû*. *Aliûwen-temûr*, encouraged by this success, proposed to enter *Pe-cke-li*; and was already in the neighbourhood of *Shang-tû*, when the prince inheritor mar- c
hed to meet him. The officers of *Aliûwen-temûr*, who certainly imagined they came to succour the emperor, delivered their general to the prince, by whose order he was slain in *September*.

Chaban-temûr slain.

Affairs of
Korea.

MING-YU-CHEN, general of *Tsû chew-whay*, who had subdued the province of *Yun-nan*, being informed that *Chen-yew-lyang* was proclaimed emperor, was resolved also to be independent; and, proceeding to make conquests on his own account, took several places in *Se-chwen*, and the western parts of *Shen-si*.

IN *June*, while *Chaban temûr* was besieging *I-tû* in *Shan-tong*, *Tyen-fong* proposed to visit the quarters of the imperial camp. *Chaban* followed his advice; but, when he was entered into the traitor's tent, an officer ran him through with his sword. *Koko-temûr*, his nephew, but son by adoption, having succeeded him in his titles and dignities, swore to revenge his father's f
death. By a passage which he caused to be made under-ground, he entered *I-tû*; then seizing the principal rebels, particularly *Tyen-fong*, and him who had murdered his father, he sacrificed them to his manes. The emperor, by the death of that illustrious general, suffered a very great loss, for he was the best officer in the whole empire.

It has been observed before, that the empress *Ki*, mother of the prince inheritor, was a *Korean*, and had a great ascendant over the mind of *Towhan-temûr*. The relations of *Ki*, proud to see in their family a lady of so much dignity and authority, assassinated *Peyen-temûr*, king of *Korea*. The emperor degraded *Peyen-temûr*, named another king, and declared a lord of

* GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 301. & seq.

a Ki's family, prince inheritor of that monarchy. But the *Koreans* ordered *Towhan-temûr* to be told, that they could neither suffer these new impositions, nor the memory of the old king to be defamed. The empress *Ki* caused their memorial to be rejected; and a general to march into *Korea*, with forces to execute the emperor's orders. The general, being arrived with 10,000 of *Mungls* near the river *Ya-lû*, within the borders of that country, was surrounded by an army of *Koreans*, who cut them all to pieces; excepting seventeen horse, who ran full-speed to carry home the news of this misfortune.

In January 1363 *Ming-yu-chen* took the name of emperor at *Ching-tû-fû*, capital of *Se-chwen*, *The Hya dy.* and gave his dynasty the title of *Hya*. Mean time *Lyew fû-tong*, who had made so great a *nafty* noise, and was the soul of the *Song*, was killed in *Kyang-nan*. The rebels, who followed this

b party, again plundered *Sbang-tû*; that is, what little the flames had left of it. What was still worse, the animosities between *Koko-temûr* and *Polo-temûr* every day increased, each party raised troops to oppose the other; and these domestic quarrels did more hurt to *Towhan-temûr* than the revolt of the *Chineses*.

THE most formidable enemy *Chû* had to deal with in the south was *Chen-yew-lyang*, styled *Yew-lyang* emperor of the *Han*: who, being sensibly grieved for the loss of *Nan chang-fû* in *Kyang-fi*, exhausted his coffers to raise new forces, and equip a fleet, with a resolution to besiege that city; which was furnished with a good garrison, commanded by *Chû-ven-cheng*, one of the best generals belonging to *Chû*. He caused bucklers to be made for defence of his soldiers against arrows and stones: after this, he undertook the siege, which he commanded in person; and, c having given several assaults, at length mounted the walls, from whence he shouted for joy, concluding that he was already master of the city: but he was much surprised to see new retrenchments within, very strongly fortified, and consequently that he had new fatigues to undergo.

MEAN time *Chau-te-sheng*, one of *Chû-ven-cheng*'s lieutenants, found a conveniency of sending expresses to inform *Chû* of the danger they were in. On this notice, *Chû*, without delay, *defeated by* Chû; cause a fleet to be fitted out at *Nan-king*; on which he embarked 200,000 soldiers, commanded by his best officers, and put himself at their head. Then setting sail, soon arrived with his forces at *Hû-kew* (O). As soon as *Chen-yew-lyang* was informed of his enemy's approach, he raised the siege of *Nan-chang-fû*, which for eighty-five days he had closely beleaguered; and gave orders to go and attack *Chû*, whose armament he met in the lake *Po-yang*, near the mountain *Kan-lan* (P), on the fourteenth of September (Q). *Chû*, having divided his naval force into twelve squadrons, *Su-ta*, *Chang-yu-chun*, and other of his commanders, attacked and routed the first troops of *Chen-yew-lyang*; who began to fear the consequences of this first defeat. Next day all the squadrons united, in order to come to a general battle. During the fight, *Chû* took advantage of a high north-east wind, and burnt one hundred of the enemy's ships; in which several of *Yew-lyang*'s brothers perished.

On the seventeenth (R), *Yew-lyang* attacked *Chû* with fresh fury: but, after the fight had continued from seven in the morning to eleven o'clock (S), he was defeated; and his loss was so great, that his insupportable pride was confounded at the sight of his army. One of his generals attempted to seize the post of the mountain *Hyay* (T); but *Chû* ordered him to be inclosed, so that he could not retire. The same night his fleet cast anchor at *Tso-li*, and continued three days facing that of *Yew-lyang*; who, on the eighteenth of October (U), resolving to break thro' his enemies at any risque, made an attempt: but *Chû* prevented his design, and attacked him on all sides from five to seven in the evening (X). The battle was fought with equal obstinacy on both sides: at length, *Yew-lyang* having been killed with an arrow, his fleet dispersed. The son, whom he had appointed his heir, was taken prisoner; and his generals, with their troops, their horses, and barks, surrendered to the victor. However, *Chang-ting-pyen*, one of his generals, escaped by night, in a small bark, with the corpse of *Yew-lyang*, and one of his sons, named *Chen-li*. This famous victory did great honour to *Chû*; who not only gained a rich booty, but became considerably more powerful by the accession of so many forces.

f YEW-LYANG was one of the greatest captains of his time; and forty-four years old when he died: but his death was of small advantage to the *Mungls*, whose affairs grew daily worse. *New troubles* *Chinefe* grandee, abusing the weakness of their power in the south, set up for himself in *Sû-chew-fû*, a great and rich city of *Kyang-nan*; refusing to let the imperial commissioners have the provisions which they wanted to send from thence to the court. On the other hand, *Polo-temûr*, notwithstanding the emperor's commands, entered with his troops into the district of *Koko-temûr*:

(O) *Hû kew*, signifies the mouth of the lake; for here one enters from the Great *Kyang* into the *Po-yang Hû*, or lake of *Po-yang*. It is a town of *Kyang-fi*, twelve or thirteen leagues to the east of *Kyew-kyang fû*. *Gaubil*.

(P) In the lake, five or six leagues south-west, or S. S. W. of *Gau-chew-fû*. *Gaubil*.

(Q) Called the day *U-tje* of the seventh month. *Gaubil*.

(R) The day called *Sin-mau*. *Gaubil*.

(S) From the hour of the *Dragon*, which takes up from seven to nine; to the hour of the *Horse*, which includes from eleven to one o'clock. *Gaubil*.

(T) In the lake, a league and half S. S. W. of *Hû-kew*. *Gaubil*.

(U) The day *Gan-fû* of the eighth month. *Gaubil*.

(X) From the hour of the *Dragon* to that of the *Hin*. *Gaubil*.

but his army was routed, and two of his best generals taken prisoners. Mean time the prince inheritor, who could never forgive *Tay-ping* for having dissuaded his father from resigning the empire, set on *Sho-se-kyen* to accuse him. That minister, who was void of honour, undertook the iniquitous task in *November*, and *Tay-ping* was banished into *Tibet*: but the prince procured him to be slain on the road^f.

A censor
banished.

Two eunuchs and *Sho-se-kyen*, who were at this time absolute masters of the will both of the emperor and prince *Ayyewshilitata*, got a Mandarin, celebrated for his probity, to be turned out of place. *Chen-tsü-jin*, a censor of the empire, presented no fewer than three petitions to *Towhan-temür*, exhorting him to put from court the two eunuchs and *Sho-se-kyen*; to alter his conduct, and open at length his eyes to the evils which he had brought on the empire by his irregularities; in short, he told him the ruin both of the empire, and his family, would quickly arrive, unless he followed the rules of virtue. *Tsü-jin* was seconded by other Mandarins: but all their representations were ill received; and *Chen-tsü-jin*, in particular, was banished to *Kanchew* in *Shen si*. As this was in *December*, he suffered much on the road by the rigour of the season: his exile was the cause of great disaffection; and the *Chinese* complained loudly of these acts of injustice.

Chü pro-
claimed king.

A. D. 1364.

In *January* 1364 the generals of *Chü* proposed to have him proclaimed emperor; but he declined it, and at first was content with the title of king of *U*. In this quality he appointed *Li-shen-chong* and *Suta* his prime ministers and generals: he afterwards named other officers; and, having assembled the grandees, told them, “That they ought to consider, that he had not accepted the title of king, but on condition to endeavour to make the *Chinese* happy: and that it was necessary, in the beginning of his reign, to agree upon good laws; in which point the *Mungls* had been wanting. With regard to the rites and ceremonies, said he, used in religion, I am of opinion, that, in the first place, each of us ought to think seriously of reforming his own heart. He added, as you have been my dear companions, assist me; have nothing else in view; think only of beginning well.”

Takes Vü-
chang fü.

In *February* that prince set forward, to continue in person the siege of *Vü-chang-fü*, capital of *Hü-quang*. The city was taken: and *Chen-li*, who had succeeded his father *Chen-yew-lyang*, surrendered, with the officers of his party. *Chü* gave orders to relieve those in misery, encourage the *Literati*, and neither plunder nor destroy any-body. This wise conduct procured him an easy conquest both of *Kyang-si* and *Hü-quang*. The *Chinese* submitted to him in crowds: and were proud to see a prince so generous, and moderate in his passions; a friend to men of letters; affable, and studious to govern the nation according to antient laws and customs.

Cruelty of the
prince,

MEAN time the court of *Towhan-temür* was divided into several powerful parties, who thought of nothing but how to supplant and destroy each other. The prince inheritor, instead of seriously endeavouring to gain the love and esteem of the officers, in order to engage them to support the throne, minded only to gratify his private hatred against several lords. He made use of the eunuch *Pü-pü-wba*, and the minister *Sho-se-kyen*, to accuse whomsoever he would. They invented crimes; and were not ashamed to imprison, and even put to death, great lords, whose only misdemeanour was, their opposing the criminal intrigues of those two instruments of evil. One of these unjustly-accused lords was *Lau-ti-sha*, who, to save his life, retired to *Polo-temür* at *Tay-ting-fü* in *Shan-si*. The emperor was informed of the innocence of those persons, and of the murmurs which every-where were heard. Many representations were made thereupon to the prince: but *Ayyewshilitata* was little acquainted with his true interests; and, instead of desisting from his accusations to mind the public good, engaged himself very indiscreetly in measures, which, he might easily have foreseen, would complete the ruin of the empire (X).

and his in-
justice.

KOKO-TEMUR was a mortal enemy to *Polo-temür*; and each of them had his friends and agents at the court. In *April* the prince caused the general *Tükyen-temür* to be accused; and, when *Polo-temür*, his intimate friend, pleaded his innocence, instead of hearing his representations, they deprived himself of the dignity of general at *Tay-ting-fü*. As *Polo-temür* knew that this order had been given, without the emperor's knowledge, by the brigues of *Pü-pü-wba* and *Sho-se-kyen*, he did not obey it; and, having conferred with the accused lords, took up arms, with a resolution to oblige the emperor to drive those from about him who gave him such bad counsel. *Tükyen temür* being detached to possess the post of *Ku-yong quan*, the prince marched from *Ta-tü* to oppose that general; but was repulsed, and obliged to retire into

Checked by
Polo;

^f GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 304, & seqq.

(X) To one who has read the history of the former *Mungl* emperors, it may seem surprising how this, who was so weak and bad an one, should be suffered to reign so long, or the prince to destroy so many great men by false accusations. But all this may be accounted for from the nature of a court where the head is bad, and the majority

of ministers and courtiers are corrupt: for then the head will never want evil instruments, who will assist him in all his designs; and, for reward or ambition, destroy the good men, and even one another, to serve his purposes, and support his tyranny.

a *Tartary*. Hereupon *Túkyen* appeared before the imperial city ; which threw every thing there into confusion. This made the emperor inquire into the affair ; and, having thoroughly informed himself, sent for *Túkyen*, restored *Polo-temúr*, and delivered up to him both *Púpúwba* and *Sho-se-kyen*. After this, the army under *Túkyen* was sent back to *Tay-tong-fú* ; and the prince inheritor returned to court by his father's order^e.

THE prince, who now thought of nothing but to be revenged on *Polo-temúr*, made choice of *Koko-temúr* to execute his design. He raised an army of 100,000 men, divided into three bódies ; and sent a general, with 40,000 of them, to attack *Tay-tong-fú*. *Polo-temúr*, who had friends and troops every-where, left officers to guard that city ; and took measures with *Lau-ti-sha* and *Túkyen-temúr* to make himself master of the emperor's palace. He put himself at the head of his troops, and ordered *Ku-yon-quang* to be taken. In September the prince marched to oppose him, but his army was routed ; and, not thinking himself safe at *Ta-tú*, whither *Polo-temúr* followed him with expedition, he left it again with a body of troops, and retired to *Ta-ywen-fú*, capital of *Shan-si*. *Polo-temúr*, being arrived at the city, left his forces without the gates ; and, on the ninth of the same month (Y), entering the palace, followed by several lords, presented himself before the emperor on his knees, and assured him, that, with regard to what had passed, the fault was none of his. *Towhan-temúr*, who on this occasion let fall tears, and declared him generalissimo and prime minister. *Lau-ti-sha* and *Túkyen* had posts under him ; and, in all the tribunals, they had men of their own party.

c POLO-TEMUR began his ministry by causing *Tolo-temúr*, the principal companion and instrument of the emperor's debauches, to be killed : he drove the Lamas from court, and forbade the exercise of their religion. Had this general stopped there, things might have gone well : but he passed the bounds of prudence ; and, without the advice of his best friends, attempted to get the prince inheritor set aside, and *Koko-temúr* degraded. Besides this, he gave himself up to all kinds of debauchery, and that was what ruined him. In March 1366 the prince took the field, with a resolution either to perish, or destroy his enemy : his army was numerous, and commanded by *Koko-temúr*, a general of consummate experience. As soon as *Polo-temúr* was informed of *Ayyewshilitata*'s march, he caused the empress *Ki* to come out of the palace ; and compelled her to sign an order for the prince to come to her : but he did not think fit to obey it.

d WHILE *Túkyen-temúr* was on his march to *Shang-tú*, to oppose the prince's party, *Yesú* was detached to make head against *Koko-temúr* : but when he arrived at *Lyang-hyang*, he took counsel with the officers, in which it was resolved not to obey *Polo-temúr*, as being a rebel. *Yesú* went on to *Yong-ping-fú* (in *Pe-che-li*), from whence he sent an express to *Koko-temúr* ; and then marched into *Lyau-tong*, to confer with several princes of the blood, who were in those parts. The minister, incensed at this desertion of *Yesú*, sent an army to attack him : but, he having defeated it, and slain the general, *Polo-temúr*, more enraged still, marched himself ; yet was obliged to return without doing any thing, by a heavy rain which continued for three days and nights successively. Mean time the empress *Ki*, knowing the foible of *Polo*, procured him several young girls of great beauty, by whose means she obtained her liberty, and returned to the palace ; where, under-hand, she effectually wrought the destruction of that minister, by amusing and ensnaring him with the gratification of his passions.

THINGS being in this posture, *Ho-shang*, one of the principal lords of the court, obtained secret orders from the emperor to kill *Polo-temúr* ; in which enterprize *Shang-tú-ma*, *Kin-nabay*, and *Petar*, three young lords of resolution, engaged to assist him. They took the opportunity one day in September, when that minister came to acquaint his majesty with the reduction of *Shang-tú*, in *Tartary*, by the general *Túkyen-temúr*. The emperor being at this time in a great hall, with many courtiers about him, *Petar* separated himself from the rest ; and, placing himself at the door, slew *Polo-temúr* (Z) as he was about to enter. *Lau-ti-sha* hereupon fled towards the north : but, a proclamation being issued to kill him, he was taken, and put to death. *Túkyen-temúr*, who was then at *Shang-tú*, and did not hear of what had happened at *Ta-tú* till several days after, would also have made his escape with several cuirassiers ; but was taken and slain. The gates of *Ta-tú* were shut for three days, on account of these troubles : but, in the mean time, several detachments of the prince's army arriving in the neighbourhood, these troops scaled the walls, opened one of the gates, and plundered great part of the city.

TOWHAN-TEMUR, having thus destroyed his new minister (or rather master), sent his head to the prince his son, with orders to repair to court. He came escorted by *Koko-temúr*, who was

^e GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 307, & seq.

(Y) The day *U-tse* of the seventh month. *Gaubil*.

(Z) He was of the hord of *Shan-tsü*, and one of the chief *Mungl* families, descended from *Polotay*, an illustrious officer in the army of *Jenghiz Khán*. His father

Tashe-temúr, grandfather *Isütar*, and great grandfather *Nyerw-lyen*, were famous commanders in chief of the imperial armies. *Gaubil*.

Koko made
minister.

appointed minister. In the tenth month he was declared Regulo, and generalissimo of the armies. ^a He appeared at court with a train and equipage almost equal to that of the emperor. The prince made instances, that he might be permitted to carry on the war in the southern provinces: but his motion was not complied with. About this time the true empress, who was of the *Hongkila* family, dying without any children living, *Ki*, who before was only nominally empress, in the twelfth month succeeded to the rank and honours of the deceased.

Causes new
broils.

At the beginning of this year *Koko-temûr*, going into *Ho-nan*, had great disputes with the generals of the province of *Sben-si*, who would never acknowledge his authority; so that at length they came to hostilities. Thus the empire of the *Ywen* was attacked in all manners, both within and without: The great men lived independent; the emperor minded nothing but pleasure; and the prince, besides other great faults, had not talents to re-unite the minds of the ^b people, and bring them to labour in concert for the good of the publicⁿ.

Affairs of the
rebels.

At the beginning of the same year also the *Whang-ho*, by its precipitate course northward, made great ravages in *Sban-tong* and *Pe-che-li*. *Ming-yu-chen*, pretended emperor of *Hya*, died in the third month; and was succeeded by one of his sons, no more than ten years of age. *Han-lin-eul*, who called himself emperor of the *Song*, died also in the thirteenth month. With regard to the proceedings of *Chû*, he took *Wbay-gan-fû* in the fourth month; and caused a search to be made for old books in the fifth. In the ninth month he sent two generals, with 200,000 men, to make war upon *Chang-shi-cheng*, who set up for king in one part of *Che-kyang* and *Kyang-nan*. They beat his troops four times, and took *Hû-chew-fû*, one of the most beautiful and rich cities of *Che-kyang*. At the same time *Chû* made himself master of *Hang-chew-fû*, capital of that ^c province, *Sbau-bing-fû*, *Kya-bing-fû*, and other important places. In the twelfth month he caused one palace to be built for his court, and another to honour his ancestors in.

The prince in
power.

A. D. 1367.

To return to the distracted affairs of the *Mungl* court. The prince being near *Ta-tû*, in the year 1367, the empress *Ki*, his mother, sent a trusty lord to compliment him, and tell him, that she pressed *Towhan-temûr* to resign the empire. *Koko-temûr*, who knew this design, sent the escort troops into *Ho-nan*; and, finding the prince appeared discontented, was obliged to go into that province himself. The emperor, who came to be informed of the differences which subsisted between *Koko* and the generals of *Sban-si*, sent an officer to decide them: but that minister slew the officer, and seemed inclined to become independent. *Towhan-temûr* was, on the other hand, solicited to abdicate the empire: but, although he still refused to part with ^d the title, yet he gave to the prince the whole power, declaring him generalissimo of the armies, and lieutenant-general of the state. This new promotion made *Koko-temûr* take new measures: he opposed the emperor's orders in favour of *Ayyewshilitata*; but, at the same time, was accused by one of his discontented officers. Hereupon *Towhan-temûr* cashiered *Koko*, disposed of his employments to others, and appointed officers to command the troops of that general. The discarded minister retired to *Che-shû* (A), a strong place in *Sban-si*, fully resolved to be revenged on the first occasion. All this could not pass without exciting great troubles; and the *Mungl* affairs grew worse than ever.

Koko ca-
shiered.

Chû's success,

WHILE *Towhan-temûr* lost all by his want of conduct, every-thing succeeded with the prudent *Chû*. This prince, though of an obscure birth, and brought up from his infancy among mean people (B), yet discovered most of the grand qualities which have rendered immortal the memory of the greatest princes. He published the form of the *Chinese* government which he proposed to introduce; and took for a model that which the Literati boast of so much in *Tau*, *Shun*, and the three families (or dynasties) of *Hya*, *Shang*, and *Chû*: he instituted the examinations for men of letters, and military officers; nor did he forget what concerned the tribunal of mathematics. He caused a diligent search to be made for men of merit; rewarding, like a true king, both such person found, and the person finding. All those were acceptable to him who had any talent for military affairs, or navigation, for arts, sciences, or mathematics. He was at no idle expence to serve his pleasures; and had an aversion to every thing which tended to effeminate princes. In the palace, which he built at *Nan-king*, he forbade laying out too much in costly furniture, and foreign curiosities; especially prohibiting, under severe penalties, immodest pictures and statues. He won the hearts of the mechanics, husbandmen, and other ^f

ⁿ GAUBIL, ubi supra, p. 309, & seqq.

(A) In the Jesuit's map it is *Tse-cheu*.

(B) He had been a servant in a monastery of Bonzas; some say, in so mean a quality as that of scullion, under the cook: in which station he continued for many years, till, in the time of the troubles, he quitted the kitchen for the army. Many such heroes might be found among the commonalty every-where, had they opportunity to exert their genius. *Chû*, sprung from the dregs of the

people, was the shame of emperors sprung from emperors; and the shade thrown by his reign on that of *Towhan-temûr*, is the stronger for the lowness of his birth. Of the same kind is the famous *Laith*, *Leith*, or *Leiz*, who, from a brasier, became king of *Irân*, or *Persia* at large, about the year of *Christ* 871, and was one of the best monarchs who ever sat on the throne of that kingdom.

a classes of the people, to whom he disdained not to talk himself, and discourse about matters relating to them. He took particular care also to make those amends who had suffered damages, and give them considerable relief. Besides these good qualities, he was endowed with a more than common genius; so that, by the conferences only which he had with the Literati, he soon became master of all that is essential in the *Chinese* sciences. His valour, military skill, and greatness of soul, joined to his equity, in the distribution of commendations, favours, and employments, made him highly esteemed by the officers, who were strongly attached to him¹.

In the ninth month the generals *Suta* and *Chang-yu-chun* reduced *Sû-chew-fî*, and the whole province of *Hyang-nan*. They likewise took prisoners *Chang-shi-cheng*, and all those of his party, with nine princes of the blood; who were all conducted to *Nan king*, where *Chang-shi-cheng* died soon after. As for the princes, *Chû* ordered them to be treated with honour; and sent them, under the care of a Mandarin, to the court of *Towhan-temûr*. After this expedition, troops were transported by sea into the province of *Quang-tong*, which, with that of *Quang-si*, submitted of their own accord: *Fokyen* did the same.

The south being thus reduced, *Chû* commanded *Suta* and *Chang-yu-chun* to march into the north, at the head of 250,000 men, almost all horse. These two generals, being arrived in *Shan-tong*, published a manifesto, well calculated to excite the *Chinese* in favour of *Chû*, and render *Towhan-temûr* odious. In this manifesto they set forth, *That it belonged to the Chinese to govern the barbarians, and not to the barbarians to govern the Chinese*. After this, they fall on the crimes of the *Mungl* emperors; and the faults of their government since the time of *Timûr*, who succeeded *Hû-pi-lay*. They shew, "that those princes have set aside the order of succession: that brothers have poisoned their brothers; and a son taken his father's wives: "that there is no subordination: that they have destroyed the *Chinese* rules of government; "and paid no regard to the doctrine (or religion) of their nation. After this, they conclude "that the time is come to drive foreigners out of the empire. Here they draw the character "of *Chû*, whom they declare to be the person chosen by heaven for the master of *China*; and "instance what the people may promise themselves from the government of so great a prince."

This manifesto, spread thro' the provinces, had a very great effect. *Suta* and his colleague reduced the whole province of *Shan-tong*, without any trouble. During this time the distractions continued in those of *Shen-si*, *Shan-si*, and *Ho-nan*; occasioned by the dispute between *Koko-temûr* and the generals of *Shen-si*, concerning their respective jurisdictions: nor had the emperor authority enough to put an end to it.

We are now come to the first day of the year 1368, which was one of the most solemn days which the city of *Nan-king* ever beheld. Besides the rejoicings made on account of its ushering in the year, *Chû* chose that day to have himself declared emperor of *China*. He went to the temple of heaven, to make a solemn sacrifice; declared his eldest son prince inheritor, and made several wise regulations. They give him the title of *Hong-wû* (C); and the year 1368 is reckoned for the first of his reign. After this, his troops entered *Ho-nan*, and presently reduced that province. In the second month *Towhan-temûr*, instead of endeavouring to stop the rapid progress of *Chû*, sent troops against *Koko-temûr*. This general hereupon retired to *Ping-yang-fû*, in the south part of *Shan-si*; and the other generals of the *Ywen* (or *Mungl*) withdrew into other cities; more to defend themselves against one another, than against the troops of *Chû*; whom we must now call *Hong-wû*, or *Tay-tsû*, which is the title given by the *Chinese* to this founder of the *Tay-ming* dynasty.

In the third month the troops of *Hong-wû* reduced the fortress and gorge of the mountains of *Tong-quan*; and, in the seventh intercalary month, *Koko-temûr* and *Ye-sû* were set by *Towhan-temûr* at the head of affairs. Hereupon the generals of *Shen-si*, the most illustrious of whom was *Li tso-tsi*, retired towards the west. Mean time the forces of *Hong-wû* entered *Pe-che-li*, from *Ho-nan* on one side, and *Shan-tong* on the other. In the same month *Suta* and *Chang-yu-chun* defeated *Poyen-temûr*, one of the *Mungl* generals, who was slain in the battle, fighting valiantly. After this action they took the city of *Tong-chew*, but twelve miles to the east of *Ta-tû*; and then prepared to attack the capital of the *Mungl* empire, now reduced, in *China*, to very narrow bounds. Hereupon *Shelye men*, one of the ministers, went to the temple of ancestors; and taking the tablets from thence, retired with the prince towards the north.

The 25th of August *Towhan-temûr* nominated prince *Temûr-puwba* regent of the empire of *China*; and *King-tong* appointed for defence of the imperial city. Next morning, assembling the great men, princes, and princesses, he declared to them, that he would retire into *Tartary*. *Temûr-puwba*, and others, fell on their knees, and, weeping, offered to march out of

¹ GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 312, & seq.

(C) He gave his dynasty the name of *Tay ming*. *D'Herbelot*, p. 991, says, that, in the time of *Tamerlane*, the kings of *Khat-hay* were called *Daymen Klûn*, that is (says *Gaubil*), king of *Tay-ming* (or *Tay-min*.)

Ta-tû, and attack the enemy ; adding, that it was better to die, than dishonour thus, by flight, the imperial family. The emperor was inflexible ; and, the night following, in the midst of his guards, attended by his wives, and those of the prince, as well as by other princes and princesses, took his way towards the north. *Chang-yu-chun*, informed of *Towhan-temür*'s flight, pursued the imperial family as far as the river *Pe* (D) ; and took prisoner *Maytilipala*, eldest son of the prince inheritor (E). The nineteenth of *October Hong-wü*'s army entered *Ta-tû*, after some small resistance.

Their dynasty
ends.

Thus ended the empire of the *Mungls* in *China*, after it had continued 162 years, reckoning from the first of *Jenghîz Khân* in 1206, to 1368 ; when *Towhan-temür* withdrew out of *China*, and *Hong-fü* finished his conquest, by reducing the imperial city. The *Chinese* reckon only nine emperors of the *Mungls* who reigned in *China*, as hath been before remarked. How many the *Mungls* compute, does not distinctly appear ; for *Gaubil* does not expressly mention their number. He only says, in a note at the end of their history, that, if *Asükipa* or *Tyen-shun* be placed among them, the dynasty of the *Twen* will have fifteen emperors. But this cannot be, because, as that dynasty begins with *Hü-pi-lay*, the four preceding monarchs must be taken away, which will reduce the fifteen to eleven : and if the reign of *Asükipa*, which is doubtful, be deducted, there will be but ten ; which is still one more than is found on the *Chinese* list, where *Ning-tsong*, or *Ilin-chipan*, brother of *Towhan-temür* (F), whose reign was but of two months, is likewise wanting.

Towhan-
temür dies.

BUT to return to *Towhan-temür*, who, tho' deprived of the most valuable part of his dominions, still continued great Khân or emperor of the *Mungls*, and reigned over *Tartary*. This prince retired, with his court, to *Ing-chang*, a city then considerable, twenty-five or thirty leagues to the north-east of *Sbang-tû*. Where he lived two years ; and then died in the fourth month of the year 1370, in the fifty-first of his age, after he had reigned thirty-five years as emperor of *China* and *Tartary*, and thirty-seven as Khân of *Tartary*^k : so that his reign was longer than those of all his predecessors in *China* put together, excepting *Hü-pi-lay* ; which is the more to be wondered at, considering the tyranny and weakness of his government.

Ayyewshilita
succeeds.

AFTER the death of *Towhan-temür*, his son *Ayyewshilitata* ascended the throne of the *Mungls* ; and removed his court to *Karakorum* ; where, according to the *Chinese* history, he founded a new dynasty, called the *Twen* of the north (G). But here, for want of materials, we must break off the history of the successors of *Jenghîz Khân* in *Tartary* ; our author *Gaubil* having carried it down no lower than the death of *Towhan-temür*. He indeed, in concluding that prince's reign, gave hopes of obliging the world also with those of his successors : but we do not find he ever performed that task (H). Nor are we able to supply the defect from other quarters : for *de la Croix* has furnished only a bare list of Khâns descended from *Tuli*, fourth son of *Jenghîz Khân*, who reigned in *Tartary* ; which, for the reader's satisfaction, we have here inserted.

List of Khâns,

1. *Mangû Khân*, son of *Tuli*.
2. *Kublay*, brother of *Mangû*. He was succeeded by
3. *Timür Khân*, his grandson, surnamed *Olajaytû*, son of *Hakim*, or *Jetekem* ; who reigned twelve years ; and died in 1306.
4. *Kushilay* (I) *Khân*, son of *Jenesek*, son of *Termebilay*, son of *Jeketem*, son of *Kublay*.
5. *Togyay*, son of *Kushilay*.
6. *Tayzi Khân*, son of *Nilük*, surnamed *Bilektû*.
7. *Anüshîrwan*, son of *Dara*, cousin of *Tayzi*. This emperor was a prince of excellent morals ; but he gave too much power to the governors of provinces, who acted as sovereigns, and caused many troubles in the empire.
8. *Tokatmir*, son of *Timür Khân*.
9. *Bisûrdar*.
10. *Ayke*, son of *Bisûrdar*.
11. *Ilenk Khân*.
12. *Keytmür*.

^k GAUBIL, p. 315, & seqq.

(D) *Pe-ho*, or *Pay-ho*, which runs by *Tong-chew* above-mentioned, and has its source a few leagues to the north of *Tü-she-keru*, an important post of the great wall in *Pe-che-li*, near the gate of the same name, misprinted, in the *French Toucheneo*. *Gaubil*.

(E) *Hong-wü* treated with much distinction those *Mungl* princes who either fell into his hands, or surrendered to him. *Gaubil*.

(F) *Ilin-chipan* must be included in the fifteen emperors mentioned by *Gaubil* ; otherwise there would be only thirteen, on leaving *Asükipa* out of the list.

(G) It might be reckoned a new dynasty by the *Chinese*, as having no dominion over them : but must be

considered only as a continuation of the same dynasty, with regard to the *Mungls* and *Tartary*.

(H) This is the more to be regretted ; because, in all likelihood, the missionaries will have no more footing in *China* ; and, if they should, none hereafter may be qualified for the purpose : for, of all the Jesuits, or other missionaries into that empire, not one of them seems to have had either the judgment, taste, or application, for a work of this nature, as is found in our author *Gaubil*.

(I) This is doubtless the same name with *Hoshila*, in the *Chinese* history ; but we will not say 'tis the name of the same person.

13. *Arkitmür*;

a 13. *Arkitmûr*.

14. *Elchi Timûr Khân*; who went to *Tamerlan*, and lived in his court, till the death of that prince: after which, he returned to *Olugh-yurt* (K), where he ascended the throne in 1405.

15. *Wanay Khân*; who descended in a direct line from prince *Artikbûga*, fourth son of *Tuli Khân*.

16. *Orday*, son of *Orday*, son of *Malek Timûr*.

17. and last, *Aday*, son of *Arkitmûr*.

THESE two last Khâns lived so obscurely, that they are looked on in the same light with their great ancestor *Artikbûga*, who never was numbered among the Khâns. From this time, there is no more talk, at *Olugh-yurt*, of the princes descended from *Jenghîz Khân*; but only of those descended from *Kublai*, and who remained kings of *China*; of whom there is mention made¹.

WE know not well what judgment to pass on this list of Khâns, taken from the oriental authors: for it does not appear, from the *Chinese* history, that there were any Khâns in the eastern part of *Tartary*, much less at *Karakorum*, during the dominion of the *Mungls* over *China*; who governed that vast region by their generals, or lieutenants, and seem to have resided at *Karakorum*. And this is the more probable, as we find *Ayyewshilitata*, in the year 1370, removed his court to that capital in *Tartary*; which can scarcely be supposed to be fact, in case there was any Khân of a collateral branch reigning there at the same time, as, according to *de la Croix*'s list, there must have been. Nay, according to that list, they continued to reign there, without interruption, during four successions, after the fifteenth century; for *Elchi Timûr Khân* is said to have ascended the throne in 1405.

IT therefore seems most likely, that the above-mentioned list of Khâns is spurious, or, at best, drawn up by the oriental historians, from uncertain reports and memoirs, wherein governors of provinces, or the princes of certain powerful tribes, have been mistaken for the Khâns of the *Mungls*; and the rather, because *D'Herbelot* informs us, that the only successors of *Jenghîz Khân*, who are mentioned by the oriental historians, with due exactness, are those of the branch which reigned in *Irân*, or *Persia* at large; of whom that author gives a list, and of none else^m.

HOWEVER that be, we cannot but wonder that Mr. *Guigues*, who undertook to give an abstract of the history of the *Turks* and *Mogols*, from the *Chinese* annals, should, in speaking of the expulsion of these latter out of *China*, and their re-establishment in *Tartary*, quit those guides to follow the above erroneous list of princes given by *de la Croix*. His words are; "The posterity of *Kublai*, who reigned in *China*, maintained their footing there, till *Hong-wû*, founder of a new *Chinese* dynasty, drove out *Tokatmûr Khân*. The son of this latter, named *Bisûrdar Khân*, repassed into *Tartary*, retiring beyond the great desert: where he fixed a new dynasty, or rather continued the *Mogol* branch, whilst another branch, descended from *Hûlakû Khân*, reigned in *Persia*."

THIS is related by Mr. *Guigues*, as if taken from the *Chinese* historians, whom he quotes in the same place. But it appears, from the above history, that the emperor and his son, who were forced out of *China* by *Hong-wû*, were different princes: nor does *de la Croix* say *Tokatmûr* reigned in *China*; or that *Bisûrdar* either passed from thence into *Tartary*, or was his son. Besides, if that list was to be followed, as nine *Mogol* emperors reigned in *China*, *Ayke*, the tenth Khân, must have been him who was expelled that country: for the princes mentioned therein are reckoned not from *Kublai*, but from his father *Tuli*. What renders Mr. *Guigues*'s memoir of less service is, that he does not, by references, or otherwise, sufficiently distinguish the words of different authors, either from one another, or his own conjectures.

IN fine, for want of a continued history of the successors of *Jenghîz Khân* in the east parts of *Tartary*, we must content ourselves with such fragments of it as are to be met with, and those relating to affairs only near our own times.

¹ DE LA CROIX. hist. Gengh. p. 400, & seq.

^m D'HERBEL, bibl. orient. p. 382. art. Genghez Khanian.

(K) *Olugh-yurt*, a city but a little way distant from *Karakorum*. *De la Croix*, p. 397.

C H A P. IX.

History of the Mungls, after their expulsion out of China, to the present.

The Mungls
driven

AYEWSHILITATA succeeded his father *Towhan-temür* in the empire of *Tartary*, as hath been already mentioned : but we meet with nothing concerning the reign of either him or his successors, for above 200 years after ; excepting that he, and the other princes of his family, had great wars to maintain against *Hong-vü*, and several of his successors, in *China*. *Sü-ta*, *Chang-yu-chun*, *Li-ven-chong*, and other generals of that nation, passed the great wall, and harrassed the *Tartars* with frequent invasions^a. Nor were the latter on their side backward, when any opportunity offered, to repay the injury, and endeavour to recover their footing in *China* ; the loss of whose rich and fruitful provinces they greatly regretted. As the extracts relating to the *Ming* dynasty, given by *Couplet* and *Du Halde*, speak of the wars which the *Chineses* had with the *Tatars*, during the reigns of those princes, it may not be amiss to bring together here, what little those authors say concerning them.

beyond the
desert,

AFTER the death of *Hong-vü*, who drove the *Mungls* out of *China*, and prosecuted the war against them in *Tartary* ; *Ching-tsu*, or *Yong-lo*, his fourth son, and third emperor, pursuing vigorously what his father had begun, pushed them beyond the great kobi, or desert, above 200 leagues north of the great wall, with a design to extirpate them : but, on his return from his third expedition (A), he was prevented, by death, which happened in 1425^b. The *Mungls*, taking heart after *Yong-lo*'s decease, to be revenged for the damages that prince had done them, invaded the empire, in the reign of *Swen-tsung*, the fifth emperor : but this monarch, at the head of his army, marched against, and defeated them. *Swen-tsung* died in 1435, and was succeeded by *Ing-tsung*, only nine years old. The *Mungls* (B), taking advantage of this emperor's youth, made continual irruptions into the provinces of *China* which lay nearest their country, and committed all sorts of rapine. At length *Ing-tsung*, in the year 1449, and fourteenth of his reign, marched beyond the great wall, at the head of a numerous army. But his troops, weakened for want of provisions, were entirely defeated ; and himself, being taken prisoner, carried into the remotest part of *Tartary*.

take the empe-
ror prisoner,
A. D. 1449.

who is ran-
somed.

AT the news of this surprising event, the empress sent a great quantity of gold, silver, and silks, for her husband's ransom ; which the *Mungl* king received : but, after he had brought the captive emperor to the borders of *China*, he carried him back again, not thinking the ransom large enough. Nevertheless, a new agreement taking place, some of the great lords were sent to receive *Ing-tsung* : but the Khán was displeased, thinking all the chief men of the empire ought to have come to meet so great a monarch, with the greatest pomp. He was conducted, by a numerous retinue, to the frontiers of *China* ; and when near the mountain *Tang-kyä-lin*, sent to acquaint the court, that he renounced the empire to his brother *King-ti*, who had usurped the crown from the son of *Ing-tsung*, who afterwards ascended the throne a second time. In the reign of his son and successor *Hyen-tsung*, ninth emperor of the *Ming*, the *Mungls*, from time to time, came and plundered the provinces ; but, in 1465, the second year of his empire, he cut in pieces their army. From thenceforward we hear nothing of their depredations, till the year 1504, which was remarkable for their irruptions, and the great booty they carried away.

The Mungls
ravage
A. D. 1518.

IN 1509, the *Mungls* renewed their ravages, the year before the death of *Hyau-tsung*, the tenth emperor ; whose successor, *Vü-tsung*, in 1518, would needs march against them incognito, in quality of generalissimo ; from which design he was, with much difficulty, dissuaded by his ministers. Next year, he prepared to retire into either *Kyang-nan*, or *Che-kyang*. Hereupon his ministers presented fresh memorials : representing, that, as the *Tatars* (or *Mungls*) would look on this journey as a shameful flight, they would grow more insolent ; and that his absence would expose the northern provinces to their irruptions : but he was no less obstinate this time than the former, till, at last, he was diverted from his design by an inundation, which he took for a bad omen. His successor, *Shi-tsung*, or *Kya-tsing*, repaired the great wall which separates *China* from *Tartary*. From all this, in 1550, the twenty-ninth of his reign, the

the Chinese
provinces.

^a GAUEIL, hist. de Gentch. p. 317.

^b DU HALDE's China, Vol. II. p. 255,

(A) These expeditions against the *Mungls* are not mentioned in the reign of *Hong-vü*, by either *Couplet*, or his translator *Du Halde*.

(B) Called all along *Tartars* in our authors ; but we use the name *Mungls*, for sake of uniformity, as well as propriety and distinction.

- a the brother of *Tüshetü Khân* (H); who being also a Lama, and professing himself a living *Po*, pretended to be equal to the high-priest himself, and would be treated with the same distinction. The envoys of *Kaldan*, who were also at the assembly, to support the interest of their master's friend (I), exclaimed against the pretensions of the *Kalka* Lama, which they looked on as an encroachment on the respect due to their common pontiff; and, on his making no concession, retired in great discontent. In short, to avoid a greater quarrel than that which they came to determine, the envoy of the Dalay Lama was obliged to consent, that the king of *Kalka's* brother should sit opposite to him. After this, affairs being soon regulated in the assembly, *Tüshetü Khân*, and the *Khûtüktü* his brother, solemnly promised, that they would faithfully execute what had been there agreed upon. But, when the estates were separated,
- b instead of keeping their engagement, they delayed performing it, as before-mentioned, under divers pretences.

MEAN time, the *Elütü* king, offended at the little regard paid to his envoys, and the affront offered the Dalay Lama, in the person of his legate, being pressed also by *Shaffaktü Khân* to hasten the restitution of his effects; sent an ambassador to *Tüshetü Khân*, and the Lama his brother, to exhort them to perform their promise; and especially to complain of the latter's disputing precedence with the legate of the Dalay Lama, who had been their common master (K). The *Khûtüktü* could not bridle his rage, but loaded the ambassador with irons; and having sent a threatening letter to *Kaldan*, put himself, with the *Khân* his brother, at the head of a great body of troops, to surprize *Shaffaktü Khân*. That prince, who expected

c nothing less, falling into the Lama's hands, was drowned by his order: he also put to death one of the most considerable *Tayki's*, and seized his effects. Not content with this, he invaded the territories of the *Elütü Khân* (L); and surprizing a brother of his (M), cut off his head. Then fixing it on a spear, exposed it to public view; at the same time sending a domestic of that unfortunate prince with a most abusive letter to *Kaldan*.

THE *Khân*, although thoroughly engaged, yet stifled his resentment, till he was in a condition to declare it. Mean time he assembled his people, and next spring, 1688, approached the territories of *Tüshetü Khân*. The *Khûtüktü*, who expected no less, had demanded succours of the other *Kalka* princes; alleging, that he put to death *Shaffaktü Khân*, for having entered into a league with *Kaldan*, to make war on all the other *Kalkas*. Hereupon most of

d those princes came, with considerable forces, to the rendezvous on the frontiers. The *Khân* of the *Elütüs* being advanced, and finding the enemy's army much superior to his own, thought it best to encamp, in hopes that divisions would soon arise in the army of the *Kalkas*. As he had conjectured, the chief one of the most numerous standards decamped first, by night, with all his people. *Che-ching Khân* soon followed his example; and all the rest, one after another, marched off, leaving *Tüshetü Khân*, and the *Khûtüktü* his brother, with none but the troops of their own standard.

As soon as *Kaldan* understood this, he fell upon the enemy, who, making no resistance, were easily routed (N); the two brother chiefs, and their families, having had much ado to escape, with the loss of almost all their baggage, besides the greater part of their army and flocks. All

e the *Kalkas* of *Tüshetü Khân's* family, wherever found, were put to the sword. He himself was obliged to abandon his camp, and the *Khûtüktü* his residence, where every thing was plundered or burned; and two fine temples, which the latter had erected at his own expence, were intirely demolished. *Kaldan*, after this, sent troops, with orders to destroy the country with fire and sword; but especially to kill all the *Kalkas*, who now fled on every side (O). *Tüshetü Khân*, and his brother, having retreated to the southern part of the desert, near *China*, sent to beseech the emperor *Kang-hi* to take them under his protection, and defend them from an enemy, whose ambition and cruelty they highly exaggerated. His majesty hereupon sent an officer, to know of *Kaldan* his reason for carrying on the war. The *Khân* answered, with respect, "That he had undertaken it to revenge the death of his brother; and resolved to

(H) *Bentink* calls him *Zain*, or *Zuzi* (*Juji*) *Khân*, prince of the *Monguls*; by which must be understood the *Kalka Monguls*, or *Mungls*, or *Juji* and *Tüshi*, whence *Tüshetü* seems to be used synonymously, as in *Juji* or *Tüshi*, the eldest son of *Jenghiz Khân*.

(I) According to *Bentink*, the quarrel of *Kaldan* against *Zain Khân* was on his own account. But we must prefer the account of *Gerbillan*, who received his information from the *Chinese* envoy, and the Mandarins who accompanied him. Indeed the quarrel became, in part, *Kaldan's* own afterwards.

(K) For *Kaldan* himself had been bred a Lama at *Lafsa*, as appears afterwards.

(L) According to *Bentink*, *Zain* (or *Tüshetü*) *Khân*, invaded the *Elütü* dominions, by the advice of *Kang-hi*

emperor of *China*. Excepting in this particular, and the occasion of the war, mentioned in note or two before, *Bentink's* account agrees pretty well with that of *Gerbillan*.

(M) *Bentink* calls him *Dorzizap*; and says, he was slain among those of the *Khân's* van-guard, which was defeated.

(N) *Bentink* says, he got the victory, by feigning a flight, and thereby inducing *Zain Khân* to divide his forces, in order to pursue him.

(O) According to *Bentink*, he sent to the place of his residence nine camels loads of ears and locks of hair; whence he judges a horrible slaughter was made: and then, with 30,000 men, drove his enemy within the wall of *China*.

“ continue it : that he thought no prince would give refuge to so wicked a man as the *Kalka* a
 “ Lama ; who being the principal author of so many barbarities, he was determined to pursue
 “ him, wherever he retreated ; that his punishment equally concerned the emperor ; since he
 “ had so notoriously violated the oath made before his majesty's ambassador, at the assembly
 “ of the states, and shewn so little regard to his mediation.”

Pursues the
Khûtuktû.

THE *Khûtuktû* knowing, that if *Kang-bi* abandoned him, he must infallibly fall into the hands of his enemy, as the Dalay Lama was his utter adversary ; in order to secure himself, offered to become the emperor's perpetual vassal, with his brother, family, and subjects : likewise to engage all the other *Kalka* princes ; several of whom, during this negotiation, followed his example. *Cheching Khân* dying the same year, his widow also besought his majesty to receive her son for his vassal, and invest him with the title of Khân, which was not to descend to his family. *Kang-bi*, on this, exhorted the *Elûth Khân* to be content with the deplorable condition to which he had reduced his enemies, and desist : but *Kaldan* remonstrated, that the emperor was equally concerned to punish the violation of a treaty guaranteed by himself and the Dalay Lama. However, he offered to withdraw, provided the *Kalka* Lama was delivered up, to be judged by the sovereign pontiff. But the *Chinese* monarch thinking it unworthy his dignity to abandon princes applying to him for refuge ; and, besides, having nothing to fear from the *Russians*, since the late treaty of *Ni-pochew* (or *Nerchinskoy*), took the *Kalka* princes under his protection, and granted them part of his lands in *Tartary* to settle on : which gave occasion to the war between him and the Khân of the *Elûths* ^b.

Invades the
 empire.

THIS prince, towards the end of July 1690, advanced at the head of a small but well disciplined army, to the frontiers of the empire. He slew or enslaved all the *Kalkas* encamped along the *Kerlon*, whose course he had followed for the conveniency of forage ; and pursued the murderers of his brother to the very retreat which the emperor had assigned them. On the first rumour of *Kaldan*'s march, his majesty drew together all the *Mungl* forces which had been his subjects from the beginning of the *Manchew* monarchy ; and, being encamped without the great wall, are in some sort the out-guards of the empire. These, reinforced by some *Manchew* troops (who served as convoys to the president of the militia), and the *Mungl* officers, were ordered to the frontiers, to observe the motions of the *Elûths*. The two presidents, with a design to surprise the Khân in his camp, amused him with a treaty of peace ; and, when he was least on his guard, attacked him in the night : but they were vigorously repulsed, and pursued within their own territories, where they secured themselves by taking post on the mountains. ^c

Fights the
Chineses ;

ON this advice, *Kang-bi* sent a great army from *Pe-king*, which he designed at first to command in person : but, on being dissuaded by his council, appointed his next brother generalissimo, and ordered his eldest son to accompany him. *Kaldan* was posted to advantage about fourscore leagues from *Pe-king* ; where, although he wanted artillery, and had but very few troops, he resolutely waited for the enemy. At first his van-guard suffered much from the *Chinese* cannon, which obliged him to get out of their reach, by changing his post : but as he had a great marsh before him, which prevented his being surrounded, he defended himself with great bravery till night, when both parties retired to their camps (P). The general of the ordnance, who was the emperor's maternal uncle, was killed, towards the end of the action, by a musket-shot, as he was drawing off the artillery. ^c

comes to a
 treaty.

NEXT day produced a treaty, of which the result was, that *Kaldan* should have leave to retire with his army ; first taking an oath, before his *Fo*, never to return into the territories of the emperor, or his allies. In his retreat, part of his troops perished for want ; and his nephew *Tse-vang Raptan*, whom he had left regent, withdrew into a remote country, with all who were disposed to follow him. This was such a terrible blow to *Kaldan*, that he was three or four years recruiting his army (Q). However, the imperial generals, at their return to *Pe-king*, were impeached, although they had the better of the engagement : for it is a law among the *Manchews*, that, if a general gives battle, and obtains not a complete victory, he ought to be punished. The emperor's brother, with some other general officers, were sentenced to lose three years of their revenue, and the rest to be degraded five degrees. They would have suffered much more, but for the interposition of his majesty ; who, on the other hand, bestowed extraordinary honours on the memory of his uncle, killed in the action, whose eldest son succeeded to his posts ; and rewarded all who distinguished themselves, as well as the kindred ^f

^b GERBILLON, ap. Du Halde, p. 260.

(P) According to *Bentink*, the Khân defeated several bodies sent by *Amulan Bogday Khân* (so the *Russians* call the *Manchew* emperors of *China*), one after the other ; and that his troops were so brave, or those of the emperor so bad, that, at one time, 1000 *Kalmûks* (or *Elûths*)

beat 20,000 *Chineses* ; and another time 10,000 overthrew 20,000.

(Q) It could not then have been so small as 'tis represented ; but it had perhaps suffered before in the expedition.

a *Mungls* drew near *Pe-king*, with an army of 60,000 men; but it was entirely cut to pieces, A. D. 1550. and above 200 officers taken prisoners. Next year, the *Tatar* king sent an ambassador, to ask the emperor's pardon, and leave for his subjects to sell horses in his dominions. *Sbi-tsong* readily consented: but finding afterwards, that this permission was the ground of continual quarrels between the Mandarins and the merchants, and often occasioned revolts, he absolutely prohibited that trade.

ABOUT the year 1560, *Lyew-ban*, general of the *Chinese* army, marching beyond the great wall, the *Mungls*, on news of his arrival in their territories, fled, and hid themselves in their forests: so that there were no more than twenty-eight of them killed in this expedition, and the whole booty taken was only 170 dromedaries. In 1574, the second year of *Shin-tsong*, or *Van-lye*, eleventh emperor of the *Ming*, the *Mungls* made an irruption into *Lyau-tong*, but were intirely routed; and, in 1582, they received a notable defeat, by the general *Li-chin*, losing A. D. 1582. 10,000 men. Next year, the rivers were frozen; which facilitating their irruptions into the empire, they came in swarms; but were cut to pieces by the *Chinese* troops. After this, we are told, that the *Mungls* (called western *Tatars*, and *Tan-yu* (*) by the *Chinese*) gave over to disturb the empire, and lived quietly within their own territories; while the *Manchews* (named in the *Chinese* histories eastern *Tatars*, and *Nyu-che*, (or *Nu-che*) began to grow formidable, and, at length, subdued both the *Mungls* and *Chinese* ^{Cease their attempt.}.

HAD the successors of *Yong-lo* vigorously prosecuted what he had begun, they might have intirely reduced the *Mungls* to a state of subjection: but, as they neglected that affair, or pursued it but remissly, those enemies of *China* began, by degrees, to take heart, and spread. Hereupon the princes of the house of *Jenghiz Khân*, each seizing a territory, formed different hords, and grew into little sovereignties. The title of emperor of the *Mungls* remained to the chief of these princes, called *Chabar Khân*, or *Hân*; who was descended from the emperor *Kublai*, or *Hâ-pi-lay*, by the elder branch. And to this Khân the other *Mungl* states (including doubtless the *Kalkas*), and the *Elûths* themselves, were tributary; till, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, having made his government insupportable, by his cruelties and debaucheries, his subjects called in the founder of the *Manchew* monarchy. Thus the *Mungl* prince became a vassal to the *Manchew* empire; and was obliged to quit the title of *Hân* (or *Khân*), for that of *Vang*, or *Wang*, given him by the great grandfather of the late emperor of *Kang-hi*, who subdued intirely the *Mungls* about the great wall. ^{Submit to the Manchews.}

THIS prince, called by the *Chinese* *Tyen-tsong*, who began his reign in 1627, on the death of his father *Tyen-ming* ^{Revolt, but subdued.}; taking advantage (as some write) of the intestine divisions which, at that time, reigned among the *Mungl* princes, found means to reduce them, one after another, not excepting the chief of the family, who retained the name of emperor; and was forced, by his own subjects, to submit like the rest, in the year 1630. After the conquest of *China*, the title of king (*Vang*) was bestowed on him, and several other of the most potent princes of the *Mungl* family. But, in the minority of the emperor *Kang-hi*, the vassal Khân resolved to attempt not only to throw off his new yoke, but even, if possible, to recover the empire of *China*. With this view, he began to reunite the other princes in his interest, by a league; which coming to *Kang-hi*'s knowledge, before the design took effect, he immediately sent a small body of troops from *Lyau-tong*, against the revolter (*Chabar Khân*). The *Mungl* prince seeing himself attacked, before he was prepared for his defence, was obliged, with what forces of his own he could bring together in haste, to fight the emperor's army: the event was, that he was intirely defeated, and, in the pursuit, taken prisoner, with his brother and children ^e.

FROM this time the *Mungls* remained obedient to the power of the *Manchews*, who at present reign in *China*: although, we are told, that the head of the *Mungl* princes, who are descended from *Towban-temûr* (the last *Mungl* emperor of *China*), and very numerous in *Tartary*, still preserves a great superiority over the princes of the other branches descended from *Jenghiz Khân*, and his brothers; who are at present chiefs of the *Tatar* tribes, known under the denominations of *Mungls* and *Kalkas* ^f. On this occasion, it may not be amiss to observe, that, as both these nations are the same people (at least considered as such), under different names, the *Mungls* are those who always remained in *Tartary*, and the *Kalkas* such as were driven out of *China*: who, by way of distinction, perhaps, took that name from the river *Kalka*, one of those on whose banks they settled; as a third branch or nation of *Mungls* go, at present, by the name of *Elûths*, or *Alûths*, known commonly in *Europe* by the denomination of *Kalmûks*. ^{Remain subject.}

THE nation of *Halkas*, *Kbalkhas*, or *Halbas*, for so the word is variously pronounced, or *Kalkas* written, which is the most numerous, as well as celebrated, of all the *Mungl* branches, preserved their independency for fifty or sixty years after the *Mungls* had lost theirs. The princes ^{independent}

(*) Or *Tanja*, form the title of their ancient emperors. See before, p. 133, & seqq.

^c COUPLET, mon. sinic. tabl. p. 81.—DU HALDE, ubi supra, p. 220. & seqq.

^d DU HALDE, ubi

^e BOUVET, hist. of Kanghi, p. 18, & seqq.

^f GABRIL, ubi supra, 317.

of this branch had at first a monarch, under the title of Khân, or king, although tributary, as the other *Kalkas* were, to the *Mungl* prince *Chaba Khân*, before mentioned. But the *Kalkas* increasing vastly in time, and those descendants of *Kublay*, who had only the title of *Tayki*, growing numerous, the more powerful among them became, by degrees, independant of one another, and of the Khân himself, to whom they paid only a slight homage. Before the war broke out between them and the *Elûths*, towards the end of the last century, they were divided into seven standards, with each its chief; three of whom received, of the great Lama of *Tibet*, the title of Khân: although most of the *Taykis*, who were under them, acted as sovereigns in their respective territories; and paid their Khâns no farther deference, than to allow them the first place in their assemblies, held to determine differences, and consult about public affairs.

under three
Khâns.

THE eldest of these three Khâns was named *Shaffaktû*, and possessed the country to the east of the *Elûths*, extending from mount *Altay* to the rivers *Selinga*, *Orkhon*, and *Tila*. The second *Tûshetû*, or *Tûshetû Khân*, was the most powerful of the *Kalka* princes: his territories reached from the three last-mentioned rivers to mount *Kentey*, whence the *Kerlon* and *Tila* derive their sources. The third, *Cheching Khân*, resided towards the source of the *Kerlon*, along which river his people spread themselves, to its fall into the lake *Dalay*, or *Kûlon*, and also beyond, as far as the province of *Solon*. These two last princes took the title of Khân forty or fifty years ago (C); but the first long before. These *Kalkas* were so powerful before the wars, as to give uneasiness to the emperor of *China* himself. They were no fewer than 600,000 families, and very rich in flocks and horses: but they were almost ruined and destroyed by that calamity; the occasion of which is as follows.

Troubles arise.

A *TAYKI*, or *Kalka* prince, called *Lopzang-hum Tayki*, whom our author *Gerbillon* saw at the assembly of the states of *Tartary*, attacked *Shaffaktû Khân*; and having taken him prisoner, not only put him to death, but seized his estate, with part of his servants. The rest, with his children, fled to *Tûshetû Khân*, who sending an account of what had happened to all the heads of standards and principal *Taykis*, invited them to join against the usurper. They immediately assembled their forces, attacked *Lopzang-hum*, took and sent him to the great Lama, to be punished; requesting that pontiff to invest the eldest son of *Shaffaktû Khân* with his father's dignity. Their request was granted, and the son re-established in his father's territories; but neither his flocks nor subjects were restored; for *Tûshetû* had seized them for his own use, by advice of his brother, who was one of those *Ho-fo's*, or *living Fo's*, so numerous in *Tartary*.

Khûrûktû's
pride.

THIS Lama, called *Tsing-chung-tumba* (D) *Khûrûktû*, had been eight years a disciple of the great Lama at *Tibet*; where he had acquired such a reputation in the school, that he resolved to set up for himself, pretending to be a living *Fo* as well as his master. He played his part so well, that those *Kalkas* adored him as a divinity; and his brother went regularly, on set days, to worship him, gave him the upper-hand on all occasions, and was intirely managed by him. This pretended immortal, by his pride and ill-conduct, occasioned the destruction of his family, and the empire of the *Kalkas*. *Shaffaktû Khân* (E) being thus kept out of his effects, contrary to a decree of the assembly; sent ambassadors to the grand Lama, intreating him to interpose his authority with *Tûshetû Khân*, and his brother the Lama, for a restitution. The *Dalay Lama* accordingly dispatched a Lama envoy, who, being corrupted with presents, contented himself with fair promises. *Shaffaktû Khân*, despairing of justice from that quarter, sent his second son, to beseech the emperor of *China* to espouse his interest. At this time the *Kalka* princes paid a dromedary and nine white horses, by way of tribute, to *Kang-hi*, for a free trade to *China*; although they were not very regular in the payment. Hereupon his majesty dispatched an ambassador to the great Lama, to engage him to send, by a time appointed, a person of consideration into the country of the *Kalkas*; in order to meet a grandee of his court, to dispose those princes to an accommodation, and to prevent a war².

China inter-
poses.

Commissioners
meet.

MEAN time, *Shaffaktû Khân* dying, his eldest son, who was in alliance with *Kaldan*, Khân of the *Elûths*, his neighbour on the west, succeeded him as Khân. The envoy of *China*, and that of the *Dalay Lama*, being arrived at the court of *Tûshetû Khân*, they convened a second time the states of the *Kalka* princes. The imperial envoy, named *Argbi* (F), sat as president of the tribunal; which is much of the same dignity with the six tribunals at *Pe-king*. As the envoy of the great Lama (G) represented his master, every one yielded him the first place, excepting

² GERBILLON, ap. Du Halde, ubi supra, Vol. II. p. 259.

(C) That is, about 1650 or 1660.

(D) His name is written differently in *Gerbillon's* tracts, almost as often as it occurs; viz. *Chepzuin-tamba*, *Chemsin-tamba*, and *Chunpuzun-tamba*.

(E) By this the son seems to have had the same name as the father; or *Shaffaktû* was a title which descended in the family, as well as that of *Khân*.

(F) *Bentink*, in his notes on *Alâ'ul-lâzi Khân's* history of the *Turks*, &c. names him *Arerna Khan-yba*, p. 549.

(G) He was doubtless a Lama; but *Bentink* says, he was the *Dava* (or *Tipa*) of *Tibet*, who is the great Lama's viceroy, who governs in his name in secular affairs.

a of the slain and wounded. Next year *Kang-hi* held an assembly of the states of *Tartary*, wherein all the *Kalka* princes, with one consent, paid him solemn homage.

THE *Khân* of the *Elúths* continued in the territories formerly belonging to *Shaffaktú Khân*, *Yung-hi*, and *Tushetú Khân*, till 1694; when, being recruited with fresh troops, he scoured the banks of the *Kerion*, and cut to pieces all the *Kalkas* who fell into his hands. Thence advancing to the borders of *Korchin*, he sent proposals to the chief prince, to join with him against the *Manchews*. “What greater indignity (says he), than from masters to become slaves? We are *Mungls*, and under one law: let us unite our forces, and regain the empire, which is ours by inheritance. I will share the glory and fruits of my conquests with those who will share the danger. But if there should be any *Mungl* princes, as I hope there are none, so b “base as to chule slavery to the *Manchews*, our common enemy, let them expect to feel “the first efforts of my arms.” The king of *Korchin*, as a proof of the fidelity which he had sworn to the emperor, sent him the letter, which made his majesty a little uneasy: for, although he knew the *Elúths* were too weak to venture to attack him, yet he did not like a confederacy of the *Mungl* princes, supported by the *Dalay Lama*; he therefore resolved either to extirpate the *Elúths*, or compel them to a firm and lasting peace.

WITH this view, in 1696 he invaded *Tartary* with three armies, in order to inclose them on all sides (R). One of these armies obtained a complete victory; while that under the emperor struck every place with terror. In short, this year, or the next, all these *Tatars* were either destroyed, subdued, or dispersed. The destruction of the *Elúths* was so great in this c last war, that, in all these vast countries, there remained no more than ten or twelve thousand families of them (S); and the death of *Kaldan* in 1697, while the emperor was marching to seek him out in his retreat, completed their ruin: the remains of these unfortunate *Elúths* being obliged to implore his majesty’s clemency, or take shelter with *Tse-vang Raptan*, the only surviving prince of that people. The war thus ended, we are told that *Kang-hi* became absolute master of all the empire of the *Kalkas* and *Elúths*; and extended his dominions in *Tartary* as far as the great deserts and forests which make the frontiers of *Russia*¹. But this is to be understood of the *Elúth* dominions gained chiefly from the *Kalkas* on the east of mount *Altay*: for it does not appear, that the *Chinese* made any conquests in the country to the west of that grand barrier which remained in possession of *Tse-vang Raptan*.

d HAVING brought down the history of the two first *Mungl* branches, the *Mungls* properly so called, and the *Kalkas*, to the present time, it remains to handle that of the *Elúths*: but here our memoirs are still more scanty and imperfect. It does not appear, from any authors yet come to our hands, either when, or on what occasion, the *Mungl* tribes, who go under the denomination of *Elúths*, threw off their dependency on the *Mungl Khâns* reigning at *Karakorum* (or in the eastern parts of *Tartary*), and assumed that name; or by what steps they arrived at so great a power, as to become superior to the other two branches of *Mungls*. There is one circumstance, however, namely, that the *Khâns* of the *Elúths* are not descended from *Jenghiz Khân*, but *Timúr Beg*, or *Tamerlan*, which might afford some light into the question, provided we were sure they were all of the same family from the first of them: for e then it would follow, that their empire did not begin till after the year 1400, perhaps about the time of *Tonglo*: who, having reduced the successors of *Hû-pi-lay*, or *Kublay Khân*, and the *Mungls* in the east, to a very low ebb, gave those more at a distance, in the west, an opportunity of throwing off their dependence, and setting up a *Khân* or *Khâns* of their own.

f HOWEVER that be, we find nothing considerable of the *Elúths* till about eighty years ago (T); at which time, we are told, all the *Elúth* branches were united under one chief, or king, called *Ocbirtu chechin Khân*. Prince *Ablay*, his brother, having rebelled, was defeated, and forced to retire a vast way towards *Siberia*. The *Khân* had under him several petty princes of his family called *Tayki* (U), who were absolute in their respective territories, and paid him what homage and tribute they pleased. One of them, *Patûrú Hûm*, was very rich, and had been much honoured for his exploits in the wars of *Tibet*. He left several children, of whom *Onchon*, the eldest, succeeded him. This prince, during the wars with the *Haffak Púrúks* (X), falling sick of the small-pox in his camp, was, according to the custom of the *Mungls* in that

¹ GERBILLON, ap. Du Halde, p. 257. 261.

(R) *Bentink* says, his army consisted of 300,000 men, accompanied with 300 pieces of cannon.

(S) Our author *Gerbillion* says, that *Raptan* found no more *Elúths* remaining when he came to succeed his uncle.

(T) This must be understood from the time *Du Halde* wrote, not *Gerbillion*; otherwise it will carry this fact back to about the year 1610, which is too high up for

the father of *Kaldan*: we therefore suppose *Chechin Khân*, to have been in this power about the year 1650 or 1655.

(U) Or *Tayghi*. The *Russians* call them *Taysha*, and *Tayshi*.

(X) So the *Elúths* call the *Uzbek Tartars*, who, in return, nickname them *Kálmúks*; and from them this name came to us, by way of the *Russians*.

distemper, left alone in his tent ; which the *Mohammedan Tatars*, posted opposite to the *Elúts*, a took possession of, and, with proper care, recovered the sick prince.

Slain by
Sengha.

ONCHON, not thinking it proper to discover his quality, served three years as a common slave ; during which, the second brother *Sengha*, not doubting of his death, married his wife. At length the prince discovered himself to the *Hassaks* ; and promising, upon oath, in case they released him, never to renew the war, they set him at liberty, and gave him a guard of one hundred men to escorte him into his own territories. Being arrived on the borders of them, he dispatched a courier to acquaint his brother with his adventure and return. *Sengha*, greatly surprised, consulted his wife, to know whom she would chuse in such a conjuncture. The lady answered, that she had married him on a presumption that her first husband was dead ; but, since he was living, she was indispensably obliged to return to him. *Sengha*, whose love was b equal to his ambition, under pretence of honour, sent trusty persons to massacre the prince, and all his retinue. The crime being committed, he gave out, that he had defeated a party of *Hassak Púrúks*, without mentioning any thing of his brother. But, the murder soon coming to light, one of the brothers, by the same mother as *Onchon*, assembled forces to revenge his death ; and, having killed *Sengha*, restored the son of *Onchon* to his father's possessions.

Kaldan's re-
venge.

KALDAN, third son of *Patúrú Hím Tayki*, by *Sengha's* mother, had been educated by the grand Lama of *Tibet*, as one of his principal disciples ; after which he settled at the court of *Ochirtú-checking Khân* (*), who treated him with great marks of distinction. This prince, having had notice of the foregoing transactions, asked leave of the high pontiff to quit the profession, in order to go and revenge the death of his brother. Leave being granted, he immediately c formed an army of *Sengha's* old domestics, and some troops lent him by *Ochirtú* ; with which he took vengeance on the murderers, and seized on all the effects of his brother, as well as the estates of *Sengha*. He then married the prince's chief wife, the daughter of *Ochirtú Khân* ; and, his forces increasing daily, he found himself in a condition at last to dispute the kingdom with his father-in-law, to whom he owed his present fortune.

Created Kán.

A QUARREL between their subjects was a pretence for declaring war ; after which he marched with his army into the country of *Ochirtú*, who received him at the head of his troops. The fight was near the great lake *Kizalpú*, where *Kaldan* got the victory ; and, having taken his father-in-law prisoner, caused his throat to be cut, the better to secure the conquest of his dominions : thus he became the head of all the *Elúts*. The great Lama, to reward his perfidious- d ness and cruelty, gave him the title of *Khân* (Y), that is, king, or emperor. From that time *Kaldan* (Z) enjoyed his conquests, and had no wars but with the *Hassak Púrúks* (or *Uzbeks*), till 1688, when he invaded and subdued the *Kalkas* : but, carrying his resentment too far (A), he was ruined in his turn by the emperor of *China* ^k, as hath been already set forth.

Totally de-
feated.

BENTINK relates the circumstances of the *Khân's* death, which might be more easily known to the *Russians* than the *Chineses*. According to this author, the loss of the last battle did not so much afflict the *Elúts* prince, as the death of his wife *Guni*, or *Ani*, who was slain in the route. Her body having been found among the dead, the emperor caused the head to be cut off, and carried it along with him to adorn his triumph. Provisions and forage beginning to fail in the neighbouring mountains, where he had with difficulty escaped, most of his followers and horses e died for hunger ; so that he returned almost alone into his own dominions, where he spent two years in great affliction, exposed to the reproaches of his subjects. Perceiving he had nothing for it but to negotiate the affair, he sent his son *Septenbaldius* to the Dalay Lama, to desire his mediation, which he before slighted. But *Abd'ollah Beg*, governor of the city of *Khamul* (B), altho' dependent on the *Khân*, caused him and his small retinue to be seized in passing through his government, and sent them to the emperor ; who cut off their heads, and confirmed the traitor in his post.

Persons him-
self.

THE news of this disaster threw the *Khân* into despair. He assembled all his subjects, exhorted them to live in peace and unity ; and then giving them liberty to retire every one where he pleased, took poison, and died. This was the end of *Bosfo Khân*, a prince of great genius f

* GERBILLON, ap. Du Halde, p. 257.

(*) The *Ochiurti Khân* of *Avril's* imperfect account. See his *Travels*, p. 150, & seq.

(Y) *Gerbillon* says it should be written *Hán*, instead of *Khân* ; *Hami* for *Kami* ; *Halkas* for *Kalkas* ; and the like. But, as the *H* is a strong aspirate or guttural, it seems best expressed by *Kh*, as it ought to be written, and not with a single *K* or *C*, as is commonly the practice.

(Z) *Bentink* calls him *Bosfo* or *Bosugto Khân* ; rather, perhaps, *Bussuktú Khân*. *Bussuk* signifies *broken*, the name given by *Ogúz Khân* to his three eldest sons, ac-

cording to *Abúlghazi Khân*, *Hist. Turks*, &c. p. 21. *Bussuktú* seems to have been his title, or surname, and *Kaldan* his proper name. The same author says, he usually encamped on the lake *Yamisb*, and in the neighbouring deserts,

(A) We think *Kang-hi* was to blame for protecting, and not giving up, the murderers of his ally and brother, whom *Kaldan* had a right to demand.

(B) *Khamil*, or *Hami* (as the *Chineses* pronounce it), at the very eastern extremity of *Little Bukhâria*, and edge of the great desert between it and *China*.

a and valour; who, by a series of successes, had made himself terrible to all his enemies, and acquired a great deal of glory.

KALDAN was succeeded by his nephew, eldest son of *Sengha*, called *Tse-vang Raptan* (C). *Succeeded by Raptan his nephew.* This *Raptan* is said before to have left his uncle's court, while absent in the war; and, by carrying away the greater part of his forces, much distressed him in his affairs¹. The occasion of his desertion was this. A princess, daughter of *Ochirtu Khân*, had been promised him in marriage: but *Kaldan*, falling in love with her, took her from him; and, not content with this injustice to his nephew, hired assassins to murder him; who, missing their blow, only struck out one of his eyes. But *Bentink* says, his eye was shot out accidentally, by one of his domestics, when hunting; and that his flight happened a little before the war in 1688; on the following occasion. The Khân, who bred up at his court three of his brother's sons, took an aversion to the eldest; and, finding no cause to put him to death, he had recourse to a man of great strength, who, under pretence of wrestling with the young prince, handled him so roughly, that a few days after he died. *Zigan Araptan*, the youngest of the three, alarmed at such a proceeding, which the Khân would have put off as an accident, fled with his friends and domestics: nor could his other brother *Dankhinambû*, whom the Khân sent after him, prevail with him to return. Although his eldest brother might have been of a haughty turbulent spirit, as the other represented; yet he was resolved, he said, not to trust an uncle who was capable of committing so unnatural a crime.

As soon as *Araptan* (or *Raptan*), who kept hidden all this while, heard of his uncle's death, *His flight.* he presented himself to the *Kalmûks*, and demanded the succession; which they could not deny him, as being next heir. The *Bukhars* (or those of *Little Bukharia*), whom *Bussukit Khân* (or *Kaldan*) had conquered some time before, followed their example; and the other provinces, which refused to come in of themselves, were obliged to it by arms. When things were thus settled, the *Bukhars* conducted him one day to an agreeable grove, consisting of not more than a hundred trees, very bushy, and of a particular kind: where, after being feasted by him for some days, they solemnly invested him with the title of *Kontaisb*, which signifies a *grand monarch*; forbidding, under pain of death, to call him by his former name. This prince well deserved that distinction, as having been endowed with great talents: he was remarkable for his genius and mildness (D), courage and piety^m.

d THE new Khân at first lived quietly in his territories, with all but the *Uzbeks*, and encouraged agriculture; his flocks not affording competent subsistence to his people: but his actions afterwards shewed, that he was no less enterprising than his uncle *Kaldan*. Not long after his advancement to the throne, *Tarkian* (*Irgben*, or *Jurkent*), capital of *Kashgar*, revolting, he reduced it by force, and severely punished the rebels. About the year 1703 *Ayuka* (or *Ayuki*), one of his cousins, flying from his court, under pretence that he was in fear of his life, passed the river *Jaik*, with the tribe of *Torgaûts*, and put himself under the protection of *Russia*ⁿ. About 1716 *Kontaisb* conquered *Tibet*^o: but, four years after, the provinces of *Khamil* and *Tursân*, in *Little Bukharia*, were taken from him by the *Chinese*, on the following occasion. *Kontaisb* having been informed, that there was, to the east of the *Great Gobi* (*Kobi*), or *Desart*, at the foot of the mountains which separate his lands from those of *China*, a gold mine, so rich, that it might be worked without much trouble, he sent one of his *Murfas* (E), with 10,000 men, to take possession of it; but the *Chinese* and *Mungls*, falling on them in great numbers, routed, and pursued them to the desert. This the *Kalmûks* repassed, by favour of certain very fertile vallies, hidden by the high mountains which cross the *Gobi* on that side from west to east, and were till then unknown to the *Chinese*.

f THE late emperor *Kanghi*, to try if any advantage could be made of this discovery, sent a powerful army that way, with a good train of artillery, under his third son (F); accompanied, as was said, by a Jesuit, very understanding in fortifications and fire-works, to assist him with his advice in this expedition. That prince, having passed the deserts by the same

¹ BENTINK apud Abû'lgh. hist. Turks, &c. p. 252, & seq. ap. Du Halde, p. 257.

ⁿ BENTINK, ubi supra, p. 539.

^m Idem ibid. p. 253. GERBILLON, GERBIL. ibid. p. 384.

(C) This is the name he went by in *China*, and perhaps among the *Mungls*, who are subject to *China*. *Bentink* calls him *Zigan Araptan*, which is the name used by the *Russians*. Which of them is the true name, if either be, we cannot tell; all nations having that ill custom of corrupting or imposing names. However, that of *Araptan*, *Raptan*, or *Rabdan*, as it is also spelt, doubtless belongs to it. Perhaps *Zigan* is a corruption of *Tse-vang*.

(D) *Bentink*, as an instance of his moderation, tells us, that he not only pardoned the domestic who had shot his eye out, but also gave him his liberty, to make him amends for the danger he had run of losing his life on that occasion, by the enraged *Kalmûks*.

(E) A corruption of the *Persian* word *Mirza*, which signifies *Prince*.

(F) He succeeded his father in 1726, under the name or title of *Yong-ching*.

road which the *Kalmûks* followed in their retreat, entered the provinces of *Khamil* and *Turfân*; and, finding that *Kontaisb* advanced to meet him with a fine and numerous cavalry, against whom he durst not venture his army in the vast plains of those provinces, he bethought himself of building forts at proper distances, which he took care to furnish very well with cannon and infantry. By favour of those forts he advanced continually forwards in the lands of *Kontaisb*, and made himself at length intire master of the aforefaid provinces; the *Kalmûks* not being able all that while to bring him to a battle.

Offers to Russia.

Recovers Turfan and Khamil.

HEREUPON *Kontaisb*, who saw it was impossible for him to repel the *Chineses* without infantry and ordnance, the use of which had been till then unknown to the *Kalmûks*; in the year 1720 sent ambassadors to *Peter I.* emperor of *Russia*, then at *St. Petersburg*, offering to become tributary to him, provided he would send 10,000 regular troops, with cannon, to his assistance; obliging himself, with that small aid, to drive the *Chineses* out again: but the war with *Sweden*, which was then on foot, joined to the views which the emperor *Peter* began to have upon *Persia*, hindered him from accepting of these advantageous proposals. Mean time the *Chineses* seized all which belonged to *Kontaisb*, lying to the east of the desarts towards the frontiers of *China*, and have there settled colonies of *Mungls*; but did not meddle with the territories of the *Dalay Lama* ^p. However, that prince must have recovered those territories not long after; since we are informed by *Gaubil*, that, in 1726, the *Tatars* of *Hami* (or *Khamil*) and *Turfân*, as well as *Aksû*, *Kâshgar*, *Irgben* (or *Jarkien*) and *Anghien* (G), were then under his protection. His residence was called *Harkas* (or *Urga*), on the river *Ili* ^q (by some called *Konghis*), of which an account has been given in our description of *Tartary*.

^p BENTINK, ubi sup. p. 456, & seq.

^q SOUCIET. *Obs. Math. &c.* p. 176, 177. 180.

(G) *D'Anville*, in his map, places this town on the river *Sir*, or *Sihûn*, about sixty miles north-west from its source; but *Gaubil*, in *Souciét* (*Obs. Math.* p. 179.)

says, it lies some leagues to the south of the source of that river.

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

The history of Juji, or Tusshi Khân, and his descendants, who reigned over the Kipjâks, with that of the Khâns of Krîm Tartary.

Kipjâks, their country.

THE *Kipjâks*, or *Kipchâks* (A), inhabit the western part of *Tartary*; and formerly their country was of very great extent, comprising the vast plains reaching in breadth from the *Caspian* sea to the borders of *Russia*, which then was contained within narrow bounds; and extending from the *Nieper*, or *Boristhenes*, westward, a considerable way in *Tartary*, to the east of the *Caspian* sea: so that not only the kingdom of *Astrakhân* and *Kassan*, belonging at present to the *Russian* empire, but likewise all *Little Tartary*, and some other neighbouring provinces of *Europe*, were included in it, forming, in the whole, a large empire. This is to be understood of *Kipjâk* in its greatest extent: nor does it seem to have been less, by more than these last-mentioned countries, when *Juji*, eldest son of *Jenghiz Khân*, reduced it under his dominion.

1. Jugi Khân.

WE have already mentioned the exploits of *Juji*, or *Tusshi* (B), who accompanied his father in the war against *Mohammed Karasîm Shâh*. The Khân was so pleased with his conduct, that

(A) They are called also *Kipchâks*, *Kapjâks*, and *Kapshâks*, by authors, as hath been already taken notice of. Their land is named *Dasht Kipjâk*, or the plain of *Kip-*

jâk, from its being a champain country, consisting of wide extended plains.

(B) And *Chuchî*, as written in the *Chinese* history.

a he soon after gave him the sovereignty of *Kipjâk*, the country of the *Jetab*, or *Gétes*, and *Turkestan*. This prince settled his residence in *Kipjâk*: where, after making considerable conquests, he died in the year 1226, six months before his father; much regretted both by the *Mungls*, and his new subjects. We have but few materials from whence to give our readers a satisfactory history of the successors of *Juji Khân*, in this part of the *Mungl* empire: for we are beholden chiefly to no more than two funds, and those very scanty ones, being little else than lists or catalogues of the Khâns: one, communicated by *Abû'lghazi Khân*, of *Karazm*, in his history of the *Turks*, *Moguls*, and *Tatars*; the other by *De la Croix*, at the end of his history of *Jenghîz Khân*. These catalogues disagree likewise considerably with each other, as to the names and number of the Khâns, as well as the dates of actions. For instance, *De la*
b *Croix* reckons forty-one Khâns to *Haji Keray*, or *Gheray Khân*; and *Abû'lghazi Khân* only seventeen: but we chuse to follow the latter, as he was a descendant of *Juji*, and reigned in a country not far from *Kipjâk*. Whence it may be presumed, that he was better acquainted with the history of that region than the *Persian* authors, from whom *De la Croix* made his extract; and the rather, as we have already observed, *D'Herbelot* informs us, that the oriental authors have not transmitted the history of any of the branches of the *Mungl* empire with tolerable exactness; excepting that which reigned in *Persia*, of which *Hulagû* was the founder.

UPON the death of *Juji Khân*, his father sent immediately his brother *Belgatay Utezkim*^{2. Bati Khân.} into *Dasht Kipjâk*, in order to create *Batû* (C) (or *Badû*), Khân, in the room of his father. A. D. 1226.
c That prince went to meet his grand uncle, and conducted him to the usual place of his residence, where he was put in possession of the throne; but the solemnity was scarce over, when news arrived of the death of *Jenghîz Khân*. Hereupon *Utezkim* returned immediately to *Karakum* (or *Karakorum*), and was followed by *Batû*, called also *Saghin Khân*, accompanied by his brothers, excepting *Togay Timûr*, the youngest; who, on this occasion, was left as regent during his absence. Being arrived at court with the rest, they assisted at the instalment of *Ugaday*, or *Oktay Khân*, whom afterwards they accompanied in his expedition to *Kitay*.

THE grand Khân, pleased with the conduct and bravery which he had observed in *Batû*
d *Saghin Khân*, at his return gave him a numerous army to go and subdue the *Urûs*, or *Russians*, *Cherkassians*, *Bulgars*, and other neighbouring nations. He likewise ordered his son *Kayuk*, who succeeded him, *Mangu* (or *Mengko*), son of *Tawlay* (or *Toley*), and *Baydar*, son of *Jagatay Khân*, to bear him company in this western expedition.

ON his return to *Kipjâk*, *Togay Timûr* feasted him and all the princes splendidly for three *His conquests.* days. After this, *Batû* gave, in his turn, a feast, which lasted forty days; at the end of which he set forward on his intended conquests. His expedition was crowned with the success which, says our author, every-body knows; and the Khân, having filled all the west with the glory of his great exploits, at length returned to *Dasht Kipjâk*, where he died some time after, in the capital of the country called *Kok-Orda*^a. *De la Croix* puts this event of his death in 1256 (D); and says, he conquered the *Alans*, *Assites*, *Russians*, or *Muscovites*, *Bulgars*, and several other nations: that, crossing through *Russia*, he even ravaged
e *Poland*, *Moravia*, and *Dalmatia*. Then marched into *Hungary*, with a design to go and besiege *Constantinople*, but was prevented by death; which contradicts *Abû'lghazi Khân's* account, who says he died in *Kipchâk*. *De la Croix* adds, that *Batû* performed several other considerable exploits, and was reported to have been the most liberal and generous prince in the world^b.

BATU SAGHIN KHAN was succeeded by his brother *Burgha*: who, on that occasion, gave a
f very magnificent feast to all his vassal lords; and distributed several considerable presents^{3. Burgha Khân.} among the chief of them. Nor did he forget to send some of an extraordinary richness to *Koplay* (*Kublay*, or *Hû-pi-lay*) *Khân*, in order to obtain his confirmation of the choice which his subjects had made of him in the room of *Batû*. *Burgha Khân* reigned with no less glory than justice, and was much dreaded by all his neighbours. One time, as he was on the road to visit *Koplay Khân*, he met with merchants of *Great Bukhâria*; and, falling into discourse with some of them about the *Mohammedan* worship, was so affected with the account they gave of it, that he forthwith embraced that religion. He also in time brought over his younger brother *Togay Timûr*, who accompanied him; and, at his return, published an order

^a ABU'LGHAZI KHAN, hist. *Turks*, &c. p. 193, & seq.

^b DE LA CROIX, hist. *Gengh.* p. 387.

(C) Called also *Baatû*, *Bati*, and *Badû*; which, according to *Kendamar*, signifies *strength* and *hardness* in the *Mogul* language. *D'Herbelot*, Bibl. orient. art. *Batû*.

(D) *D'Herbelot*, from *Kendamar*, or *Mirkind*, does the same; so that he reigned thirty years. *Batû* was of the

religion of *Jenghîz Khân*, which consisted solely in the worship of God. He, by his authority, established *Mangû Khân* on the throne of the *Mungls*, in the east of *Tartary*; and even facilitated the conquest of *China*. Bibl. orient. p. 190, art. *Batû*.

for all his subjects to embrace *Mohammedism* : but he died, faith our author, before he could complete so salutary a work, after he had reigned twenty-five years^c. *De la Croix* says, he reigned but ten, and that he died in 1266; but, by *Abû'lghazi Khân's* account, which we prefer, his death must have happened in 1281. The first of these authors, besides taking notice that *Bereke*, as he calls *Burgha*, turned *Mohammedan*, adds, that he was engaged in a very bloody war with *Hûlakû Khân* of *Persia*; and that afterwards, being desirous to execute part of *Batû's* design, he marched as far as *Constantinople*, ravaging all the country in his passage^d.

4. Mangû Timûr Khân.

BURGHAKHÂN had for his successor his brother *Mengû Timûr* (E), who was a prince of much courage and conduct. Some time after his advancement to the crown, he gave a tribe, subject to him, called *Ak Orda* (or *the White Orda*), to *Behadr Khân*, son of *Sheybani Khân*; and the cities of *Kaffa* and *Krim* to *Orân Timûr*, son of *Togay Timûr*. After this he took the field against the *Bulgars*; and having, in two years, made considerable conquests on that side, returned to his own dominions. From thence he not long after marched towards the country of *Irân* (or *Persia* at large), against *Abka* (or *Abaka*) *Khân*, who came to an amicable agreement with him; which continued with so much friendship, that every year they sent each other presents. But his successor *Abmed*, son of *Hûlakû Khân*, having been slain by his (*Abka's*) son *Argûn*; as soon as the news reached the court of *Mengû Timûr Khân*, he sent *Tarkay* and *Turkuchay*, two of his generals, with 80,000 men, towards the frontiers of *Irân*. On advice of this, *Argûn Khân* detached *Amir Togâtur*, one of his best officers, with a good body of troops, to meet them, and followed in person with all his forces. The two armies coming to an engagement, in a place called *Karabakh* (F), that of *Mengû Timûr* was defeated; which afflicted him so much, that he died soon after^e.

5. Tuda Mengû Khân.

UPON his decease, *Tuda Mangû* (G), son of *Batû Khân*, ascended the throne of *Kipjâk*: but as he overburdened his subjects with taxes, *Tokhtagû*, son of *Mengû Timûr Khân*, thought himself obliged to represent to him the injustice of his conduct. This was taken so ill by the *Khân*, that he was constrained to leave the country: however, he found means to return thither not long after, at the head of a powerful army; and, having gained a battle, in which *Tuda Mangû* was slain, got himself to be acknowledged *Khân*.

6. Tokhtagû Khân.

TOKHTAGUKHÂN (H) reigned with the universal applause of his subjects, and subdued a great number of neighbouring cities: but he was carried off by death in the midst of his conquests, after a reign of six years; and was buried in the city of *Shari Sarayjik* (I), pursuant to his last directions.

7. Uzbek Khân.

UZBEK succeeded his father *Tokhtagû*; and, though but thirteen years old, reigned with much prudence and resolution. He introduced the *Mohammedan* worship through all the provinces of his dominions; which procured him the affection of his subjects to such a degree, that, as a proof of it, they assumed the name of *Uzbeks*, which they have ever since retained, and never had before. After this event, *Uzbek Khân* tried his fortune twice against *Abu Saïd Khân*, who reigned in *Irân*: but without reaping any advantage by those expeditions; and died at his return from the last^f. According to *Kondamîr*, the first of these expeditions was in the year 1318, the second in the year 1335; occasioned by *Uzbek's* laying claim to the crown of *Iran*^g. An account of these expeditions will be given hereafter in the reign of *Abûsaïd*, one of the successors of *Hûlagû*. *De la Croix*, probably by some mistake in the pointing of his author, calls this prince *Ertek*; and says, he is reckoned the founder of the tribe named *Rûs Ertek*: it should be *Rûs Uzbek*. He makes him also the son of *Tûl*, the son of *Kilk*^h before-mentioned.

8. Jani Bek Khân.

UZBEK KHÂN had for his successor, in the throne of the *Kipjâks*, his son *Jani Bek*, who got the reputation of a very virtuous and devout *Mohammedan*. He usually resided in the city of *Shari Sarayjik*, and continually applied himself to the good of his subjects. During his reign, *Malek Ashraf*, son of *Timûr Tâsh*, had seized the kingdom of *Azerbejdân* in *Irân*, and the neighbouring provinces: but, as he was a great tyrant, and led a scandalous life, many of his subjects left the country, and went over to *Janibek Khân*. Among the rest was *Mobûzo'ddin*, a chief man of the law: who, one day, in expounding the *Korân* in the *Masjîd*

^c ABU'LGH. ubi sup. p. 195. sup. p. 195, & seq. *faïd Ben Algiaptu*,

^d DE LA CROIX, ubi sup. p. 387.

^e ABU'LGH. ubi

^f Ibid. p. 197, & seq.

^g D'HERBELOT, Bibl. orient. art. Abû-

^h DE LA CROIX, ubi sup. p. 388.

(E) *De la Croix* says, he was named *Mongatmur*, or *Mankûtem*; that he was the son of *Dogan*, the son of *Batû*, and surnamed *Kilk*, which was the name of *Jenghiz Khân's* great great grandfather. Hist. Genghisc. p. 387, & seq.

(F) Or *Karabag*, called also *Karabog Arrân*: a noted place in *Arran* (a part of *Armenia* near the river *Arras*), famous for several battles fought there.

(G) In place of this prince *De la Croix* puts *Kazas*, son of *Tazaz* (called also *Tudabekay*), son of *Dogan*.

(H) *De la Croix* calls him *Tokta*, or *Belgaba*.

(I) This seems to be the same place with *Shari Saray*: the ruins of which are on the east side of the *Volga*, a little to the north of *Zariza*, or *Zaraygrood*, a *Russian* city, on the west side, in the part where that river and the *Don* approach each other.

a (or monk), before the Khân, and a great many persons of rank; took an occasion to touch on the scandalous life of *Malek Afhrâf*; and then addressing himself to *Jani Bek*, told him, that, in case he did not do his utmost to put an end to the infamous conduct of that tyrant, both he (the preacher) and his subjects would accuse him, before the throne of God, of all the evil which might accrue from thence.

This menace made such an impression on the mind of *Jani Bek Khân*, that he, without delay, assembled all his forces, and marched into *Irân*: where, having defeated and slain *Malek Afhrâf*, he seized all his dominions, with his treasures, which he divided among his subjects, amounting to 400 camels load in goods and jewels, besides other valuable effects. After this, leaving his son *Birdi Bek* to govern the conquered provinces, he returned to his own dominions. There falling sick immediately on his arrival, he dispatched couriers to his son, that he might see him before he died; but, finding death not willing to allow him so much time, he enjoined the lords of his court to acknowledge *Birdi Bek* for their sovereign. Soon after this he expired, and was buried in *Sbari Sarayjik*, in the year of the *Hejra* 758 (of *Christ* 1356), after he had reigned seven years¹. *De la Croix*, with more probability, places the death of *Jani Bek* in 1349 (K). The same author says, that he marched by the way of *Derbend* (in *Sbîrwân*) into *Azerbejdân*; which had been usurped from the children of *Abûsaïd* by *Malek Afhrâf*, who had been his Wazîr, or Vizîr^k.

Birdi Bek, being detained, by affairs of importance, in the provinces of *Irân*, for two years after his father's death (L), at length arrived; and, having spent three days in lamenting that loss, caused himself to be publicly acknowledged Khân. After this, he abandoned himself intirely to tyranny, and a brutish life. As he reckoned he had a long time to live, he put to death all his relations; for fear any of them should attempt to thrust him out of the throne, which he possessed so unworthily. But his debaucheries soon put an end to his life, which happened in *Hejrah* 762: and as, with this Khân, the posterity of *Mengû Timûr* became extinct, the sceptre of the countries of *Kipjâk* was conferred on the other descendants of *Juji Khân*¹.

AFTER the death of *Birdi Bek Khân*, *Urûs Khân*, son of *Badakul Oglan*, son of *Khoja*, son of *Avas Timûr*, son of *Togay Timûr*, youngest son of *Juji Khân*, seized the sceptre of the *Kipjâks*, and reigned for some years very peaceably: till at length *Toktamish* (M) (or *Tokatmish*), descended from *Togay Timûr*, by another branch, attempted to thrust him from the throne; but his troops having been defeated by *Urûs Khân*, he was obliged to fly for refuge to *Amîr Timûr* (or *Tamerlan*), who resided at *Samarkant*, in *Great Bukhâria*. A few days after *Idigbi Mangap*, who had put himself into the service of *Tokatmish*, followed him, with tidings, that *Urûs Khân*, and all his forces, might easily be surprised, because he marched at a great rate towards *Great Bukhâria*. *Idigbi Mangap* was the son of *Kutluk Kaba*, a man of distinction among the tribe of *Ak Mungls* (or *White Mungls*), whose daughter *Timûr* had given in marriage to one of his sons, of which marriage *Timûr Kutluk* was the issue. Upon this advice *Amîr Timûr* sent *Tokatmish* with a numerous army against *Urûs Khân*; whom having defeated and slain in the battle, he found no difficulty to ascend the throne in 777^m (of *Christ* 1375).^{10. Urûs Khân. Hej. 777. A. D. 1375.}

As we meet with a more particular account of this war between *Tokatmish* and *Urûs Khân* in the life of *Timûr Bek*, written by *Sbarîfo'ddin Ali*, a *Persian* author, it may be proper to give an abstract of it on this occasion. While *Timûr* was on his return from his expedition against *Kamro'ddin*, prince of *Jetab*, or the *Getes*, in the year of the *Hejrah* 777; he received advice that *Tokatmish Aglen*, jealous of *Urûs Khan*, was on the road, to put himself under his protection. Hereupon he sent an *Uzbek* officer of distinction to bring him to court; where he arrived soon after that monarch had reached his capital. He was received with the greatest honours by *Timûr*; who also bestowed on him the government of *Sabran*, *Otrâr*, *Saganak*, *Sayram*, *Saray*, and other cities of the empire of *Kipjâk*, which were in his possession. This prince was scarce settled in his new department, before he was obliged to march against *Kotluk Buga*, son of *Urûs Khân*; and although this latter was slain in the fight with an arrow, yet *Tokatmish*, leaving his country to be plundered by the enemy, was obliged to fly to *Timûr*; who received him with greater honour than at first, and sent him back with fresh forces.

¹ ABU'LGH. ubi sup. p. 198.
sup. p. 199.

^k DE LA CROIX, ubi sup. p. 388.

¹⁰ ABU'LGH. ubi

(K) Taking from thence seven years, for that Khân's reign, it will bring the death of *Uzbek Khân* to 1342. This does not agree with the account of *Abû'lghazi Khân*, who says, it happened at his return from his second expedition against *Abûsaïd Khân*; which, from the date of

Kondamîr, happened seven years before. Perhaps *Jani Bek* reigned longer than seven years.

(L) *De la Croix* says, he left *Tauris* immediately.

(M) *Toktamish* was the son of *Tokul Khoja Oglan*, son of *Saritzza*, son of *Avas Timûr*, son of *Togay Timûr*.

Invasions of Timûr's dominions.

As soon as *Tukta Kaya*, eldest son of *Urûs Khân*, had advice of this, he marched with a very numerous army, and defeated *Tokatmish*; who, in his flight, was pursued, and wounded in the hand with an arrow, as he passed the river *Sibân* (or *Sir*). Being gotten to the other side, he entered a wood alone, naked and wounded: where casting himself on the ground, to get some rest, his doleful moan soon brought thither one of his old captains, who found him just recovered from a swoon; and, after taking proper care of him, brought him to *Bokhâra*. *Timûr*, who was there encamped, ordered another equipage to be made for him, as magnificent as the former. Mean time a commander, named *Aydekû*, of the tribe of *Mangût* (N), brought advice from the court of *Urûs Khân*, that he was marching against *Timûr*, and sought every-where for *Tokatmish*: at the same time ambassadors arrived from the Khân, to demand that prince to be given up; otherwise to declare war. *Timûr* answered, that he would protect *Tokatmish*, and soon meet their master in the field; as he did at *Saganak*, twenty-four leagues from *Otrâr*.

Returns, and dies.

THESE vast armies were ready to engage, when there fell a prodigious quantity of rain and snow, followed by so excessive a cold, that the limbs both of men and beasts lost all motion. At the end of three months, during which this weather continued, *Timûr*, weary of being so long in sight of the enemy, and yet out of action, sent a detachment to attack them in the night; which meeting with 3000 horse, commanded by *Timûr Malek Aglen*, son of *Urûs Khân*, defeated them, the prince himself being wounded in the foot with an arrow. Hereupon *Urûs Khân*, despairing of success, returned home. *Timûr* likewise marched back to *Great Bukhâria*: but, as soon as the season permitted, he set forward again, with design to invade *Kipjâk*; and made so much expedition, that, in fifteen days and nights, he arrived with his army at *Jeyran Kaymish*, that is, *the reeds for deers*, a town in that country, whose inhabitants he found fast asleep. Here, being informed that *Urûs Khân* was dead, he established *Tokatmish* sovereign of *Kipjâk*, and the rest of the empire of *Tushi* (or *Fuji*); after which he returned to his own dominionsⁿ.

Confusion in Kipjâk.

THIS account of *Urûs Khân*'s death is doubtless more exact than that of *Abû'lghazi Khân*; because, had he been killed in battle, it would have afforded a subject of triumph to *Timûr*'s historian. *De la Croix* places no fewer than nine Khâns between *Birdi Bey*, or *Bek*, and *Urûs Khân*; whose names, according to him, are, *Kildi Bek*, another of *Jani Bek*'s sons; *Norûz*, who pretended to be a son of *Jani Bek*; *Cherkes Khân*, who was likewise set up for a son of the same prince, such were the conjunctures of that time; *Kheder Khân*; *Mazûd Khân*, son of *Kheder Khân*; *Bazarchi Khân*; *Tokay*, son of *Shabi Khân*; *Tokluk Timûr Khân*, *Tokay*'s nephew; *Mûrâd Kojâ Khân*, brother of the former^o. But these are not to be considered as so many Khâns, who reigned successively one after the other; but rather as pretenders, or usurpers, who laid claim to the whole, or seized part of it, and reigned at the same time; till they were suppressed by the forces of *Urûs Khân*. But to return to *Tokatmish*:

11. Tokatmish Khân Hej. 778. A. D. 1376.

established by Timûr;

ALTHOUGH *Tokatmish* seemed to be now securely established in the throne of *Kipjâk*, yet his possession did not long continue quiet: for *Tukta Kaya*, eldest son of *Urûs Khân*, dying soon after his father, his brother *Timûr Malek Aglen* ascended the throne; and, in 778, marching with a powerful army against *Tokatmish*, after several skirmishes, once more intirely vanquished him. But, by means of a very fleet horse, given him by the emperor, to serve him on such occasions, he escaped, and got alone to court, all his troops being dispersed. The generous *Timûr* again recruited his losses, and sent him back with several commanders, who had orders to replace him on the throne of *Kipjâk*: which they accordingly did, in the city of *Saganak*; and, pursuant to custom, sprinkled on him gold and precious stones. Mean time *Orki-timûr*, taken prisoner in the late battle, made his escape, and informed *Timûr Bek*, that *Timûr Malek* spent both night and day in debauches: that he slept till ten in the morning, which is dinner-time, no one daring to awake him, whatever affairs of importance required it; and that all the people of *Kipjâk* desired *Tokatmish* for their sovereign. On this news, the emperor sent to advise that prince to march with all expedition to attack his rival, who had passed the winter at *Karatal* (O). *Tokatmish Aglen* immediately departed from *Saganak*; and, coming up with the enemy, defeated them; by which victory he recovered the throne. *Timûr Bek* was so rejoiced at this news, that he spent many days in feasting, and released many prisoners. As for *Tokatmish Khân*, he returned to pass the winter at *Saganak*; and, raising a great army in spring following, went and re-conquered the kingdom of *Saray* (P) and *Memak* with the rest of the empire of *Tushi Khân*^p.

ⁿ Hist. Tim. Bek. I. ii. c. 20—23. p. 178—186.

^p Hist. Tim. Bek. I. ii. c. 24, 25. p. 187—190.

^o DE LA CROIX, hist. Gengh. p. 388, & seq.

(N) This seems to be the *Idighi Mangap* of *Abû'lghazi Khân*, in the translation of whose history the names are often very erroneously written; but we cannot say where the fault lies in the present instance.

(O) *Karatal*, a place in *Kipjâk*.

(P) Of which *Shari Sarayjik*, or *Saray*, above-mentioned, was the capital.

a WHEN *Timûr Kutluk*, before-mentioned, grew up, he went to dwell in the country of the *Kipjaks*, and *Idighi Mangap* put himself under his protection. This greatly displeased *Tokatmish Khân*; who, having besides entertained a suspicion that *Timûr Kutluk* sought to supplant him, endeavoured, without noise, to get rid of so dangerous a rival. But *Timûr Kutluk*, having discovered the *Khân's* design, fled for refuge to *Great Bukhâria*, whither he was followed six months after by *Idighi Mangap*. Mean time, while *Amîr Timûr* invaded *Irân* with all his forces, *Tokatmish Khân* entered *Great Bukhâria*, then destitute of troops, with a great army; and, having taken *Samarkant*, put to the sword a great number of the inhabitants. After this, he set out for his own dominions: but *Amîr Timûr*, who, on the first news of that prince's march, had returned homewards, followed him with so much diligence, that he overtook him on the banks of the *Atel* (or *Wolga*). *Tokatmish Khân*, finding there was no way to avoid a battle, gave it with all the resolution imaginable: but, the good fortune of *Timûr* having prevailed over all the conduct of the *Khân*, this last was obliged to escape by flight, after having lost all his army in the engagement.

AFTER the battle, *Timûr Kutluk*, who was in the action, with *Amîr Timûr's* consent, went to look for his subjects, whom he had basely abandoned, for fear of *Tokatmish Khân*; and, having met with a great number of them on the banks of the *Atel*, prepared to march with them to *Samarkant*. But *Idighi Mangap* advised him not to put it in *Amîr Timûr's* power to deprive him of his subjects, by distributing them in the cities belonging to his dominions: he told him, that would necessarily reduce him to a state of absolute dependence on *Timûr*; and therefore counselled him to go settle elsewhere with his people: which the other accordingly did; and retired so secretly, that it is not known whither he went ^a (Q). *De la Croix* puts two of *Urûs Khân's* sons between him and *Tokatmish*, whom he makes the twenty-third *Khân*; viz. *Tokta Kaya* (eldest son of *Urûs*, who died in 1376, the same year with his father), and *Timûr Malek Aglen* ^b.

TOKATMISH KHAN, at his death, left eight sons (R): but *Kaverchik*, son of *Urûs Khân*, seized the *Kipjak* sceptre, and reigned after him. ^{12. Kaverchik Khân.}

HE was succeeded by his son *Barak Khân* ^c. *De la Croix* makes this the thirty-eighth *Khân*, placing fourteen between *Tokatmish* and him, in the following order: *Timûr Kutluk Aglen*, son of *Timûr Malek*, who had served *Timûr* in the wars against *Tokatmish Khân*: *Shadi Bek*, notwithstanding the installation of *Koyrichak Aglen*, by *Timûr*, in April 1395: *Pulâd*, son of *Shadi Bek*, although *Timûr* did not acknowledge him for *Khân*: *Timûr*, son of *Timûr Kutluk*, although not acknowledged by *Timûr*, who had installed *Idekû Khan*: *Jalalo'ddin*; *Kerim Birdi*; *Kepek Khân*; *Babbira*; *Kadir Birdi*. These five last were sons of *Tokatmish Khân*: *Kadir Birdi* was killed in battle against *Idekû*, before-mentioned. The same, *Idekû*; *Sidi Ahmed*; *Dervish*, son of *Alshi Khân*; *Kuchuk Mehemed*, son of *Tokatmish*; *Dolet Birdi Khân*, son of *Tash Timûr*; *Barrak Khân*, son of *Kavarjik* ^d. It appears from this great number of competitors for the *Kipjak* throne, that the country was in much confusion; which daily increased, instead of subsiding.

UPON the demise of *Barak Khân*, *Mahmat* (S), son of *Hajan Oglan*, son of *Jabina*, son of *Tolak Timûr*, son of *Saricha*, son of *Avas Timûr*, son of *Togay Timûr*, seized the sceptre of the country of the *Kipjaks*. ^{14. Mahmat Khân.}

MAHMAT KHAN had for his successor *Abûsaïd*, surnamed *Jani Bek Khân*, son of *Barak Khân*, who left nine sons: *Iraji*; *Mohammed*; *Kasim*, who gave battle to *Mohammed Khân Shaybani*, in which the latter lost his life; *Aytik*; *Janish*; *Kamber*; *Tamish*; *Awssak*; and *Jayik*. The *Uzbeks* affirm, that the *Khâns* of *Turkestan* are descended from *Janish Soltân*, fifth son of *Jani Bek Khân*. ^{15. Jani Bek Khân.}

AFTER the death of *Jani Bek*, *Ghiazoddin*, son of *Timûrtash*, son of *Mahmat Khân*, possessed himself of the throne of *Kipjak*, and was succeeded by his son *Haji Garay* ^e. *De la Croix* instead of multiplying the number of *Khâns* from *Barak*, or *Barrak*, inserts only two in his list; *Kayazoddin Shadi Bek*, and *Mehemed*, son of *Timûr Khân* ^f. It may be presumed, that *Kayazoddin* is the same with *Abûlghazi Khân's Ghiazoddin* (or *Gayathoddin*, according to the pronunciation of the *Arabs*), notwithstanding that *Haje Keray* is represented as the son

^a ABU'LGH. ubi sup. p. 201, & seq. ubi sup.

^c DE LA CROIX, ubi sup. p. 389.

^e ABU'LGH.

^d DE LA CROIX, ubi sup. p. 389, & seq.

^f ABU'LGH. ubi sup. p. 203.

(Q) *Timûr* made several expeditions, besides this, into *Kipjak*, against *Tokatmish*, which shall be related in the reign of that prince; who, as *De la Croix* observes, defeated him in 1388, 1391, and 1395.

(R) Their names were. 1. *Jalalo'ddin*; 2. *Jabar Birdi*; 3. *Kayuk*; 4. *Karim Birdi*; 5. *Iskander*; 6. *Abûsaïd*; 7. *Algha*; 8. *Kadir Birdi*: but, of the six mentioned by *De*

la Croix, three are not to be found among them; viz. *Kepek Khân*, *Babbira*, and *Kuchuk Mehemed Khân*. The other three are *Jalalo'ddin*, *Kerim Birdi*, and *Kadir Birdi*, who, according to that author, were all *Khâns* in the order mentioned in the text.

(S) Or rather, perhaps, *Mahmûd*.

of *Mehemed*, by the authors made use of by *La Croix*; who are not to be depended on so much as the *Khân* of *Karazm*, for the genealogy of the princes of his own nation, and the country from whence the *Uzbeks*, his subjects, originally came.

17. Haji Garay Khan.

Haji Garay (*) (*Ghyeray*, or *Keray*) *Khân*, who succeeded his father *Ghiazod'dîn*, left eight sons: *Dawlat Yar*; *Nûr Dawlat Khân*; *Haydar Khân*; *Kutluk Sayman*; *Kildish*; *Mengli Garay Khân*; *Yam Gurji*; and *Avas Timûr*. These sons, after their father's death, divided his dominions among them; but their descendants did not long enjoy their respective possessions: for the *Urûs* (or *Russians*) seized the whole country of *Kipjâk* in the year 961 of the *Hejrab* (of *Christ* 1553); and, since that time, we hear no more mention of the posterity of *Haji Garay Khân*. All we know for certain is, that the *Khâns* of *Krîm* are sprung from one of his sons: but, as that country is at too great a distance from us, we cannot say which of them it is.

This is all the account given by *Abû'lghazi Khân* of the *Khâns* who have reigned in *Kipjâk*; to which something, by way of supply, may be added from *La Croix*, relating to *Haji Keray Khân*, and his successors in *Krim Tartary*. According to this author, *Haji Keray Khân* died in 1475. and left twelve sons; which great number of princes was the cause that the empire of *Kipjâk* fell into confusion, so that three of them were seen to reign as *Khâns* at the same time. This occasioned a war which ruined several provinces, whereof the *Russians* got possession: in short, the great empire of *Kipjâk* had been utterly ruined, if *Soltân Mohammed II.* who subdued *Constantinople*, touched with the misfortunes of those princes, had not taken care to succour them. For this purpose, he sent *Ghedik Ahmed Pasha*, who took the city of *Kaffa* (T) from the *Genoeses*, and then that of *Mankûp*.

Khâns of Krim.

Hej. 876.
A. D. 1471.

HERE he found *Mengheli*, or *Menkeli Keray*, son of *Haji Keray Khân*, who lost his liberty with the rest of the inhabitants. He had been *Khân* of *Kipjâk* for some few days; but, having been vanquished by his brothers, fled for refuge to the Christians, and waited an opportunity to remount the throne; on which *Mohammed* soon after replaced him^y. According to the *Turks*, *Kyeffa* (or *Kaffa*), with the rest of *Krîm*, was taken in 876 of the *Hejrab*, which answers to that of *Christ* 1471. If so, the death of *Haji Keray* must have been four or five years earlier, at least, than *La Croix* puts it; especially if, as they say, *Mengheli Keray* had been a long time in war with his brother, before he took refuge with the *Genoeses*. They add farther, that the *Soltan* not only appointed this prince *Khân* of the *Krîm*, on certain considerations, but also sent him with an army of *Othmâns* into *Kapchâk* (or *Kipjâk*); which he soon recovered by their assistance, after defeating and killing his brother. This was the first *Khân* of *Tartary* appointed by the *Turks*; and the first who, in the *Krîm*, ordered the *Khotba*, in the name of the *Othmân* emperor, to be used in the prayers^z. They assume the title of *Padishâh*, or emperor.

Khâns of Krîm Tartary.

18. Mengheli Keray Khân.

1. MENGHELI KERAY (or *Ghyeray*) *Khân* succeeded his father. *La Croix* reckons him the forty-second *Khân* of *Kipjâk*: but he was no more than the eighteenth, according to *Abû'lghazi Khân*; whose numbering thus far, being more exact, we shall follow in the margin, to carry on the succession of the *Khâns* of *Kipjâk*: and at the same time begin a new reckoning with this prince at the head of the article, and continue it through the subsequent reigns, to shew their number, as *Khâns* of *Krim* and *Little Tartary* only; of whom *La Croix* has furnished a pretty accurate list, with the dates of their respective deaths, or advancement.

19. Mehemed Keray Khân.

2. MEHEMED KERAY KHAN succeeded his father *Mengheli Keray Khân*, in the dominion of *Kipjâk*, as well as that of the *Krîm*. And here it may be proper to observe, that all the *Khâns*, who succeeded *Mengheli Keray*, took or retained the name of *Keray*, *Geray*, or *Ghyeray*, as the *Turks* and *Tatars* pronounce it.

20. Gazi Keray Khân.

3. MEHEMED was succeeded by his son *Gazi Keray Khân*, who was deposed, after a reign of six months.

21. Saadet Keray Khân.

4. SAADET KERAY KHAN, who gave his brother *Sabbîb Keray Khân* in hostage to *Soltân Selim I.* emperor of the *Othmâns*. From this time the *Turks* gave one thousand and fifty aspers per day as a pension to the *Khâns* of *Krîm Tartary*, and other pensions to the lords of the *Tatar* court, as appears from the book *Kunbo'l Akhbar*.

* ABU'LGH. ubi sup. p. 203, & seq. hist. Othm. p. 112, & seq.

y LA CROIX, ubi sup. p. 390.

z CANTEMIR

(*) Whence this name, see *Nouv. Mem. des Miss. Levant*, tom. i. p. 134.

(T) This city fell early into the hands of the *Tatars*: but they did not keep it long; for, about 1266, the *Ge-*

noes took it from them, and established there the seat of their commerce in the east; but it was taken from them in 1474, after they had been in possession of it about 208 years.

- a 5. ISLAM KERAY KHAN, son of *Mehemed Keray*. In his reign the kingdom was divided between two factions; one adhered to *Saadet Keray Khan*, the other to *Islâm Keray Khan*. At length, in 1517, the two parties came to blows on the banks of the *Niepar*, or *Boristhenes*; and, those on *Islâm Keray*'s side gaining the advantage, *Saadet Keray* was obliged to fly to *Constantinople*, where the *Othmân* emperor gave him a pension to subsist on. After this, *Islâm* was killed by,
- b 6. SAHHIB KERAY KHAN, who seized the throne; but was himself, after having reigned a long time, deposed by *Suleymân II.* Soltân of the *Turks*. The *Russians*, who had been vassals to the *Tatars* till the reign of *Czar* or *Tsar Ivan Basiliwitz*, took the city of *Kazân*, or *Kasân*, situate on the river *Kasânkâ*, a little to the east of the *Volga*, from this Khan, on the ninth of July 1552^a; and, in a year or two more, conquered the kingdom of *Astrakân*, to the south of that of *Kazân*, with the rest of *Kipjak* to the west of the river *Jâik*: so that *Sabbib Keray Khan* may properly be said to be the last Khan of the race of *Jaji Khan* who reigned in *Kipjak*; excepting that part called *Little Tartary*, which became a part rather by conquest than original occupation. After the subjugation of this large country, the several tribes of *Kipjaks* and *Tatars* submitted to the *Russians*, and still remain in their antient territories.
7. SAHHIB KERAY was succeeded by *Dolet* (or *Dawlat*) *Keray Khan*, son of *Mebarek*, son of *Mengbeli Keray Khan*, and died in 1577.
8. DOLET KERAY had for his successor *Mehemed Keray Khan*, who was deposed for having disobeyed the *Othmân* Soltân.
- c 9. ISLAM KERAY KHAN (U), who had been imprisoned at *Rhodes*, was restored: he died in 1588.
10. GAZI KERAY KHAN succeeded: he was a learned prince, an excellent poet, and an able musician. The *Othmân* Soltân increased his pension to about five pounds *English* per day; because he had done great services to the *Turkish* empire, in the war with *Persia*, where he discovered all the qualifications requisite in a great officer: yet he was deposed for some time, but was afterwards restored; and died in 1607.
11. FATEH KERAY KHAN, who was deposed almost as soon as he was advanced to that dignity.
- d 12. HE was succeeded by *Selâmet Keray Khan* (son of *Dolet Keray Khan*), who died in 1610.
13. JANI BEK KERAY KHAN succeeded *Selâmet Keray*; and, in 1617, marched into *Persia* by order of the *Port*. He likewise went to besiege *Kaffa*, at the head of 40,000 *Tatars*: nevertheless, he was deposed in 1621; but re-established six years after, in 1627.
14. JANI BEK had for his successor *Mehemet Keray Khan*, who was killed the same year.
- e 15. ANAYET KERAY KHAN, son of *Gâzi Keray Khan*, deposed in 1637; and afterwards put to death the same year at *Constantinople*^b. According to other accounts, he was indeed slain this year by a nephew of his competitor *Kantemîr*; which latter was put to death at *Constantinople*, for killing a *Tatar*. As *Anâyet* had shaken off much of his respect for the *Othmân* emperor, his murder was applauded at the *Port*; who set up his brother, then at *Jamboli* in *Rum-ili*, or *Thrace*, in his room^c.
16. BEHADR KERAY KHAN, son of *Selâmet Keray Khan*, succeeded *Anâyet*, and died in 1641^d. This Khan is called *Bekbir Gheray* by others.
17. MEHEMED KERAY KHAN, another son of *Selâmet Keray*. He was deposed in 1644, and restored: in 1664 he was deposed a second time.
18. ISLAM KERAY KHAN, a son also of *Selâmet Keray*. He carried on a war with *Poland* for fourteen years, and died in 1653.
19. ADEL KERAY KHAN, son of *Chûbán Keray Khan*. He was deposed in 1671; and sent back prisoner to *Rhodes*, from whence he had been taken.
- f 20. SELIM KERAY KHAN, who reigned in 1673. We are informed by prince *Kantemîr*, that the *Turks*, distrusting the fidelity of *Selîm*, after the battle of *Vienna*, advanced *Kior Gyeray*, of the *Chûbán Gyeray* family, to the dignity of Khan; but that, in a few months, he was deposed, and the antient race of *Gyeray* replaced on the throne. That author adds, that it is thought the *Chûbán Gyeray* will never rise to the same honour again, although they may enjoy the office of *Galga Soltân*, *Nûro'ddîn*, and the like, which are in the power of their relations^e. But, if the memoirs of *La Croix* be true, one of the family of the *Chûbán*

^a LA CROIX, ubi sup. p. 391.
of the *Othmân* Turks.
p. 113.

^b Ibid. p. 391, & seq.
^d LA CROIX, ubi sup. p. 392.

^c See hereafter, the history
^e CANTEM. hist. Othm. nor.

(U) This must be a mistake for *Sabbib Keray*, who was imprisoned at *Rhodes*: *Islâm Keray* was killed.

Gyeray (X) *Khâns*, was on the throne of *Krîm Tartary* before, in the person of *Adel Keray* a *Khân*. The reason assigned for the supposition, that none of the *Chûbân Gyeray* family will be advanced for the future, is, that they are of a spurious race: which reflection they retort, in their turn, on the *Gyerays* of *Krîm*. However, they are allowed, by the *Othmân* emperors, to live at *Jamboli* (formerly *Janopoli*), before-mentioned, which is the destined seat of the *Tatar* princes ^f. He was famous in the late war; for, in one campaign, he beat the *Russians*, *Poles*, and *Germans*. After he had been twice *Khân*, he abdicated, on his return from *Mekka*; but being made *Khân* the third time by the *Port*, in place of his son, the latter revolted; yet was reduced by his brother *Soltân Gazi Keray*, in 1702, when the *Khân* was about forty. He was very handsome and well made ^g: he was succeeded by *Soltân Gazi*, named

38. Dolet Keray Khân.

21. DOLET KERAY KHAN, son of *Selîm Keray Khân*. This prince was much beloved by his subjects, and accounted a great soldier: but he was deposed by the *Port*, and sent first to *Rhodes*, and then to *Kbio*. b

39. Kaplan Keray Khân.

22. KAPLAN KERAY KHAN. This prince having been defeated in *Chirkassia*, by some rebels, whom he went to reduce, the *Soltân* deposed him, in 1708; and re-established in his room *Dolet Keray Khân* ^h, who had been deposed before him, and is, according to *La Croix*, the sixty-fourth *Khân* of *Kipjâk*.

40. Dolet Keray Khân.

23. DOLET KERAY KHAN, who began his second reign in 1708.

^f CANTERM. hist. Othm. note, p. 113.
130, & seqq.

^g Nouv. Mem. des Miss. Levant, vol. i. p. 102, & seqq.

^h LA CROIX, ubi supra, p. 393.

(X) *Chûbân*, or *Choban*, *Gyeray*, signifies *Gyeray the side*, over against the *Krîm*, between it and *Chirkassia*. The *Chûbân Tatars* live on the *Asiatic* *kassia*.

BOOK VIII.

The history of the princes of the race of Jenghîz Khân, who have reigned in the Great and Little Bukhâria, with part of Karazm.

CHAP. I.

A description of Great Bukhâria.

Bukhâria in general.

BUKHARIA, *Bokbâria*, *Bokâria*, *Bogâria*, or *Bobâria*, as it may be variously pronounced, is the name given at present to all that region or tract of land lying between *Karazm* and the *Great Kobi*, or *sandy desert*, bordering on *China*. It signifies the country of the *Bukhârs*: *Bukhâr*, as *Abû'lghazi Khân* informs us, being a *Mungl* word, importing, *a learned man*; because all those (formerly) who had a mind to be instructed in the languages and sciences, went, for that purpose, into *Bukhâria* ^a. Hence it appears, that this name was imposed originally by the *Mungls*, who conquered this country in the time of *Jenghîz Khân*. This vast region is divided into two parts, the *Great* and the *Little Bukhâria*. It seems somewhat strange, that the above-mentioned author, who speaks fre-

^a ABU'LGH. hist. Turks, &c. p. 108.

quently

a quently of the former, should never once mention the latter: which name, perhaps, may not be so much in use with the *Uzbeks*, or may have come in use only since the *Elûths* or *Kalmûks* conquered the countries comprized under that denomination, in the last century. Both names are in use with the *Russians*, and it is from them that they came to other *Europeans*.

THE country of *Great Bukhâria* is nearly the same with that called by the *Arabs* *Mawara'nahr*; *its several* which signifies, *what lies beyond the river*, meaning the *Jihûn*, or *Amû*, the *Oxus* of the antient *names*. *Greeks*, and is little other than a translation of *Transoxana*, the name given formerly to those provinces. Under this denomination was comprized all the extent of country possessed by those powers, the *Greeks* and *Arabs*, beyond the above-mentioned river; which country, at different times, had different dimensions. Indeed, for the general, *Mawara'nahr* signified all the space *Mawa-* or lands intercepted between the *Jihûn* and the *Sihûn*, now called *Sîr*, which separated them from *ra Inahr*. the territories of the *Turks*, who, during the dominion of the *Arabs* in those parts, spread themselves very far over *Great Tartary*. However, although *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, in some places, seems to use the words *Great Bukhâria*, and *Mawara'nahr*, to denote the same country; yet in other places, the first name seems to be more limited, and even restrained, to the territories of the Khân of *Bukhâra*, or *Bokbâra*, one of the three provinces into which *Great Bukhâria* is at present divided.

GREAT BUKHARIA is also comprized under the name of *Turân*, or the country of the *Turks*: *Turân* which is likewise given, by the *Arabs* and *Persians*, to the country situated to the north of the river *Amû*, in opposition to *Irân*, or *Persia* at large, lying to the south of that river; and includes a considerable part of what fell to the share of *Jagatay Khân*, second son of *Jenghîz Khân*, from whose descendants, the *Uzbeks*, of the race of *Juji*, or *Tîshi Khân*, conquered it. But here it may be requisite to observe, that *Abû'lghâzi Khân* employs the word *Turân* in a different sense, namely, to denote the regions lying between the river *Sîr* and the icy sea, or perhaps more particularly *Siberia*; except the word *Turân* has, through some mistake, been inserted instead of *Tûra*, as the *English* translator of that author is inclined to think ^b.

AFTER the conquest of this country by the *Mungls*, and grant thereof to *Jagatay Khân*, it took the name of *Jagatay*, or *Zagatay*, as our geographers write it; given to it by the *Persians*, *Jagata; Uz-* or perhaps the *Mungls* themselves, in honour of the new proprietor. This name continued so long as the Khâns descended from him reigned in those parts. Upon their expulsion by the *Uzbeks*, the *Persians* gave it the name of the country of *Uzbek* ^c, as before they had done to that part of *Tartary* beyond the *Sîr*, which they then inhabited: but it does not appear that the *Uzbeks* themselves called either country after their own name; at least, *Abû'lghâzi Khân* never does. However that be, they have been communicated, by their neighbours, to the *Europeans*; whose geographers, for the general, still use them, and even those which have been long since out of use among the *Asiatics*.

GREAT BUKHARIA (which seems to comprehend the *Sogdiana* and *Baktriana* of the antient *Situation and* *Greeks* and *Romans*, with their dependencies) is situated between the 34th and 46th degrees of *extent*. latitude, and between the 76th and 92d degrees of longitude. It is bounded on the north by the river *Sîr*, which separates it from the dominions of the *Elûths*, or *Kalmûks*; the kingdom *of Kâshgar*, in *Little Bukhâria*, on the east; by the dominions of the *Great Mogul*, and *Persia*, on the south; and by the country of *Karazm* on the west: being about 770 miles long, from west to east; and 730 miles broad, from south to north.

ACCORDING to *Bentink*, nature has denied nothing to this fine country, to render living in it agreeable: the mountains abound with the richest mines; the vallies are of an astonishing fertility in all sorts of fruit and pulse; the fields are covered with grass the height of a man; the rivers swarm with excellent fish; and wood, which is scarce all over *Grand Tartary*, is found here in great plenty: in short, it is the best cultivated, and best inhabited, of all the northern *Asia*. But all these blessings are of very little use to the *Tatar* inhabitants, who are naturally so lazy, that they would rather go rob and kill their neighbours, than apply themselves to improve the benefits which nature so liberally offers them ^d.

GREAT BUKHARIA is divided into three large provinces, namely, *Proper Bukhâria*, *Samar-* *Division into* *kant*, and *Bâlk*, each of which has commonly its particular Khân: altho' sometimes one, by *provinces*. conquest, is master of two provinces, as happened to be the case about thirty years ago, when the Khân of *Proper Bukhâria* was in possession also of *Samarkant*; and this may still be the case, for any thing we know, at this distance, to the contrary.

1. Province of Proper Bukhâria.

THE province of *Proper Bukhâria*, or *Bokbâria*, is the most western of the three; having on the west, *Karazm*; on the north, a desert called by the *Arabs* *Gaznah*; on the east, the province of *Samarkant*; and on the south, the river *Amû*. It may be about 390 miles

^b ABU'LGH. hist. *Turks*, &c. p. 452, & seq. supra, p. 209.

^c TEIXEIRA, hist. *Perf.* p. 319.

^d ABU'LGH. ubi

long, and 320 broad. *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, in the history of his own wars, mentions several provinces and towns belonging to *Proper Bukhâria* (some of which the *French* editor gives an account of), as the provinces of *Duraganata* and *Gordish*, large provinces towards *Karazm*; *Kujin* and *Karmina*, towards the middle of the country. The towns are chiefly *Bokhâra*, *Zam*, *Wardanfi*, *Karakul*, *Siunjbala*, *Karshi*, *Zarjui*, *Nersem*, and *Karmina*.

Bokhâra city. THE city of *Bokhâra*, or *Boghâr*, as our *Jenkinson* calls it, is, according to that author, situated in the lowest part of all the country; and, by his own observation, in 39 degrees 10 minutes of latitude; twenty days journey from *Urkenj*, the capital of *Karazm*. It was, in 1559, of great extent, and fortified with a high wall of earth; was divided into three parts, whereof the castle of the Khân, who resides here, made one; the *Murfas*, officers of the court, and those belonging to the Khân's retinue, took up the second part; the third, which was the biggest, being possessed by the burghers, merchants, and other inhabitants. In this last division, every trade or profession has its particular quarter. The houses are generally only of earth; but the temples, and many other structures, as well public as private, are of stone, sumptuously built, and gilded; especially the baths, which are so artfully contrived, that the like is not to be seen anywhere else.

*Water runs
under the
city.*

A LITTLE river runs through the city, whose water is very bad, breeding, in the legs of such as drink it, worms an ell long, between the flesh and the skin; which working out about an inch every day, are rolled up, and thus extracted; but if they break in the operation, the patient dies. For all this inconvenience, it is there forbidden to drink any other liquor than water and mares milk; such as break that law being whipped through the markets. There are officers appointed to search all houses for aqua vitæ, wine, or brag (or braga); and in case any be found, they break the vessels, spill the drink, and punish the owners: nay, often if a man's breath smells of strong liquor, he incurs a handsome bastinado. This great strictness is owing to the metropolitan (or head of the law) in *Bukhâria*, who is more obeyed than the king himself: he even deposes him at pleasure; as he served both the king who reigned when our author was there, and his predecessor, slaying him in his chamber in the night.

THE king (or Khân) has neither great power nor wealth. As his revenues are but small, he is maintained chiefly by the city: for he takes the tythe of all things sold there, to the great impoverishment of the people; and when he wants money to pay his debts, sends his officers to seize goods from the shop-keeper, upon credit, whether they will or not. Thus he acted, to pay *Jenkinson* for some pieces of kersey. However, that merchant was very civilly treated by him, who reigned when he was there, in the year above-mentioned. He often sent for, and discoursed with him, about the laws, religion, and power, of the *European* countries. At his request, likewise, he sent 100 men in pursuit of robbers (who had attacked his karawan), and recovered part of his goods.

Language,

As the country of *Boghâr* was formerly subject to the *Persians*, the *Persian* language is still spoken there. But the *Boghârians* are continually at war with the *Persians* their neighbours, on account of religion, although both nations are *Mohammedans* (but of different sects). They likewise quarrel with them, because they do not shave the upper lip, as they, and all other *Tatars*, do: for this reason, they call them *kafrs*, that is, unbelievers, as they do *Christians*. They have no gold coin in *Bukhâria*; and only one piece of silver (A), worth twelve pence *English*, which the king raises and falls so frequently, that their copper money, called *Puli*, is more current, whereof 100 make the silver piece.

coin,

and trade.

As to the trade of *Bokhâra*, *Jenkinson* observes, that, in his time, there was a great resort of karawâns, from *India*, *Persia*, *Balk*, *Russia*, and other countries; but he adds, that the merchants are so poor, and bring so few wares, which yet they must wait two or three years to sell, that there are no hopes of any trade in this place worth following. The *Indians* brought nothing but white calicoes; and carried back wrought silks, red hides, slaves, horses, and such-like: but would not deal with our author for woollen cloths, which they had from the *Persians* and the *Russians*.

BENTINCK observes farther, that this city is conveniently situated for trade with the above-mentioned countries; and that the duties do not amount to quite three *per cent.*: but that the extraordinary oppressions which the foreign merchants have met with, have reduced commerce there to a very low ebb. However, that from hence the dominions of the *Great Mogul*, and part of *Persia*, are supplied with all sorts of dried fruits, of an exquisite flavour.

^c JENKINSON'S voyage to Boghar. in Purch. pilgr. Vol. III. p. 239, & seq. p. 465, & seq.

^f ABULGH. hist Turkes

(A) Bentinck says, the money of *Persia* and the *Indies* is current here also.

a THE same author gives an account of three or four more of the cities belonging to *Proper* *Karmina* city. *Bukhâria*. First, *Karmina*; this place is situated in a province of the same name, towards the borders of *Karazm*, to the north-west of *Bokhâra*; and is but inconsiderable at present.

WARDANSI lies to the west of *Karmina*, near the borders of the same country. It is a pretty *Wardansi*. large scambling town, inhabited by the *Bukhârs*, who traffic into *Persia* and *Karazm*.

KARSHI stands to the north of the river *Amû*, and is, at present, one of the best cities in *Karshi*. *Great Bukhâria*, being large, populous, and better built, than any other in that country (B). The neighbouring lands are exceeding fertile, in all sorts of fruits and pulse; and its inhabitants drive a great trade in the north parts of the *Indies*.

ZAMIN (C) is a small town on the right (or north-side) of the *Amû*, towards the borders of *Zamin*, or *Persia*, remarkable for nothing but its passage over that river; which is of great advantage to *Zam*. the *Uzbeks* of *Great Bukhâria*, in their expeditions on that side ^g.

2. The province of Samarkant.

THIS province, which is called *Mawara'nabr* by *Bentink*, lies to the east of *Proper* *Bounds and Bukhâria*, and north of *Bâlk*. It extends as far as the borders of *Kâshgar*, in *Little extent*. *Bukhâria*; being about 540 miles long, from west to east; and 500 broad, from south to north.

THIS country was formerly full of flourishing cities; but most of them are, at present, *Samarkant* either intirely ruined, or much fallen to decay. The capital of the province, and indeed of all city. *Great Bukhâria*, taken in the largest sense, is *Samarkant*, or *Samarkand* (D), situated on a river, and in a valley, both which bear the name of *Sogd*; from whence the *Sogdiana* of the antients had its denomination. It is seven days journey to the north-east of *Bokhâria*; and, according to the observation of *Ulug Beg* (grandson of *Timûr Beg*, or *Tamerlan*), who reigned here in 1447, lies in 39° 37' 23" of latitude. Although it falls short, at present, of being so splendid as in times past, yet, *Bentink* says, it is still very large, and well peopled. It is fortified with strong bulwarks of earth; and its buildings are much in the same condition with those of *Bokhâra*: some of the private houses are of stone, dug out of quarries which are near the town ^h. *Abû'lfeda* says, that the streets were paved in his time: that it had a wide ditch round the walls: and that water was conveyed from the river, by leaden pipes, into the city ⁱ.

THE academy of sciences in this city is one of the most eminent to be found among the *Its advan-* *Mohammedans*, who resort thither to study, from all the neighbouring countries. The silk-^{tages} paper made here is said to be the most beautiful in all *Asia*, and therefore in great request throughout the east. The soil produces pears, apples, raisins, and melons, of an exquisite taste; and in such plenty, that the empire of the *Great Mogul*, and part of *Persia*, are supplied with them. The little river (that is, the *Sogd*), which passes by the town, would be of great use to the place, by opening a communication with the neighbouring dominions, if the inhabitants had but the industry to make it navigable.

THE other remarkable cities in this province were, *Otrâr*, *Zarnuk*, *Tashkunt*, *Kojand*, *Kash*, *Other cities*. *Sagbanian*, *Washjerd*, and *Termed*: but of these we meet with scarce any account in modern travellers. *Otrâr*, called by the *Arabs* *Farâb*, is the most distant city from the capital, and *Otrâr* lies almost due north. It stands in the most north-west part of the province, on a small river, which, two leagues thence, falls southward into the *Sîr*. This place is famous for the death of *Timûr Beg*, in 1405 ^k; and, though not considerable at present, was the capital city of *Turkestan*, when that kingdom or empire was in its flourishing state, under *Kavâr*, or *Kur Khân*, as hath been already ^l set forth.

TASHKUNT, at present, belongs to *Turkestan*; four days journey to the south of which, and seven north-east of *Samarkant*, stands *Kojand*, or *Kojend*, and *Kbojend*, on the *Sîr*, being a *Kojand*. famous passage over that river, as *Termed* is over the *Amû*. *Sagbanian* and *Washjerd* are seated *Termed*. on the river *Sagbanian*, which falls into the *Amû*. *Kash*, or *Kesh*, lies not far to the east of *Kash*. *Karshi*, and south of *Samarkant*. *Timûr Beg* was prince of this city, before he rose to his future greatness.

^g ABU'LG. hist. Turks, p. 464, & seq.
^h ABU'LG. ubi supra, p. 462, & seq.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 462.
^j See before.

^k ABU'LF. descr. Chorasmia, p. 62.

(B) It lies between *Bokhâra* and *Samarkant*. *Timûr Beg* (or *Tamerlan*) usually encamped with his army near this city, which stands on the river *Tûm*. *Nakshab*, *Nefes*, and *Karshi*, are the same place; it had this last name from the palace which *Kepck* built, two leagues and an half distant; for *Karshi*, in the *Mungl* language, signi-

fies a palace. *De la Croix*, hist. Tim. Bek. p. 65. book i. cap. 13.

(C) Called also *Samin*, or *Zam*.

(D) *Kant*, *Kent*, *Kunt*, as 'tis variously pronounced by people who speak different dialects of the *Mungl* or *Turkish* language, signifies a city or town; of which *Kand*, or *Kend*, are made by other nations.

To these places may be added *Anghien*, which is the most eastern town of note in all *Great Bukhâria*: standing near its borders, towards *Kâshgar*, and not far from the source of the *Sîr*, on whose northern side it is situated; in the latitude of 40 degrees, according to the Jesuits map of *Tibet*, drawn from the journals of *Chinese* and *Tatar* travellers.

3. The province of Bâlk.

Bounds and extent.

THE province of *Bâlk*, or *Bâlkh*, lies to the south of the province of *Samarkant*, and east of *Proper Bukhâria*. 'Tis about 360 miles long, and 250 broad.

BENTINK observes, that although this province is the smallest of the three, yet, being extremely fertile, and thoroughly cultivated, the prince draws a fair revenue out of it. The country particularly abounds with silk, of which the inhabitants make very pretty manufactures.

THE *Uzbeks* subject to the Khân of *Bâlk*, are the most civilized of all the *Tatars* inhabiting *Great Bukhâria*, owing, in all likelihood, to their commerce with the *Persians*; neither are they given to thieving as the rest: they are likewise more industrious; but in other respects are the same sort of people.

THE country of *Bâlk* is divided into several provinces; the most remarkable whereof are, *Khotlân*, or *Katlân*, *Tokbarestân*, and *Badâgshân*. Its chief cities are, *Bâlk*, *Fariyah*, *Talkhân*, *Badâgshân*, and *Anderâb*.

City of Bâlk.

THE city of *Bâlk* is situate towards the borders of *Persia*, about 50 miles to the south of *Termed*, and on the river *Debashk*; which, about 40 miles from thence, to the north-west, falls into the *Amû*. Bentink informs us, that *Bâlk* is, at present, the most considerable of all the towns possessed by the *Mohammedan Tatars*, being large, fair, and well peopled. Most of its buildings are of stone or brick; and its fortifications consist of earthen bulwarks, lined on the outside with a strong wall, high enough for its defence. The Khân's castle is a great structure, after the eastern fashion, built almost wholly of marble, dug out of the neighbouring mountains. The chief cause to which this prince owes his preservation, is the jealousy which reigns among the neighbouring powers; so that he is always sure of being assisted by one, when attacked by another.

As foreigners have free liberty to trade in this city, it is become the resort of all the business carried on between *Great Bukhâria* and the *Indies*. To this the fine river, before-mentioned, which passes through its suburbs, contributes not a little. Goods pay 2 per cent. going and coming; but passengers pay nothing at all.

Anderâb.

ANDERAB is the most southern city possessed, at present, by the *Uzbeks*; being situated at the foot of the mountains, which divide the dominions of the *Great Mogul* and *Persia* from *Great Bukhâria*. As there is no other way of crossing those mountains towards *India*, with beasts of carriage, but by the road through this city; all travellers, and goods, from *Great Bukhâria*, designed for that country, must pass this way, paying 4 per cent. On this account, the Khân of *Bâlk* maintains a good number of soldiers in the place, which otherwise is of no great strength. For the rest, *Anderâb* is very rich and populous, considering it is but small. The neighbouring mountains yield noble quarries of lapis lazuli, in which the *Bukhârs* drive a great trade with *Persia* and *India*.

Badagshân.

BADAGSHAN (or *Badagshân*) is a very antient city, and exceeding strong, by its situation, at the foot of those high mountains which separate *Hindûstân* from *Great Tartary*. It belongs to the Khân of *Proper Bukhâria*, and serves him for a kind of state-prison, to secure those he is jealous of. Although the town is not very big, yet it is well enough built, and very well peopled. The inhabitants are enriched by the mines of gold, silver, and rubies, which are in the neighbourhood. They who live at the foot of the mountains gather a great quantity of gold and silver dust in spring, brought down by the torrents, when the snow melts on the top.

Its situation.

THE mountains above-mentioned are called, in the *Mungl* language, *Belûr Tâg*, or the dark mountains; in which rises the river *Amû*, there called *Harrat*. *Badagshân* stands on the north side of it, above 100 miles from its source, 230 from *Bâlk*, and 210 from *Anghien*, in the province of *Samarkant*. It is a great thoroughfare for the karawans designed for *Little Bukhâria*, which take the same road.

Of the inhabitants of Great Bukhâria, their manners and customs.

Inhabitants.

THE inhabitants of *Great Bukhâria* are of three sorts. 1. The *Bukhârs*, who are the antient inhabitants. 2. The *Jagatays*, or *Mungls*, who settled there under *Jagatay Khân*, second son of *Jenghîz Khân*. And, 3. The *Uzbek Tatars*, who are the present possessors.

* BENT. ap. Abû'lgh. ubi supra, p. 466, & seq.

- a 1. ALL the great towns, both of *Great* and *Little Bukhâria*, from the borders of *Karazm*, ^{to Bukhâria} as far as *China*, are inhabited by the *Bukhârs*; who, being the antient people of those provinces, ^{have that name given to them throughout the east.} But the *Tatars* commonly call them *Tajiks*; which word, in their language, signifies nearly the same as burghers, or citizen (E). The *Bukhârs* are well set, and very fair, considering the climate; have generally large eyes, black, and lively; their faces are well-shaped; their noses hawked; hair black, and very fine; their beards thick. In short, they have nothing of the deformity which appears in the *Tatars*, among whom they inhabit. The women are generally large, and well-shaped, with fine complexions, and very beautiful features.
- b BOTH men and women use calico shifts and drawers, over which the men wear a vest of *Thick cloth* quilted silk, or calico; which reaches to the mid-leg, and is tied about the middle by a silk-crape girdle, which goes several times round. When they go abroad, they sling over it a long cloth gown, faced, and even lined in winter, with fur. Their head is covered with a round cloth bonnet, like the *Polish*, with a large fur border: some wear turbans, like the *Turkish*. Their boots are made like the *Persian* buikins, but not altogether so neat; and they have a very singular art of preparing horse-hides for the purpose. The women wear long gowns, full, and loose, of the same materials. They let their hair hang in tresses, adorned with pearls, and other jewels. Their bonnet is small, flat, and coloured. Their slippers like those worn in the north of the *Indies*.
- c ALL the *Bukhârs* profess the *Mohammedan* religion, nearly after the *Turkish* form, except- ^{Religion and} ing in some few ceremonies. They live by following mechanic trades, or commerce, which is ^{trade.} wholly in their hands: but, as seldom any foreign merchants arrive among them, especially in those parts where the *Mohammedan Tatars* are masters, they resort in numerous karawâns to *China*, the *Indies*, *Persia*, and *Siberia*, where they traffic to considerable advantage. Although they possess all the towns of these provinces, they never meddle with arms, leaving the business of war and government to the *Eliths*, or *Kalmûks*, and *Uzbek Tatars*, who are in possession, the latter of *Great*, the former of *Little Bukhâria*; to whom they pay tribute, which is regulated every year. On this account, the *Tatars* despise them extremely, as cowardly, simple people; of which several instances occur in *Abû'lghâzi Khân's* history.
- d THE *Bukhârs* are utterly at a loss as to their origin; further than that, by tradition, they ^{Their origin} came thither from some distant country. They are not divided into tribes, like the *Tatars*, ^{unknown.} and many other eastern people; whence many surmise, that they are the descendants of the twelve tribes carried, by *Sardanasser* king of *Assyria*, into *Media*; to which, their having the appearance of *Jews*, and many customs like theirs, seems to add weight. But our author thinks such conformities too weak for convincing proofs; and we are of opinion, that the *Bukhârs* not being divided into tribes, is an argument against, instead of for, that idle notion.

2. The Jagatay Tatars.

- c EVER since the reign of *Jagatay Khân*, second son of *Jenghîz Khân*, who had, for his ^{The Jagatays.} share, *Great Bukhâria*, and part of *Karazm*, those provinces bore the name of *Jagatay*, and his *Tatar* (or *Mungl*) subjects, whom he brought along with him, that of *Jagatay Tatars*; till *Shabakht Soltân* having driven out the descendants of *Timûr Beg* (or *Tamerlan*), the name of *Jagatay* gave place to that of *Uzbeks*. Yet our geographers continue to give the name of *Jagatay* to *Great Bukhâria*, although it has ceased above 200 years ago. However, it is still used, to distinguish the descendants of the *Tatars* who first possessed that region, from those who are the present masters of it, although both, making now but one mixed body, are comprised under the general name of *Uzbeks*. On the other hand, the troops, and other crown officers, of the *Great Mogul* of *Hindîstân*, are called *Jagatays* by the orientals, because they were the *Jagatays* who conquered that countryⁿ, under *Soltân Babr*, after he had been expelled out of *Great*
- f *Bukhâria*.

3. Uzbek Tatars of Great Bukhâria.

THE *Uzbeks*, who possess this region, are generally reputed the most civilized of all the *Uzbeks dress*, *Mohammedan Tatars*, although they are great robbers, like the rest. They are clothed, ^{dict.} both men and women, like the *Persians* (but not so neatly), as low as their boots, which are very clouterly; and the chief of them wear a plume of white heron feathers on their turbans.

ⁿ BENT. ap. Abû'lgh, ubi supra, p. 458, & seq.

(E) They give them this appellation, as a nickname, by way of contempt, for their living wholly in towns, and following merchandize; whereas the *Tatars* prefer

the field, and treat commerce as a base, mean employment.

Their most delicious victuals are pillaw (which is rice sodden in broth) and horse-flesh. Their common drink is kumis (or kammez) and arak, both made of mares milk. Their language is a mixture of the *Turkish*, *Persian*, and *Mungl* tongues; yet they are able to understand the *Persians*, and the *Persians* them. Their arms are much the same with those used by the rest of the *Tatars*, viz. the sabre, the dart, the lance, and the bow, of a larger size than ordinary, which they manage with much strength and dexterity. They have used muskets for some time past, after the *Persian* manner. When they go to war, a great part of their cavalry wear coats of mail, and a little buckler, to defend them.

Robust and
brave.

THE *Tatars* of this country value themselves on being the most robust and valiant of all the *Tatars*; and they must needs be people of courage, since the *Persians*, naturally very brave, are, in some measure, afraid of them. The women also of *Great Bukhâria* pique themselves on account of their valour. *Bernier* relates a very romantic story, which was told him by the Khân of *Samarkant*'s ambassador sent to *Aureng Zib*. The truth is, that these women often go to war with their husbands, and do not fear engaging hand-to-hand with the enemy, when occasion requires it. They are, for the most part, very well made, and tolerably handsome; nay, some of them may pass for perfect beauties in any country.

Always at
war.

THE horses of the *Uzbeks* have neither breasts nor buttocks: with the neck long and freight, like a stick; with the legs very high, and no belly: they are, besides, frightfully lean. But, for all this sorry appearance, they are exceeding swift, and almost indefatigable; very easily maintained withal: for a little grass, or moss, though ever so indifferent, satisfies them in time of need; so that they are the fittest horses in the world for the use which the *Tatars* make of them. Their masters are commonly at war with the *Persians*, their incursions being encouraged by the fine plains of *Khorassan*: but the mountains, inaccessible to their cavalry, hinder them for penetrating into the dominions of the *Oreat Mogul*. Such of them as feed on their cattle, live under portable huts, like their neighbours the *Kalmûks*, encamping where-ever they see convenient. But they who cultivate lands, dwell in the villages and hamlets; very few of them living in the cities or towns, which are all possessed by the *Bukhârs*, or antient inhabitants°. We shall speak of the origin, and other particulars, relating to the *Uzbeks*, when we come to the history of *Karazm*.

° ABU'LGH. ubi supra, p. 459, & seq.

CHAP. II.

A description of Little Bukhâria.

Its name;

THE name of *Little Bukhâria* is given to this country, not because it is less in dimensions than the *Great Bukhâria*, being in reality much larger: but because it is inferior to it, as to the number and beauty of its cities, goodness of the soil, abundance of inhabitants, and the like. The adjuncts of *Great* and *Little* seem to have been imposed, by the *Uzbeks*, to distinguish such part of the *Bukhârs* country, as is possessed by themselves, from that which was not subdued by them; and yet the name of *Little Bukhâria* is never used by *Abû'lgâzi Khân*, who speaks of *Kâshgar*, *Yarkian*, and other countries belonging to it, without comprising them under any general denomination. Before the *Uzbeks* conquered part of the *Bukhârs* country, the whole went by the name of *Jagatay*, or the country of *Jagatay*, son of *Jenghîz Khân*, to whose share it fell. It was also called, by the *Persians*, the kingdom of *Kâshgar*, from that province, which was the nearest and principal part of the whole. In the history of *Timûr Bek*, *Little Bukhâria* is considered as part of *Mogulistân*, and the country of *Jetab*, or the *Jetes*; whom the *Persian* geographers place in that part of *Tartary* which lies contiguous on the north.

Bounds and
extent;

LITTLE BUKHARIA is surrounded by deserts: it has, on the west, *Great Bukhâria*; on the north, the country of the *Elûths*, or *Kalmûks*, in *Tartary*; that of the *Mungls* subject to *China*, on the east; on the south, *Tibet*, and the north-west end of *China*; from both which countries it is separated by two kobis, or deserts, of vast extent, which communicate with each other. It is situated between the 92d and 118th degrees of longitude, and between the 35° 30' and 45th degree of latitude; being in length, from east to west, about 850 miles; and in breadth, from south to north, 580: but if its dimensions be taken according to its semicircular course

- a course from the south to the north-east, its length will be 1200 miles, but its breadth never exceed 140.

THIS region is populous and fertile enough; but the great elevation of its land, joined to the high mountains which bound it in several parts, especially towards the south, renders it much colder than it ought naturally to be (A) by its situation. It is very rich in mines of gold and silver; but the inhabitants reap little benefit by them, because neither the *Elûths* (or *Kalmîks*), who are masters of the country, nor the *Bukhârs*, care to work in them. However, they gather abundance of gold every spring out of the gutters made by the torrents which fall from all sides of those mountains, when the snow melts; and from hence comes all that gold-dust which the *Bukhârs* carry into *India*, *China*, and *Siberia*. Much musk is likewise found in this

- b country; and all sorts of precious stones, even diamonds; but the inhabitants have not the art of either cutting or polishing them^a.

ALL *Little Bukhâria* consists of one long chain of mountains, with its branches extending through the *kobi*, or sandy desert, which, towards the foot of those hills, is interspersed with fruitful plains; so that it may be compared to a long reef of rocks and islands rising in the sea. *Regis* observes, that between the cities in this country there are no villages (B): whence it happens, that, in travelling a whole day from one to the other, there is not an house of entertainment to be found. He attributes this partly to the genius of the *Tatars*, who prefer tents to houses; and partly to the nature of the country, which is so divided by branches of the *kobi*, that it is habitable only in some particular places.

- c LITTLE BUKHARIA contains several distinct states, or countries; but their exact number, bounds, and dimensions, are not ascertained by authors. In the time of *Goes* the Jesuit, who travelled through it in 1603, it consisted of two kingdoms, *Kâshgar* in the west, and *Ghalis* in the east, both under one sovereign: at present it may be conveniently divided into four parts; the kingdom of *Kâshgar*, and the provinces of *Aksû*, *Turfân*, and *Khamil*, called by the *Chinese* *Hami*.

1. KASHGAR is the most western province of the four; or lies, more properly, to the south of *Aksû*. It hath, in the west, *Great Bukhâria*; from whence it is separated by a double chain of mountains, with deserts between them. On the south lies *Tibet*; and, to the east, the great *kobi*, or desert, which extends as far as eastern *Tartary*. It may be about 430 miles in length from south to north, and 350 broad from west to east: within this compass we do not meet with more than eight or nine towns mentioned by authors, of which only three are of any great consideration, viz. *Kâshgar*, *Yarkian*, and *Khotan*.

- KASHGAR, written by the Jesuits *Hafikar*, is called also *Ardukand*, according to *Abû'l-feda*. It lies to the north-west of the other two cities, towards the frontiers of *Great Bukhâria*, at the foot of the mountains which separate that province from the lesser. It stands on the east bank of a river which falls from those mountains, and loses itself in the desert, thirty or forty miles distant from the city. It was formerly the capital of the kingdom: but, as *Bentink* observes, is very much declined since the *Tatars* have been masters of it: however, there is still a pretty good commerce carried on with the neighbouring countries, though very inconsiderable to what it was^b. This city, before *Jenghîz Khân's* conquest, was, for a time, the capital of *Turkestan*, or the dominions of the *Turks*, in *Tartary*; likewise of the western *Lyau*, or *Karakitayans*: since then also it has been the seat of kings descended from *Jagatay Khân*, who seem to have reigned there till the conquest of *Little Bukhâria* by the *Elûths* in 1683.

- THE city of *Yarkian*, or *Yerkian*, according to *Bentink*, who writes *Yerkeen* and *Yerkeben* *Yarkian* the (C), is at present the capital of all *Little Bukhâria*, and situated to the north of *Kâshgar*, on the banks of a small river, whose waters are not reckoned wholesome. But, as to its situation, he was probably misinformed: for the Jesuits, in their map of this country (which they include in that of *Tibet*), place it to the south-east of *Kâshgar*, about ninety miles distant, and on a river, which rises in the mountains, about the same distance to the south-west, and falls into the lake of *Lop*, about six hundred miles from its source. The same author adds, that *Yarkian* is large, and pretty well built in the eastern way, altho' most of the houses are of sun-burnt bricks. There is a castle in this city, where the *Khân* of the *Elûths* comes to reside for a time, when his affairs require it; whence it is mistaken by some for the place of his usual residence. The country round *Yarkian* is very fertile in all sorts of fruits and pulse.

THIS city must needs be very populous, and the *Bukhârs* rich, as it is the centre of all the commerce carried on between the *Indies* and the north of *Asia*, *Tibet*, *Siberia*, *Great Bukhâria*,

^a ABU'LGH. hist. *Turks*, &c. p. 469, & seq.

^b Ibid. ubi sup. p. 471.

f (A) This seems to be contradicted by *The present State of Bukhâria*, where this country is said to abound with all sorts of fruits and vines; but that the heat is so excessive, that there is no bearing it without-doors. *Abû'lgh.* hist. *Turks*, p. 477.

(B) Yet *Bentink*, and the author of *The Description of*

Bukhâria, say, the towns, which are about twenty, have a great number of villages depending on them. *Abû'lgh.* hist. *Turks*, p. 471.

(C) Others, *Irken*, *Irgben*, *Jarken*, *Yarkhan*, *Yarkend*, and *Hiarkhan*.

and China. The late emperor of *Russia*, Peter I. intended to have settled a regular trade with a *Tartarian*, by the river *Irtish*, which would have proved very advantageous to his dominions.

Hotan, or Khotan.

THE city of *Hotan*, or *Hotom*, is variously written by authors: 'tis called by *Marco Polo*, *Totam*; *Hotom*, in the map of the Jesuits; *Koton*, in other maps; *Khoten* by *Bentink*; and *Khoton* by the oriental historians. *Abulfeda* says, it was incredibly large, and that its inhabitants were originally of *Kitay*°. It was probably built by the *Karakitayans* (D) before-mentioned, who conquered this country, and founded a dynasty there in 1124^d. This city lies to the south-east of *Turkistan*, on the river *Hotomnifelon*, according to the above-mentioned map. According to *Bentink*, it is subject to the grand Khân of the *Elûths*; and still in a pretty flourishing condition, on account of its great traffick with *Tibet* and the *Indies*. Liberty of conscience is allowed here by the inhabitants, who are mostly *Mohammedans*, to all their pagan neighbours. The houses are built with bricks, and the circumjacent country is exceeding fruitful. The citizens pay a certain tribute to the Khân of the *Elûths* for his protection, and are not incommoded by his people.

Country of Akfu.

2. THE country of *Akfu* lies to the north of *Kashgar*, and west of the province of *Turfân*, about 300 miles in length, and seventy in breadth. *Akfu* (E), the chief town in this region, is frequently mentioned by travellers; but no account given of it, farther than it belongs to the kingdom of *Kashgar*. According to the Jesuits map, it stands on the north side of a small river, which runs south-east, and loses itself in the sands. The river *Ili* has its springs in the mountains in the north-east part of this province; and runs north-westward into *Tartary*, where it falls into the lake *Parkati*, about 120 leagues from its source. On the east side of this river, towards the said lake, the late Khâns of the *Elûths* used to fix their encampments, called *Harkas*, or *Urga*, as others write it. More to the west rise the *Chui Muren* and *Talas Muren*; on which last stands the town of *Sayâm*, according to the information of the Jesuits. Both these rivers, after a course of about 180 miles, fall into a lake situate in *Great Tartary*.

Turfân province.

3. To the east of *Akfu* lies the province of *Turfân*; which may be about 200 miles long, and 80 broad. It contains several towns, of which *Turfân* is the chief. *Goes* represents it as a strong, well-fortified city: but the later missionaries give no account of its present state, farther than that it is a considerable city, and that it is six days journey from *Hami* (or *Khamil*), over a branch of the kobi, or desert; but ten days, by the hills, to the north of this last city, which is the safer way.

Khamil province.

4. THE province of *Khamul*, *Khamil* (F), or *Hami*, as the *Chineses* call it, is about 180 miles long, and 80 broad. It contains only one small city, of the same name; but is full of houses, and has a few villages, as laid down in the Jesuits map. The inhabitants are a large-bodied people, and very robust; well-shaped, and very neat in their houses. It stands ninety leagues from the gate in the great wall of *China* called *Kyayuquan*, and has lands enough round it; yet extends no farther, because that whole tract is nothing but a dry sand, and the most barren part of all *Tartary*.

Religion, soil.

THIS country, tho' formerly inhabited by idolaters, is now free from them, being possessed by *Mohammedans*. The soil scarce produces any fruit, except melons; but those of an excellent flavour, and which will keep beyond the season, so as to be served up at the emperor of *China*'s table all the winter°. *Gerbillion* indeed says, the country produces plenty of good fruits, besides melons and grapes^f. But then he was not in these parts, as the other missionaries were, from whom we have taken the former account.

Country of the Vigûrs.

THE provinces of *Turfân* and *Khamil* seem to have composed the country possessed formerly by the *Vigûrs*, *Oygûrs*, or *Igûrs*, whose capital, according to the oriental authors, was *Bishbalig*: but *Gaubil* places it eight or nine leagues to the east of *Turfân*, and names it *Ho-chew* (according to the *Chinese*), and says, it is still called *Pe-ting-tu-hû-fû*; whereas *Bishbalig* is situated, by him, to the north of *Turfân*, and the country of *Almaleg* to the west of that of *Bishbalig*^g. The *Igûrs* were likewise masters of the neighbouring parts of *Tartary*, as far as the river *Irtish*, and mount *Altay*.

The adjoining desert.

THE above-mentioned desert, lying between *Khamil* and the great wall of *China*, is part of the sha-mo, or kobi. As it affords neither air nor water, travellers, in crossing it, frequently lose their horses; for this reason the *Tatars* make use rather of dromedaries, who are content with little food, and can be five or six days without drinking. However, the whole desert is not included within this space of ninety leagues: for it has several branches, which, spreading

° Deser. Chorasm. p. 80. edit. Hudson.

China, vol. ii. p. 253.

^f Idem ibid. p. 262.

^d See before, p. 141.

^e DU HAIDE, Deser.

^g GAUBIL, hist. Gentch. p. 13, 126, 127.

(D) Whether the name be *Khoton*, *Koton*, or *Hoton* (which, in the *Mungl* language, signifies a city), or *Khotom*, seems uncertain.

(E) *Akfu* signifies *white water*; perhaps from the quality of its river.

(F) *Marco Polo* and *Gore* the Jesuit, write *Khamul*; *Bentink*, *Khamil*.

a here and there like so many infected veins, divide the country into as many plots, some dry, and quite uninhabited; others fertile enough to subsist a few *Tatars*^b.

The inhabitants of Little Bukhâria.

THE inhabitants of this country, tho' under the dominion of the *Elûths*, are, for the general, *Bukbârs*. These, according to *The present state of Little Bukhâria*, are generally sun-burned and black-haired; altho' some of them are very fair, handsome, and well-made. They do not want politeness; and are addicted to commerce, which they carry on with *China*, the *Indies*, *Persia*, and *Russia*. They who deal with them will be sure to be overreached, if they be not on their guard.

THE habits of the men differ very little from those worn by the *Tatars*. They fall as low as the calf of the leg, with sleeves very wide towards the shoulders, and close about the elbows. Their girdles are like those of the *Poles*. The garments of the women differ in nothing from those of the men, and are commonly quilted with cotton. They wear bobs in their ears twelve inches long; part and twist their hair in tresses, which they lengthen with black ribbands embroidered with gold or silver, and with great tassels of silk and silver, which hang down to their heels (G): three other tufts of a smaller size cover their breasts. They have necklaces ornamented with pearls; small pieces of coin, and several baubles, either gilded or silvered over, which make a glaring shew. Both sexes carry about them prayers written by their priests, and kept in a small leathern purse, in the nature of relics. The girls, and some of the women, tinge their nails red, with the juice of an herb called, by the *Bukbârs*, *Kena*: they dry and pulverize it; then, mixing it with powder-alum, expose it in the air for twenty-four hours before they use it, and the colour lasts a long time.

BOTH sexes wear close breeches, and boots of *Russia* leather, very light, and without heels, or leather soles; putting on galloches, or high-heeled slippers, like the *Turks*, when they go abroad. They wear also the same sort of bonnets, and covering for the head; only the women set off theirs with trinkets, small pieces of money, and *Chinese* pearls. Wives are distinguished from maidens only by a long piece of linen worn under their bonnets; which, folding round the neck; they tie in a knot behind, so that one end of it hangs down to the waist^c.

THE *Bukbâr* houses are of stone, and pretty good; but their moveables are few, and not very handsome; consisting only of some *China* trunks plated with iron. Upon these, in the day, they spread the quilts which they make use of at night, and cover them with a cotton carpet of various colours. They have likewise a curtain sprigged with flowers, and other figures; also a sort of bedstead half a yard high, and four yards long, which is hidden in the day with a carpet. They go to bed naked: but always dress when they rise. They are very neat about their victuals, which are dressed in the master's chamber, by his slaves, whom the *Bukbârs* either take or buy from the *Kalmûks*, *Russians*, and other neighbours: for this purpose, there are in the chamber, according to the largeness of the family, several iron pots, set in a kind of range, near a chimney. Some have little ovens, made like the rest of their walls, with a stiff clay, or bricks.

THEIR utensils consist in some plates and porringers of *Capua* wood, or of china, and in some copper vessels to boil tea and water. A piece of coloured callico serves them instead of a table-cloth and napkins. They use neither chairs nor tables, knives nor forks, but sit cross-legged on the ground; and, the meat being served up ready cut, they pull it to pieces with their fingers. Their spoons resemble our wooden ladles^k.

THEIR usual food is minced meats, of which they make pies in form of a half-moon: they serve for provision when they go long journeys, especially in winter, carrying them in a bag, after first exposing them to the frost; and, when boiled in water, make very good broth. Tea is their common drink, of which they have a black sort prepared with milk, salt, and butter, eating bread with it, when they have any^l.

As the *Bukbârs* buy their wives, paying for them more or less, according to their handsomeness; so the surest way to be rich, is to have many daughters. The persons to be married must not see or speak to each other from the time of their contract, till the day of marriage; which is celebrated for three days with feasting, as they do three great annual festivals. The evening before the wedding, a company of young girls meet at the bride's house, and divert themselves till midnight in playing, dancing, and singing. Next morning the guests assemble, and help her to prepare for the ceremony. Then, notice being given to the bridegroom, he arrives

^b DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 253. ^c BENTINK, ap. Abû'lgh. hist. Turks, &c. p. 476, & seq. ^k Idem ibid. p. 475, & seq. ^l Idem ibid. p. 422.

(G) These are the same called by Grueber northern Tartary women, of whose dress he has given a print.

soon after, accompanied by ten or twelve of his relations or friends; followed by some playing on flutes, and by an Abûs (H), who sings, while he beats two little timbrels: then he makes a horse-race; which being ended, he distributes the prizes, six, eight, or twelve, in number, according to his ability. They consist in damasks, fables, fox-skins, callico, or the like. The parties do not see each other while the marriage-ceremony is performing, but answer at a distance to the questions asked by the priest. As soon as it is over, the bridegroom returns home with his company; and, after dinner, carries them to the bride's house, and obtains leave to speak to her. This done, he goes back, and returns again in the evening; at which time he finds her in bed, and, in presence of all the women, lays himself down by her in his cloaths, but only for a moment. The same farce is acted for three days successively. But the third night he goes to-bed to her in earnest; and, the next day, carries her home.

Child-bearing. SOME husbands, by agreement, continue with their parents some time longer, and often a whole year, the wife remaining the same time with hers. But if she dies in the interim without children, her relations keep all which her spouse gave her, unless they are pleased to return him one half. The women are reckoned impure forty days after their delivery, and dare not say their prayers all that time. The child is named the third day after it is born, by the father, or some relation; who make it a present of a bonnet, piece of linen, or coat, as he can afford it: they are circumcised at the age of seven, eight, or nine.

Polygamy. ALTHO' polygamy is looked on as a sort of sin by the *Bukbârs*, yet it is never punished; so that some have ten wives, or more. Any man may at pleasure send back his wife; but then she is intitled to whatever he gave her during their cohabitation. The woman may also part with her husband; but then she cannot carry away the least thing which belongs to her.

Distempers soon cured. WHEN a *Bukbâr* falls sick, a Mullah is sent for, who reads to him a passage out of some book, and breathes on him several times; then, with a very sharp knife, makes several cuts over and on the side of his face. They imagine that, by this means, they cut the root of the distemper, which they say is caused by the devil. When any of them dies, the priest lays a korân on his breast, and recites some prayers. After this, the body is carried to the grave, which they commonly make in some pleasant wood, and inclose with a hedge, or palisade^m.

Money, and language. THE *Bukbârs* have no money but copper copeiks, which weigh near one third of an ounce. When they have silver or gold to receive or pay, they weigh it, as the *Chinese* and other nations doⁿ. Their language, according to *Gerbillon*, is apparently that of the *Uzbeks*, differing from the *Mungl*: but he adds, that this last is commonly understood, by means of the great commerce between the two nations^o.

All religions tolerated. ALTHO' the prevailing (or established) religion, in all the towns and villages throughout *Little Bukhâria*, is the *Mohammedan*, yet all others enjoy a perfect toleration; because the *Kalmûks* (or *Elûths*), who are masters of this country (though gross idolaters) think they ought not, in conscience, to suffer people to be molested on account of their belief. According to *The Description of Bukhâria*, the *Bukbârs* say, that God first communicated the korân to men by *Moses* and the prophets: that afterwards *Mohammed* explained and drew a moral from it, which they are obliged to receive and practise. They hold Christ to be a prophet, and have a singular notion about his birth.

Legend of Mary. THE virgin *Mary*, according to them, was a poor orphan; and her relations, disagreeing about the charge of her education, proposed to decide it by lot. They threw a feather into a vessel full of water, and agreed that he, to whose finger it stuck, should have the maintenance of the child; who, by that means, fell to *Zakbariab*'s care; for the feather, tho' sunk to the bottom, rose, and fastened to his finger, the very instant he put it into the water. One time the business of the temple having kept him three days from home, upon recollecting that he had locked the child up, he ran back as fast as he could: but, instead of finding her dead, as he expected, she was surrounded with all sorts of eatables; which, as she told him, God had sent her.

Conception. THE first time this holy maid was taken after the manner of women, she went to bathe in a fountain which was in a great forest; where, frightened on hearing a voice, she ran to her cloaths: but presently an angel appeared, and told her, she should become with child, ordering her to name him *Isay*. *Mary* replied wisely, that lying-in would be painful to her, as she never had to do with any man. Hereupon the angel, breathing on her breast, made her comprehend that mystery; and instructed her in what it was necessary for her to know. In short, *Mary* conceived from that instant; and, the time of her delivery approaching, went to hide herself, for shame, in the same forest. There, falling in labour, she leaned against a decayed tree, and, in that condition, was delivered. When, behold! at the same instant, the rotten

Brings forth Isay.

^m BENTINK ap. Abû'lgh. hist. Turks, p. 482, & seq. sup. p. 261, & seq.

ⁿ Idem ibid. p. 473.

^o DU HALDE, ubi

(H) The Abûs is a kind of priest.

a trunk began to put forth leaves; and the country all around to bloom as in spring. The angels came also; and, having bathed the new-born infant in a fountain, which suddenly appeared within two paces of the place, returned him to his mother; who, going back to her relations, was received with curses, and ill treatment. She took it all very patiently; and, without justifying herself, only desired her son to plead her cause. This he did immediately, with such strength of argument as intirely vindicated his mother; explaining to them the whole mystery of a birth so miraculous, and contrary to nature.

YOUNG *Isay*, in time, became a great prophet, and a doctor of high authority: but was generally hated and persecuted, especially by the great men, who often sought to slay him; and at last sent two considerable persons to make away with him; but, just as they were about to execute their design, God took him up to heaven, and punished the assassins in a singular manner: for, transforming them one after the other to the shape of *Isay*, they became exposed to the fury of the people; who, deceived by the resemblance, put them to a miserable death. *His assumption.*

ALTHO' the *Bukhârs*, as appears from what has been related, have no notion of the sufferings of *Christ*; yet they believe in the resurrection, and another life: but cannot be persuaded, that any mortal shall be eternally damned; on the contrary they believe, that, as the dæmons led them into sin, so the punishment will fall on them. They believe moreover, that, at the last day, every thing but God will be annihilated; and, consequently, that all creatures, the devils, angels, and *Christ* himself, will die. Likewise that, after the resurrection, all men, excepting a few of the elect, will be purified or chastised by fire, every one according to his sins, which will be weighed in the balance. *Future state.*

THEY say, there will be eight different array, or paradises, for the good; and seven hells, where sinners are to be purified by fire: that those, who will suffer most, are lyars, cheats, and make-bates: that the elect, who do not feel the fire, will be chosen from among the good; viz. one out of a hundred men, and one out of a thousand women; which little troop will be carried into one of the paradises, where they shall enjoy all sorts of felicities, till it shall please God to create a new world, in the room of the present. It is a sin, according to them, to say that the Deity is in heaven: God, say they, is every-where; and therefore it derogates from his omnipresence, to say he is confined to any particular place. *Eight paradises.*

THEY keep yearly a fast of thirty days, from the middle of *July* to the middle of *August*: during this time they taste nothing all day; but eat twice in the night, at sun-set and midnight: nor do they drink any thing but tea, all strong liquors being forbidden. Whoever transgresses these ordinances, is obliged either to emancipate his most valuable slave, or give an entertainment to sixty people: he is likewise to receive eighty-five strokes on the bare back with a leather strap called *dura*, by order of the Aguns, or chief-priest. Yet our author has observed, that the common people do not exactly keep this fast; and that workmen are allowed to eat in the day-time. They say prayers five times a day: before morning; towards noon; afternoon; at sun-set; and in the third hour of the night; notice being given them by their *Abûs*, or priests. *Their Lent fast.*

P BENTINK, ubi sup. p. 478, & seq.

C H A P. III.

The history of Great Bukhâria.

Of Jagatay Khân, and his successors.

e JAGATAY (or *Chagatay*) Khân, second son of *Jenghîz Khân*, was a most accomplished prince, and excelled the rest of his brothers. He was also more equitable; and observed, with greater exactness, the laws made by his father^a, whereof he was the keeper and administrator. He had something so severe in his countenance, that every-body was afraid to look at him: however, he was master of a great understanding; on which account *Jenghîz Khân* gave him for his share of the empire (A), all the country of *Great Bukhâria*, and half of *Karazm*; *Empire of Jagatay.*

^a LA CROIX, hist. Gengh. p. 394.

(A) 'Tis doubtful whether *Jenghîz Khân* made any such distribution; but he, as well as *Batû* in *Kipjâk*, governed under *Oktay*, on whom, and his successors, all the parts of the empire were dependent; till, by de-

greed, they shook off their dependence on the immediate successors of *Jenghîz Khân* in the eastern parts of *Tartary* and *China*.

likewise the country of the *Vigûrs* (or *Igûrs*), the cities of *Kâshgar*, *Badâgshân*, *Balk*, and *Gaznab*, with their dependencies, as far as the river *Sir-Indi* (or *Indus*)^b. *Abû'l-faraj* and *Mirkond* agree nearly with this division; only the former throws in all *Karazm* to his lot, and adds *Al Malig*^c; which yet may be comprised within the countries of the *Vigûrs* and *Kâshgar*, that is, *Little Bukhâria*.

1. Jagatay
Khân.

THIS prince, after the death of his father, chose the city of *Bishbâlek* (in the country of the *Igûrs*) for the place of his residence: however, he lived almost continually with his brother *Oktay*, who loved and respected him as his master, altho' younger than he. In his absence his dominions were governed by *Karajar* or *Karashar Noyan*, whom *Jenghîz Khân*, at his death, gave him for his *Wazîr*, to preside in his counsels, and command his armies. This lord was one of the most powerful among the *Mungls*, and the fifth great ancestor, or grandfather, of the famous *Timûr Bek*, or *Tamerlan*^d.

A false pro-
phet.
Hej. 630.
A. D. 1232.

As the country was governed with great wisdom and moderation, nothing disturbed the peace of it till the year 630; when *Mahmûd*, surnamed *Tarâbi*, from *Tarâb*, a country town six leagues from *Bokbâra*, having, by his false miracles, deluded an army of people, went at the head of them, and took that city. After this, he marched against the *Mungl* generals, who could not venture to attack him for a thick dust with which they were incommoded; inso-much that, although *Mahmûd* was slain by a random arrow-shot, in the midst of his camp, yet neither the enemy, nor his own soldiers, knew any thing of the matter. Mean time the *Mungls*, attributing this extraordinary dust to the impostor's skill in magic (B), fled for fear; and their shameful flight animating the *Tarâbian* rebels, they pursued them, killing above 10,000. At their return, they were surprised not to find their general: but being told, by those who were in the secret, that he had disappeared for a while, the credulous disciples set up his brothers *Mohammed* and *Ali* for his lieutenants in his absence.

His followers
exterminated.

By this means the flame spread, instead of losing ground; so that *Karashar Noyan* (or *Nevian*), seeing the principal cities daily reduced, at length assembled the chief forces of the empire, in order intirely to suppress the rebels. He began with the city of *Bokbâra*, which had favoured them; plundered the territory belonging to it, and slew a great number of the inhabitants. This obliged them to sue for pardon to *Jagatay*, whose clemency easily granted it; while his troops destroyed the *Tarâbians* without mercy.

Jagatay dies.
Hej. 638.
A. D. 1240.

JAGATAY KHÂN died in the year 638, which answers to the *Mungl* year of the *Od*, or *Out*, that is, the *Ox*^e: thus writes *Kondamîr*. But *Abû'lghâzi Khân* puts his death two years later, and gives this account of it: The Khân had in his court a forcerer, who could deceive people's sight, so as to make them think they saw whole armies march before them. *Jagatay*, having had the curiosity once to see some such representation, conceived so great an aversion to the man, that, on some complaint against him shortly after, he ordered him to be cast into prison, bound hand and foot, where he died: but the Khân himself was seized not long after with an incurable disease, which carried him off.

Wives and
children.

AMONG a great many wives and concubines, *Jagatay* distinguished two above the rest, who were sisters, the daughters of *Kaba Noyan*, chief of the tribe of *Kankrats* (C). The first, named *Bussulun*, bore him many sons, whom he loved best of all his children. The name of the second was *Tarkbân Khatun*, whom he married after the death of the first. His sons were seven in number; *Mutugan*, *Muji*, *Balda Shâh*, *Sagbin-lalga*, *Sarmans*, *Bussumunga* and *Baydar*^f. According to *Kondamîr*, the eldest son of *Jagatay Khân* was named *Manuka*, who had three sons, *Bayssur*, *Kara Hulagû*, and *Naliga*, who succeeded each other. But the same author says, he had no successor who succeeded to all his dominions: for that his sons, and nearest relations, divided his empire among them; and those who had the longest sword, obtained the greatest share. However, we are told that thirty-one princes, who were either his sons or nephews, reigned in this country, called, after him, *Jagatay*.

2. Kara Hu-
lakû.

THE first of these, according to *La Croix*, was *Bisûmenkay Khân*; the same doubtless with the *Bussumunga* of *Abû'lghâzi Khân*; who yet does not reckon him among the Khâns of *Jagatay*, placing *Kara Hulakû* as his immediate successor. On the other hand, the authors made use of by *La Croix* say, that *Kara Hulakû*, son of *Metuka* (D) (or *Mutagan*), ascended the throne after his brother *Bisûmenkay*, by the assistance of *Karashar Noyan*, who died during his reign, in the year 1254.

^b ABU'LEHAZI KHAN, hist. Turks, &c. p. 165.
^c LA CROIX, ubi supra.
^e ABU'LGH. ubi sup. p. 166.

^d D'HERBELOT. hist. orient. art. Giagathay, p. 391.
^f D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 390. LA CROIX, ubi sup.

(B) They are infatuated with a stupid notion, that storms of rain, hail, and dust, may be raised by inchantment.

(C) *Kongrats*, as others; called *Hongkila* in the Chinese history, as has been often observed before.

(D) Called, by others, *Manuka*. *La Croix*.

a MUBAREK SHAH, son of *Kara Hulâkû*, succeeded; but, as he was very young at his father's death, his mother *Argata Khatun* took the regency during his minority. *La Croix* calls her *Argana Khatun*, daughter of *Nûr Alchi Gûrkbân*, and makes her the third successor of *Jagatay Khân*. ^{3. Mubârek Shah.}

THE successor of *Mubârek Shâh* was *Algû*, son of *Baydar*, seventh son of *Jagatay Khân*; ^{4. Algû.} who, acknowledging *Koplay* for grand Khân of the *Mungls* in the east, had for his share all the country from the river *Amû*, bounding *Persia*, to mount *Altay*^s. *La Croix* calls this Khân *Naligû*, and sets him before *Mobârek Shâh*.

BARAK, or *Berrâk Khân*, son of *Yasunta*. This prince, in the second year of his reign, ^{5. Barak Khân.} embraced *Mohammedism*, and took the name of *Gayazo'ddin*^h. *Kondamîr* says, he was the son of *Bayssur*, son of *Manuka* (or *Mutagun*) before-mentioned: that he was one of the most considerable princes of his time; and attempted to take *Khorassân* from his cousin *Abûka Khân*, son of *Holakû*, who reigned in *Irân*, or *Persia* at large: that, not succeeding in his design, he turned his arms against *Kublâi Khân*, who reigned in the eastern parts of *Tartary* and *China*, where he made great ravages, but was forced to return without subduing any one considerable place: he died in 1260ⁱ. But, if so, he could not have had a war with *Abûka Khân*, who did not ascend the throne till 1264 (E).

AFTER *Barâk Khân*'s death, the dignity of Khân was conferred on *Begbi*, son of *Sarmans*, ^{6. Beghi Khân.} son of *Jagatay*. *La Croix* calls this prince *Nikepey*, son of *Saryan*.

BUGA (or *Buka*) *Timûr*, great grandson of *Mutagun*, succeeded *Begbi Khân*. ^{7. Buga Timûr Khân.}

c DOYJI KHAN, son of *Barâk Khân*, succeeded *Begbi Khân*, and was reckoned a very just king: he is called by *La Croix* *Dava Khân*. ^{8. Doyji Khân.}

HE was succeeded by his son *Konja Khân*, called by *La Croix* *Kavenjik Khân*. ^{9. Konja Khân.}

BALIGA (or *Baligû*) who was also a grandson of *Mutagun*, succeeded *Konja*. ^{10. Baliga Khân.}

THE successor of *Baliga* in *Great Bukhâria* was *Isan Buga*, second son of *Doyji Khân*. He was named also *Amul Khoja*; and, on the death of *Ilyas* or *Elias Khoja*, son of *Toglâk Timûr*, ^{11. Isan Buga Khân.} was invited by the inhabitants of *Kâshgar*, and the rest of *Little Bukhâria*, to take the sovereignty of that country upon him, as will be related hereafter.

ISAN BUGA KHAN was succeeded by his brother *Dui Timûr* (left, we presume, to reign, ^{12. Dui Timûr Khân.} upon the other's removing to *Kâshgar*). This prince is called *Dava Timûr* by *La Croix*; who places, between him and *Baligû*, three Khâns, namely, 1. *Abisuka*, son of *Dava* (or *Doyji*) *Khân*; 2. *Kepek Khân*; 3. *Elchi Keday Khân*, son of *Dava Khân*^k.

DUI TIMUR had for his successor his brother *Tarmashîr*; who restored *Mohammedism*, ^{13. Tarmashîr Khân.} which, from the time of *Barâk Khân*, had so declined in *Great Bukhâria*, that scarce any footsteps of it remained. This Khân was slain by his brother *Butan Khân*, who afterwards seized the throne. The *Persian* historians, who name this prince *Turmasîrîn*, make him the sixteenth ^{14. Butan Khân.} Khân, and place his death in 1336: they say also, that he was much feared by his neighbours^l.

BUTAN KHAN was succeeded by his nephew.

JANGSHI, son of *Ulugan*, brother of *Butan Khân*. The brother of this prince, named *Yasun* ^{15. Jangshi Khân.} *Timûr*, ambitious of the throne, formed a design to make him away: but their mother, suspecting his design, advised *Jangshi* to be on his guard. Hereupon the Khân immediately took the field against his brother; but had the misfortune to lose the battle, with his life. *La Croix* calls this prince *Jinkeshi*, and makes him the immediate successor of *Turmesîrîn Khân*.

YASUN TIMUR, having thus by force ascended the throne, to be revenged on his mother ^{16. Yasun Timûr.} for discovering his conspiracy to his brother, like another *Nero*, caused her belly to be ripped up. *La Croix* calls him *Bisîn Timûr Khân*, son of *Abuken*.

DURING the reign of *Yasun Timûr*, *Ali Soltân*, a prince of the posterity of *Ugaday*, or ^{17. Ali Soltân Khân.} *Oktay*, became so formidable, that neither the Khân, nor the other princes descended from *Jagatay*, were able to make head against him; so that, after the death of *Yasun Timûr*, he brought *Great Bukhâria* under his subjection. *La Croix* makes *Ali Soltân* the nineteenth Khân.

AFTER the death of *Ali Soltân Khân*, *Kazan Soltân* re-entered into possession of the dominions belonging to the house of *Jagatay Khân*. This prince was the son of *Yasur* (or *Yasur* ^{18. Kazân Khân.} *Aglen*), son of *Urek Timûr Khân*, son of *Kutugay*, son of *Bosay*, son of *Mutugan*, son of *Jagatay*: so that there were, in all, sixteen Khâns of this last prince's posterity (F), who reigned, without interruption, 109 years over the provinces of *Mawara'nabr* (or *Great Bukhâria*).

^s ABU'LGH. ubi sup. p. 163. 167. ^h Idem ibid. & D'HERBELOT. art Barâk Khân, p. 183. ⁱ D'HERBELOT. ubi sup. p. 391. *LA CROIX*, ubi sup. p. 395. ^k ABU'LGH. & *LA CROIX*, ubi sup. ^l ABU'LGH. & *DE LA CROIX*, ubi supra. Hist. TIMUR BEK, vol. i. p. 18.

(E) Possibly this date is a mistake for 1270. See hereafter the reign of *Abaka Khân*, in the line of *Hulakû*.

(F) The *Persian* historians make him the twenty-first

Khân of *Jagatay*; *Abû'lgâzi Khân* only the eighteenth, and the sixteenth of those who descended from *Jagatay Khân*.

After them there were indeed other Khâns in that country : but they were such as only bore the name of Khân, without having the power : each head of a tribe assuming the liberty of doing what he pleased, and obeying the Khân no farther than he thought fit^m.

Hej. 733. A. D. 1332. *Death and character.* SOLTAN KAZAN began his reign in the year 733 : but was very cruel ; and so tyrannical, that, when he sent for the princes his dependents to court on any occasion, they commonly made their wills before they went. Hereupon *Mir Kazagan*, one of the most considerable princes of his time, in conjunction with others, took up arms against him ; but were defeated in 746, and their leader wounded in the eye with an arrow by *Kazân* himself ; so that he not only lost that eye, but was wholly blinded for a long time after. The grand Khân hereupon returned to *Kershi* ; where he had the misfortune to lose so many horses by the severity of the winter, that almost all his cavalry was reduced to march on foot. *Mir Kazagan*, who had advice of this, without loss of time went and attacked the Khân ; who was slain in the battle, in the year 747.

19. Dâshmen-ja Khân. 20. Payân Kuli Khân. AFTER *Kazân Khân*'s death, *Mir Kazagan* set on the throne a prince of the race of *Oktay Khân*, called *Dâshmenja Aglen* (G) : but soon after put him to death, and at length advanced to the dignity of grand Khân *Bayân Kuli*, son of *Sorgâdû*, son of *Dava* (or *Doyji*) *Khân* (H). This prince was esteemed for his justice and liberality ; while *Mir Kazagan*, who took on him the government of the kingdom, acquitted himself to the satisfaction of every-body, and his own glory. After his death, which happened by the hands of his son-in-law, on occasion of some affront, in 759, he was succeeded his son *Mirza Abdollah*, who confirmed *Bayân Kuli Khân* in his dignity : but soon after caused him to be assassinated, to obtain the empress, with whom he fell in love (I) ; and placed *Timûr Shâh Aglen* on the throne.

Hej. 759. A. D. 1357. 21. Timûr Shâh Khân. TIMUR SHAH KHAN was son of *Bisîn* (or *Yasun*) *Timûr Khân*, son of *Ulagan*, son of *Doyji Khân*. But he did not long enjoy his dignity : for the princes, shocked at *Abdollah*'s proceeding, made war upon him ; routed his forces ; and, having taken his brothers, with the Khân, put them all to deathⁿ. *La Croix* makes him the twenty-fourth Khân ; and, in another place, says, the lords usurped his authority, because he was very weak in his understanding^o : but the usurpation did not begin in his reign.

22. Adel Soltân Khân. ADEL SOLTAN KHAN succeeded *Timûr Shâh* ; and was the son of *Mohammed Pulad*, son of *Konza Khân*, son of *Doyji Khân*. According to *Abû'lghazi Khân*, two heads of tribes, *Amir Timûr*, and *Amir Hussayn*, nephew of *Abdollah*, son of *Amir Kazagan*, seized the Khân ; and, binding him hand and foot, drowned him^p. It must be observed, that this author is a great enemy to these princes, especially *Timûr*, for taking the power from the descendants of *Jenghiz Khân*. However, 'tis likely the Khân was made away with by *Hussayn* ; for there is no mention at all of him, in the history of *Timûr Bek*, by *Sharifo'ddin Ali*, excepting occasionally ; where it is said, in speaking of his services done to *Hussayn*, that the Khân *Adel Soltân* having fled from *Hussayn*, of whom he was jealous, altho' he had raised him to the throne, *Timûr* even pursued, and seized him, after some resistance, and sent him to that prince^q. *La Croix* places *Togal Timûr*, and his son *Elias Khoja* (Khâns of *Kâshgar*), between *Timûr Shâh* and *Adel Soltân*, whom he makes the twenty-sixth Khân^r.

23. Kabûl Soltân Khân. KABUL SOLTAN KHAN, son of *Dorji*, son of *Iljaktay*, son of *Doyji Khân*, was, after the death of *Adel Soltân Khân*, established in his room by the two lords above-mentioned ; who, in his reign, seized the city of *Bâlk*, and slew the Khân^s. This happened in the year 765, according to *Sharifo'ddin Ali* ; who, without mentioning any thing of *Adel Soltân Khân*, says, that, after the defeat of the *Getes*, the princes of *Great Bukhâriâ* aiming at independency, *Timûr* and *Hussayn*, to prevent things running into confusion, found it necessary to elect a grand Khân : whereupon *Kabûl Shâh Aglen* was proposed, and chosen in a general assembly^t.

24. Soyruk Tamish Khân. AFTER the death of *Kabûl Soltân Khân*, *Soyruk Tamish* was advanced to the dignity of Khân. He was the son of *Danishmanja*, son of *Kaydu*, son of *Kasbi*, son of *Ugaday* or *Oktay Khân*^u. *La Croix* calls him *Siorgatmish Aglen*, son of *Danishmend* ; and says, *Timûr* gave him the empty

^m ABU'LGH. ubi sup. p. 168, & seq.

Gengh. p. 396.

Gengh. p. 396.

ubi sup. p. 171.

^p ABU'LGH. ubi sup. p. 171.

^q Hist. Tim. l. i. c. 26. p. 118, & seq.

^r Hist. Tim. l. i. c. 11. p. 53.

^s SHARIFO'D. hist. Tim. Bek, ch. 1. 2. p. 4. 14. & seq.

^t Hist. Tim. l. i. c. 26. p. 118, & seq.

^u ABU'LGH. ubi sup. p. 171.

^o Hist.

^p Hist.

^q Hist.

^r Hist.

(G) *Hezarfen*, a modern *Turkish* author, calls him *Danishmanja Khân*, son of *Isur Aglen*, according to a note in the history of *Timûr Bek*, translated by *La Croix* ; which shews, that the list given by him, in his history of *Jenghiz Khân*, is taken from *Hezarfen* ; but *Abû'lghazi Khân*, instead of *Danishmanja*, puts *Amir Kazagan* himself ; and says, he was the son of *Danishmanja*, son of *Kaydu*, son of *Kasbi*, son of *Ugaday* (or *Oktay*), son of *Jenghiz Khân*. He says likewise, that he was slain after a two years reign ; nor was it known by whom. But, as the account given by *Sharifo'ddin Ali*,

author of *Timûr Bek*'s history, cannot well fail of being the truth in these two particulars, we have therefore chosen to follow him.

(H) According to *Abû'lghazi Khân*, he was the son of *Surga*, son of *Doyji Khân*, son of *Berrak Khân*, the fifth of those before mentioned.

(I) According to *Abû'lghazi Khân*, p. 170. *Bayân Kuli Khân* had him slain, on suspicion of having a criminal correspondence with his wife : but *Sharifo'ddin Ali*, our author, is more to be relied on.

a title of Khân, without leaving him the least part of the power^w. He was made Khân in 1369 by *Timûr*; who, after *Hussayn's* death, ordered the Khân, *Kabûl Shâh* (or *Soltân*), made by that prince, to be slain^x. *Siorgatmish* reigned nineteen years, dying at *Bokhâra*, in the year 1388, while *Timûr* was in his march to *Karazm*. He was buried at *Kâsh*, under a monument which he had erected himself. *Timûr*, as soon as he returned to *Samarkant*, established Soltân *Mahmûd*, the late Khân's son, in his father's place^y.

MAHMUD KHAN: whose name *Timûr* caused to be written on the top of his orders; to make the people believe that he observed the laws of *Jenghîz Khân*^z, that is, in acknowledging one of his descendants for Khân. This titular prince followed *Timûr* in his expeditions, particularly that against *Bayezîd*; and was often sent to make inroads into the *Othmân* territories; in one of which he died, in 1402, near *Sattala* in *Anatolia* (K), where he was seized with a violent distemper^a.

LA CROIX adds another Khân, as the thirty-first, whom he names *Tumen Kotluk Aglen*; and says, he was crowned by *Timûr*, in 1690: which could not be, since *Mahmûd* lived twelve years after. This, therefore, is the last of the Khâns of the race of *Jenghîz Khân*, who reigned in the empire of *Jagatay*; for, after *Timûr's* death, the dignity of Khân was suppressed by his successors, who governed in their own name, and founded a new dynasty.

^w Hist. Gengh. p. 396.

^x Hist. TIM. BEK, p. 124. 128.

^y Idem, p. 316.

^z Idem ibid.

^a Idem, l. v. c. 54. p. 270.

(K) *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, p. 175, says, *Timûr* put both *Mohammed* (or *Mahmûd*) *Khân* and *Bayezîd* to death: but neither seems to be the fact.

C H A P. IV.

The history of Little Bukhâria.

Of the descendants of Jagatay Khân, who reigned in Little Bukhâria.

c **A**LTHO' *Jagatay Khân* had to his share both the *Bukhârias*; yet, after his death, the empire, as hath been already mentioned, became divided among the princes of his family, every one seizing a part, according to his power. 'Tis likely, therefore, that *Little Bukhâria* separated very early from the *Greater*; and had a succession of Khâns, till about the beginning of the fourteenth century: when, by some means or other, not mentioned by the authors yet come to hand, the line happened to fail. On this occasion, therefore, we are told by a *Tartarian* author, that the inhabitants of the cities of *Kâshgar* and *Tarkian*, and of the countries of *Alatakh* and the *Vigûrs* (or *Igûrs*), finding none of *Jagatay's* posterity among them, who was capable of filling the vacant throne, saw themselves under a necessity to call in *Amul Khoja*, who then reigned in *Great Bukhâria*, under the name of *Isan Boga Khân*^a.

d This prince, who was the son of *Doyji Khân* (and eleventh in that succession), having no children by his wife *Satil Tamish*, got a slave of his, called *Manlaghi*, with child. Hereupon *Satil Tamish*, being incensed, one day, when the Khân was gone a hunting, gave her in marriage to a *Mungl* chief, named *Shiragol*, and obliged him to carry her with him into his own country. *Amul Khoja*, at his return, was informed of what had been done; but, not caring to have any words with his wife, seemed to take no notice of it. Some time after this he died; and, as he left no issue, the state became rent in pieces by the different factions. In this extremity *Amîr Yalawji*, one of the principal lords of *Kâshgar*, sent *Tash Timûr* in quest of *Manlaghi*; whom at length he found, with her son, called *Togalak* (or *Togluk*), playing with his brother-in-law. After this, watching his opportunity, he carried off the boy; who, on his arrival at *Kâshgar*, was immediately proclaimed Khân by *Amîr Yalawji*, under the name of *Togolak Timûr Khân*. (This happened about the year 748.)

e A GREAT part of this Khân's reign was spent in suppressing the factions which opposed him in the countries above-mentioned: but, when he had settled his affairs there, he entered with a powerful army into *Great Bukhâria*, and brought that province also under his obedience (A). Then, leaving his son *Elias Khoja* to govern in *Samarkant*, he returned to the city of *Kâshgar*, where (about two years after) he died.

^a ABU'LGH. hist. Turks, &c. p. 176.

(A) This was about the year of the *Hjrah* 762, of *Christ* 1360; and will be related more at large hereafter; in the history of *Timûr Bek*, or *Tamerlan*.

TOGALAK TIMUR was the first descended from *Jenghîz Khân*, reigning in *Kâshgar*, who embraced the *Mohammedan* religion. As he was one day hunting, he observed several foreign merchants in the place which he had pitched on for assembling the game, contrary to his express proclamation. Hereupon, in a passion, he ordered them to be brought bound before him; and asked, how they came to infringe his laws? Sheykh *Samalo'ddin*, who was among them, answered, that they were ignorant of any such prohibition, as being strangers from the country of *Kattak*. The Khân replied, *It is like you are Tajiks, and, consequently, worse than dogs. If we were not true believers*, rejoined the Sheykh, *there would be grounds for making no more account of us than dogs; because, in that case, notwithstanding the reason we are endowed with, we should yet be less reasonable than beasts*^m.

Turns Mohammedan;

THIS answer having touched the Khân's heart, at his return from the chase he sent for the Sheykh, and, in private, said to him, *What is your religion, that you durst make me such an answer a while ago?* The Sheykh, upon this, explained the articles of the *Mohammedan* faith; wherewith *Togalak Timûr* was so fully convinced of its truth, that he ordered him to repair, at a proper season, to concert the means for establishing it in his dominions. The Sheykh dying soon after his return home, his son Sheykh *Rashîdo'ddin*, pursuant to his father's orders, repaired to *Kâshgar*: but, not being able to get access to the Khân, he went one morning to a hill near the castle, where he said his prayers so loud, that he awaked *Togalak Timûr*; who thereupon sent to him, to know the reason why he bawled so dreadfully. The Sheykh taking this opportunity to execute his execution, that prince would no longer defer embracing *Mohammedanism*. All the lords of his court followed his example, excepting one; who, standing forth, offered to put his conversion on this issue: *There is, said he, among our people, a man endowed with extraordinary gifts; now, if the Sheykh will venture a fall with this person, and throws him, I will embrace his religion; otherwise I will not.* The Khân was unwilling to permit such a skill; but, the Sheykh pressing for liberty to accept of the challenge, he at length consented. *Rashîdo'ddin* hereupon advancing up to the *Mungl*, with one backstroke of his hand on the stomach, laid him flat on the floor, where for a good while he remained motionless. At length, getting up, he fell at the Sheykh's feet, and declared he was ready to become a *Moslem* (B). The lord, who had proposed this test, did the same: and all the *Mungls* who were subject to *Togalak Timûr Khân*, to the number of 160,000, followed their example.

with all his subjects.

3. Ilyas Khoja Khân.

AMIR YALAWSI, who was instrumental in the Khân's advancement, happening to die, *Togalak* conferred on Amîr *Khudaydat*, tho' but seven years old, all his father's employments. Hereupon *Kamro'ddin*, the youngest of the Amîr's five paternal uncles, desired that he might officiate for his nephew till he came of age. This request the Khân not thinking proper to grant, *Kamro'ddin*, who was very ambitious, as well as powerful, conceived a mortal hatred against him; yet concealed it during his life: but, after his death, revolted against his son *Ilyas Khoja* (or *Elias Kojâ*), who succeeded in the throne of *Kâshgar* (C), and caused him, with all his family, to the number of eighteen persons, to be assassinated: then, seizing the government, gave the people liberty, by proclamation, to kill any of *Togalak Timûr*'s kindred, who were to be found. This Khân was born in the year 730 (1329); came to the crown at the age of eighteen (that is, in 1347); and died at the age of thirty-four (or in 1362).

4. Kamro'ddin usurper.

AT the time of *Kamro'ddin*'s revolt, Amîr *Aga Khatûn*, one of *Togalak*'s wives, being delivered of a son named *Kezra Khoja*; to secure him from the tyrant, trusted him to the care of Amîr *Khudaydai*, who never could be prevailed on by his uncle to deliver up the young prince; and, war breaking out afterwards between Amîr *Timûr* (who reigned in *Marwara'n-nabr*, now *Great Bukharia*), and the usurper, *Khudaydat* took that opportunity to send him, under a trusty guard, to the mountains of *Badâghshân*, where the jasper is found. This war was carried on for some years with much fury; and such equality, that, after five bloody battles, it seemed doubtful which would in the end get the advantage. At length *Timûr* advancing with a powerful army, at a time when *Kamro'ddin* fell sick, the troops of *Kâshgar*, destitute of a chief, betook themselves to flight, not daring to wait for the enemy. As for *Kamro'ddin*, he was, in this confusion, carried for security, into certain deserts to the east of the capital city: but, after the retreat of *Timûr*'s army, he never could be found (D); although a great

^m ABULGH. ubi suprà, p. 177, & seq.

(B) All this might have been a politic contrivance of the Khân, the better to confirm, and bring about, this great change with the rest of his subjects; for, otherwise, it was a foolish and precarious way of proving the truth of any thing.

(C) See more of this prince in the history previous to the reign of *Timûr Bek*.

(D) It does not appear when this happened, possibly about 1375, or 1383. See hist. *Tim. Bek*, l. ii. c. 19. p. 176, & c. 42. p. 235; also the reign of *Timûr* hereafter.

^a while after his subjects understood, that he resided with one *Malek Ajân* (E), a man of whom yet nothing is known.

AMIR KHUDAYDAT (F), having hold of this opportunity, brought back *Kezra Khoja* from his obscure retreat, and caused him to be proclaimed Khân, with the usual solemnities. This ^{5. Khezra Khoja Khân;} prince reigned thirty years over the country of *Kâshgar*: and all those who have since possessed that throne, have been of his posterity ^c. We know very little of the actions of this prince, excepting what we find in the history of *Timûr Bek*, who made war on him in 1389, ravaged his country, and capital city *Aymal Gîjû*; pursued him on one side, beyond the river *Irtîsh*, and, on the other, to *Taldîz* (or *Yalis*) and *Karakoja* (or *Aramuth*, near *Khamîl*, in *Little Bukharia*); in short, drove him out of *Jetab*. Next year he made another expedition into ^b the same country; and, at *Al Maleg*, hearing of *Kamro'ddîn*, followed him beyond the *Irtîsh*, driving him into the woods towards *Tawlas* ^d.

This is all the account we can find relating to this branch of *Jagatay Khân*, excepting a few scattered particulars. Among the rest, *Mahamed* was Khân of the kingdoms of *Kâshgar* *Succession* and *Chalis* (that is, of *Little Bukharia*), in 1603, when *Goes* the Jesuit travelled through the *extinct* country, in his way to *China*; so that, by the foregoing authority of *Abû'lghazi Khân*, he must have been descended from *Kezra Kojâ*, as well as the Khân, who reigned in 1665, when that prince finished his history: but eighteen years after, *viz.* in 1683, *Little Bukharia* was subdued by the *Eldûts*, or *Kalmûks*, as hath been before related ^e.

^c ABU'LGH. ubi sup. p. 179, & seq. before, p. 443.

^d Hist. TIM. BEK. l. ii. c. 3. p. 325. & c. 9. p. 345. ^e See

(E) It appears from the same history of *Timûr Bek*, l. iii. c. 9. p. 346, that he was living in 1300, at which time he fled across the *Irtîsh*, towards the city of *Tawlas*, into the woods, where fables and ermins are found. See hereafter, in the reign of *Timûr*.

(F) Or *Khudadad*, a name common among the *Mungls*: *Timûr* had a general or two of the same name.

BOOK IX.

The history of the descendants of Jenghîz Khân, who reigned in Irân, or Persia at large.

CHAP. I.

The reign of Hulagû Khân.

^c FROM the death of *Jenghîz Khân*, which happened in 625 of the *Hejrah*, of *Christ*, *Western expe-* 1227, the country of *Irân* (or *Persia* at large), with the neighbouring countries *dition.* which he had conquered, were governed by officers appointed by his successors, who reigned at *Karakorum*, in the eastern parts of *Tartary*, till the year 651; when *Mangu* (A), fourth Khân of the *Mungls*, with a design to extend his empire, raised three great armies: one of them was sent towards *Hindûstân*, or *India*; the second to *Korea*; and the third into *Irân*. This last, which was the most considerable of the three, the Khân intrusted to the conduct of his brother *Hulâgû*, who had a general under him of great learning and experience, called *Kokân*. This army, in the *Chinese* history, is said to have been designed against the Khalîfah of *Bâghdâd* ^a; whereas, according to the *Persian* historians, the Khalîfah was attacked by the *under Hulâkû*.

^a GAUDEL, hist. de Gengh. p. 113, 136.

(A) In the *Chinese* history, named *Mengko*, which seems to be the *Chinese* pronunciation.

persuasion of a famous *Persian* astronomer. Possibly it had no particular destination : but was sent in general to make farther conquests, and keep the countries already subdued more in subjection ; by the presence of great forces, and a prince of the blood, who was to unite the whole under one government.

WE have already given some account of this expedition of *Hulâkû* from the *Chinese* historians^b ; who, having had very imperfect and confused informations of the affairs of the western parts of the *Mungl* empire, we shall make no use of them here ; but follow those who lived on the spot, or in the neighbourhood of the countries which were the scenes of action.

Enters Irân. *HULAGU* (B), the son of *Tuli Khân*, fourth son of *Jenghiz Khân*, was surnamed *Il Khân* ; from whence his posterity took the title of *Ilkhanians*^c. This prince crossed the *Jibûn* in the year 653, to enter *Irân*. He was accompanied by his brother *Sontay Ogul*, and several great lords from divers parts. He carried with him also his eldest son *Abâka*, and another called *Yasîmun* (*), with his wives *Dukuz Khatûn*, a christian lady, and *Al Jay Khatûn*. In the ninth of *Sbaaban* 652, arriving before *Samarkant*, he encamped there, and lost his brother *Sontay Ogul*. Soon after *Amîr Argûn* (made governor of the countries to the south of the *Jibûn* in 650 (C) came to wait on him, with several lords of that province^d. The first thing *Hulâkû* did, after examining into the state of the country, was, to purge it of the *Ismaelians*, who had for a long time committed great disorders there.

Affassins of Irâk. THESE *Ismaelians* were certain princes, who reigned over part of *Persian Irâk*, and *Mazanderân* (D). Their subjects were so devoted to them, that, at their command, they undertook to kill any prince, or other person ; which procured them the name of assassins. There was another dynasty of them in *Syria* ; whose prince is the same mentioned by the writers of the crusade, under the name of *the old man of the mountain* ; which is only a bad translation of the *Arabic* *Shaykh al-Jebal* (E) ; which word *Shaykh* expresses not the age, but dignity, of a prince. The *Mohammedan* writers, moreover, lay to their charge errors in faith ; and, for this reason, give them no other name than that of *Melâbedab*, or *Molbedûn* (F), which signifies *impious*.

Their dynasty. THEIR dynasty consisted of eight princes, who reigned the space of 170 years, till 654 ; when *Hulâkû* put an end to it, in the person of *Rokno'ddîn Khuz Shâb*, the last king, from whom he took all his castles in *Jebal*, which were exceeding strong, and well provided with necessaries^e.

Castles taken. THIS prince had but just succeeded his father *Alao'ddîn*, when *Hulâkû* ordered his commanders to attack his castles : five of which he demolished, as not being judged tenable. Before the order reached *Kayfran*, *Kaydbuka* had already taken the castle of *Shahediz* (G), and three other castles, from them. *Il Khân*, therefore, arriving at *Abâsabâd* (H), *Rokno'ddîn* sent a youth but seven or eight years old, who pretended to be his son, in token of submission. *Hulâkû*, although aware of the deceit, received and dismissed the child with honour. After that, he sent his brother *Sbîrân Shâb*, accompanied by 300 persons, whom the *Mungl* prince sent to *Jamâlabâd*, near *Kazwîn* ; but dismissed *Sbîrân Shâb* to tell his brother, that he would allow him only five days to submit himself. *Rokno'ddîn* signified by an ambassador, that he dared not then come out, for fear of his people, who would fall on him ; but would wait on him the first opportunity. *Hulâkû*, finding that he wanted only to protract the time, marched, and encamped before the castle of *Maymûn Darab*. Hereupon *Rokno'ddîn* declared, he would immediately come forth : but, being prevented by the *Molâbedab* and *Fedayi*, *Hulâkû* bid him wait a while. Then ordering his troops to attack the castle, *Rokno'ddîn* took the opportunity, while his people were engaged in repulsing the besiegers, to retire to the *Mungl* camp, with his sons and chief favourites ; where he was kindly received by *Il Khân*.

His territories reduced. THOSE in the castle, perceiving with how much honour their prince was treated, presently surrendered the fortress ; which was demolished by the *Mungls*, who soon reduced all the castles which were in that valley. After this, the governor of *Al Mût* (or *Al Marwt*) (†) was summoned to surrender that fortress, and refused : but, on the approach of a great body of troops, delivered it up in the eleventh month. At the same time *Shâmso'ddîn*, governor of the

^b See before, lib. iv. c. 4. ist. dyn. p. 329, & seqq.

^c D'HERBEL. bibl. orient. art. Il Khân, & Holagû.

^d ABU'LFARAJ.

^e D'HERBELOT. ubi supra, p. 503, 620. art. Ismaelioun & Molhedoun.

h

(B) Called also *Halâkû* and *Hulâgû*.

(*) In other copies, *Tasmerun*.

(C) He held the government of them for thirty-nine years, as is noted in the reign of *Baydu Khân*.

(D) In *Khubestân* (that is, the mountain country), which makes the northernmost part of *Irâk* ; and *Rûdbâr*, a territory of *Mazanderân*.

(E) *Shaykh al-Jebâl* signifies not properly the prince of the mountain ; but the prince of *Al Jebâl*, a part of *Persian Irâk* ; so called by the *Arabs*, being a transla-

tion of the *Persian* name *Kûbestân*, which signifies the mountain country. In this sense *Shaykh al-Jebâl* is to be understood, if applied to the *Ismaelian* prince of *Klûbestân* ; but, if to him of *Syria*, it must be rendered prince of the mountain.

(F) *Melâbedab Khûbestân wa Rûdbâr*, the impious of *Khûbestân* and *Rûdbâr*.

(G) In other copies, *Shâberir*.

(H) *Ayâzabâd*, in other copies.

(†) That is, the castle of death.

a castles belonging to *Kabestân* (I), which were fifty in number, received orders to demolish them ; in which he was assisted by those who accompanied *Rokno'ddîn*. All of them were taken, excepting two, *Kazdkûb* and *Lamjâr* (K), which could not be reduced in less than two years. The prince also made peace with *Hulâkû*, on condition to destroy their castles. After which, that prince returned in *Dbulhajjeh* to the *Orda*, near *Hamadân*, and sent *Rokno'ddîn*, with his sons and wives, to *Kazwîn*.

In 655 *Rokno'ddîn Khâz Shâh* desiring to be sent to *Mangû Khân*, to pay his respects to that monarch, he set out, accompanied by nine of his retinue, and two ambassadors dispatched from *Hulâgû*. When he arrived at *Karakuram*, instead of being admitted to the Khân's presence, he was ordered to return, and prevail on his governors to surrender the two castles before-mentioned ; after which, he was told, that he might repair to court, and should be received with honour. With this hope *Rokno'ddîn* left *Karakuram* ; but, in the way back, was slain, with those who accompanied him. *Hulâkû* likewise received a mandate from his brother *Mangû*, to extirpate the *Molâbedab* intirely, and leave no footsteps of them remaining. Upon this, he sent *Kara Kay Alyabtaktaji* to *Kazwîn*, where he put to death all *Rokno'ddîn's* family, and slew all the *Molâbedab* forces : at the same time *Utkubâna Nowayn* (L), having assembled 1200 subjects of the *Ismaelians*, put them all to the sword^f.

The same year *Hulâkû* ordered *Azzo'ddîn* and *Rokno'ddîn* to divide the dominions of *Rûm* between them. The first of these two brothers had dethroned the other, and imprisoned him : but, in 653, *Bayejû*, the *Mungl* general in *Azerbejân*, being obliged to remove his quarters, to accommodate *Hulâkû* with them, demanded of *Azzo'ddîn* a place to winter in. This prince, imagining that he fled from *Hulâkû*, marched to attack him, and was defeated. Hereupon *Bayejû* released *Rokno'ddîn* out of prison, and placed him on the throne. On the complaint, therefore, of *Azzo'ddîn*, in 655, *Hulâkû* ordered the partition above mentioned ; pursuant to which, *Rokno'ddîn* repaired to *Bayejû's* camp, and *Azzo'ddîn* returned to *Koniya* (or *Ikonium*) : but, being afraid of *Bayejû*, assembled an army of *Kürds*, *Turkmâns*, and *Arabs* ; which, however, was dispersed by *Bayejû* and another *Nowayn* : so that *Malatîya*, and several other places, submitted to *Rokno'ddîn*. But, *Bayejû* being soon after recalled towards *Irâk*^g, things took a turn again in favour of *Azzo'ddîn*, as hath been elsewhere related^h. Let us now return to *Hulâkû*.

d. This prince, during the time that he was besieging the castles of the *Molâbedab*, sent an ambassador to the Khalîfah *Al Mostâasssem*, to desire his assistance. The Khalîfah would have answered his request ; but the Wazîrs and princes opposed it (M) ; alleging, that *Hulâkû* did not want forces, but made the demand only to weaken *Baghdâd* (N), that he might the more easily take it. When the castles were reduced, *Il Khân* sent another ambassador to reproach *Al Mostâasssem* for neglecting to send him succours. The prime Wazîr, being consulted what was to be done on this occasion, told them, that the prince ought to be appeased with very rich presents ; but while they were getting them ready, *Dowaydâr* and his party insinuated as if the Wazîr corresponded with the *Tatars*, and intended to betray them ; for this reason the Khalîfah, instead of many costly things, sent only a few of little value. *Hulâkû*, provoked more at this, gave the Khalîfah to understand, that he should repair to the camp himself, or send thither either the Wazîr *Dowaydâr*, or *Soleymân Shâh*. But, as none of them would obey *Al Mostâasssem's* command to go, he sent others ; which not satisfying *Hulâkû*, he ordered *Bayejû* *Nowayn* and *Sunjak Nowayn* (O) to march by the way of *Erbel* (or *Arbela*), while himself took the road through *Holwân*.

On this advice, *Dowaydâr* set out from *Baghdâd*, and advanced near *Taakuba* : but, hearing that *Bayejû* had passed the *Tigris*, and encamped on its western bank, in the belief that *Hulâkû* was there, left *Taakuba*, and posted himself over-against *Bayejû*. Mean time *Ibeg al Hâlebi*, one of the Khalîfah's Amîrs, having fallen into the hands of the *Mungl* scouts, they brought him to *Hulâkû*. On the promise of security, he undertook to conduct his army ; and wrote to his friends at *Baghdâd*, advising them to consult their own safety, by submitting to the *Mungls*.

^f ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 330, & seq.

^g Idem ibid. p. 330—334.

^h See before, p. 233, & seqq.

(I) A mistake, perhaps, in the copy, for *Khûbestân*, a part of *Persian Irâk*.

(K) In some copies, *Kerdkûb* and *Lamshabr* : in *D'Herbelot*, *Kudkûb* and *Temser*. Bibl. orient. p. 503. art. *Ismaelioun*.

(L) *Ikujaba*, in some copies.

(M) According to the authors mentioned in the next note, those ministers returned a very injurious answer to *Hulâkû's* letters ; and threatened him with the anger of God, and the Khalîfah. Lower down, this answer seems to be ascribed to other persons, and to be sent on another occasion.

(N) According to the authors made use of by *D'Her-*

belot, *Hulâkû* intended, after destroying the *Ismaelians*, to have marched directly, through *Anatolia*, to *Constantinople* ; but was dissuaded by *Nasîro'ddîn al Tusi*, the famous astronomer, who advised him to turn his arms against the Khalîfah, out of a private pique. Bibl. orient. p. 453. art. *Holâgû*.

(O) Or *Sowinjâk*. According to the *Persian* authors, *Hulâgû* did not immediately march against *Baghdâd* ; but spent a long time in making marches and counter-marches, to conceal his design. At length, in 655, he of a sudden turned on that side. *D'Herbelot*, as in the note before.

for that they were not able to cope with such numerous forces. But they, in answer, haughtily asked, "Who was *Hulâkû*, and what his forces, to oppose the family of *Abbâs*, who held the empire of God himself? and even threatened him with the anger both of the Deity and the Khalîfah, for daring to set foot within his dominions (P)." They added, "If he desired to make peace, that he should return to *Hamadân*, while they intreated *Dowaydâr* to intercede for him to the Khalîfah, who possibly might pardon his fault." When *Ibeg* shewed the letters to *Hulâkû*, that prince only laughed, considering them as an instance of their vanity and rashness¹.

The city
besieged,

AFTER this, *Dowaydâr*, hearing that the *Tatars* took the road to *Anbâr* (*), marched against them; and, meeting *Suwinjâk Nowayn*, put his troops to flight: but, being met by *Bayejâ*, he obliged them to turn back with him; and falling, with all their forces, on the victor, defeated him, and slew most of his soldiers; so that he escaped to *Bâghdâd* with only a few followers. Mean time *Hulâkû*, in the middle of *Moharram* 656, encamping opposite to a gate of the city, the *Mungls*, in one night, built a Siba, or wall, inclosing the eastern side; while *Buka Timûr*, *Suwinjâk Nowayn*, and *Bayejâ Nowayn*, did the same on the west side. They likewise dug deep ditches within the Siba; and, placing their battering-rams, with other engines of war, against the city, on the twenty-second of the same month the attack began; when the Khalîfah, perceiving his inability to defend the place, sent his president of the Diwân, and *Ebn Darnûs*, to make submission to *Hulâkû*, with presents of no great value; lest, if they were costly, it might be interpreted as a mark of great fear. Being asked, why *Dowaydâr* and *Suleymân Shâh* did not come to him? The Khalîfah sent the Wazîr *Alkâmî*; who said, in the person of his master, "You demanded one out of the three; and I have sent the Wazîr, who is the greatest of them." *Hulâkû* answered, "When I was at *Hamadân*, any of the three would have done; but now I shall not be satisfied with one of them."

and taken,

MEAN time, as the siege went on vigorously on every side, *Hulâkû* ordered arrows to be shot into *Bâghdâd*; with billets, promising security to the doctors, and all such as did not bear arms, their families and effects. On the twenty-sixth the *Mungls* forced the walls of the city; and watched the river, that none might escape by water. Then *Hulâkû* ordered *Dowaydâr* and *Suleymân Shâh* to come to him: but left the Khalîfah at liberty to do as he thought fit. Those two lords accordingly came forth, attended by a great number of the nobility; but, on the way, *Dowaydâr* turned back, under pretence of taking care lest the soldiers, who were posted in the streets and lanes, should kill any of the *Mungls*; yet next morning, when he came out of the city, he was killed himself. The inhabitants, after this, sent deputies to intreat protection: and the Khalîfah, seeing there was no way to avoid it, on the fourth of *Saffar* repaired to the camp, with leave of *Hulâkû*, who ordered him to lodge in the gate called *Kahwâd*. Then entering the city, to see the Khalîfah's palace, he commanded that prince to be brought before him. *Mostâasssem* made him a present of precious stones and pearls, which he distributed amongst his commanders. In the evening, returning to his camp, he ordered the Khalîfah to set apart all the women belonging to him, or his sons, amounting to 700; whom, with 300 eunuchs in their service, he brought forth. After the *Mungls* had plundered the city for seven days, they ceased either to slay, or make any more captives. The fourteenth of the same month *Hulâkû* departed from *Bâghdâd*; and, when he was encamped at night, ordered the Khalîfah, his middlemost son, and six eunuchs, to be put to death².

by the
treachery

KONDAMIR, and other oriental historians, relate this important event with other circumstances. According to them, *Hulâkû*, being incensed with the answer of the Khalîfah's ministers to his letters, ordered his generals to march on both sides of the *Tigris*, to besiege *Bâghdâd*. The *Mungl* troops, which daily increased, ravaged the neighbouring country to such a degree, that in a little time it was intirely ruined; so that they had difficulty to find even grais for their horses. The *Tatar* army, which consisted wholly in cavalry, having no longer wherewithal to subsist, *Hulâkû* must have been forced to raise the siege, and retire with shame, as well as loss, if it had not been for the treachery of *Atûde ebn Amrân*, a slave of a neighbouring governor; who, according to the *Nighiariştân*, dreamed, the year before, that the house of the children of *Abbâs*, was on the point of falling; and that he himself should become master of *Bâghdâd*, and the dominions of the Khalîfah. *Ebn Amrân*, who happened to be among the besieged, no sooner heard of the distressed condition of the enemy's army, but, by a letter shot into their camp with an arrow, he informed *Hulâkû*, that if he could prevail on the Khalîfah to send one *Ebn Amrân* to him, he would find means to support his army for a whole month.

¹ ARU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 336, & seq.

² Idem. p. 333, & seqq.

(P) As having been, in the opinion of *Mohammedans*, consecrated ground.

(*) A city on the *Euphrates*, about two days journey from *Bâghdâd*.

a HULAKU, on this advice, did not fail to demand this man of *Mostaâsem*, who, being reduced of a slave, to such a state, that, had his son been demanded, he would have gratified him, caused *Ebn Amrân* to be sought for, and sent him to the *Mungl* prince; to whom he discovered, that, in the city of *Yakûba*, or *Akêba*, of which his master was governor, there was a prodigious quantity of grain laid up in pits. By means of this intelligence, the *Mungls* were saved from starving with hunger, and enabled to take the great city of *Bâghdâd*; which was plundered, and intirely ruined, by them, in the year 656. *Hulâkû*, who owed this conquest to *Ebn Amrân*, thought he could not do better than confer the government of the city, and its dependencies, on the traitor; who thus saw his dream fulfilled¹.

OTHER authors ascribe the cause of the Khalîfah's ruin chiefly to the perfidy of his prime Wazîr *Mowsiyado'ddîn al Kami*; who, piqued about some religious peccadillo, disbanded the troops, when there was greatest need of them, and concealed the strength of the enemy from *Mostaâsem*. He likewise corresponded with *Hulâkû*, and gave him notice of the best time to march towards *Bâghdâd*. The Khalîfah was the more easily persuaded to disarm himself, as he was very covetous, and addicted to pleasure: nor would he give over his debauches, for all the representations of the principal lords of his court, till advice was brought, that a great detachment of *Mungls*, under two of their best generals, were near the city. Then, when it was too late, 10,000 men were, in a hurry, got ready, and sent to reconnoitre them. These meeting the enemy, encamped on the *Tigris*, to the north of *Bâghdâd*, a most bloody battle was fought, with doubtful success: but the *Mungls* having, in the night, cut the bank of a canal drawn from the *Euphrates*, near which the army of the Khalîfah was ill posted, their camp was laid under-water, to such a degree, that the greater part were drowned, and the rest put to the sword.

MEAN time, *Hulâkû* arrived, with the gross of his army, before *Bâghdâd*, and laid siege to it; while the Khalîfah continued his debauches, without minding his affairs, as if the enemy had been at a great distance. At the end of two months, the traitor *Alkami* retired, with his family, to the camp of *Hulâkû*, who presently after took the city, in the month of *Saffar* 656; where every thing was put to fire and sword (Q) by the *Tatars*; who plundered *Bâghdâd* of infinite wealth: for it was, at that time, the most rich and powerful city in the world. The Khalîfah *Mostaâsem* being taken, with one of his sons, after some consultation, was wrapped up tight, in a piece of felt, and, in that condition, dragged through the streets, where he soon expired, when he had lived forty-two years, and reigned above eighteen. His son, who remained, was put to death; the other having been slain at one of the city-gates, which he defended (R) courageously.

THUS an end was put to the race of Khalîfahs, which began in the person of *Abûbekr*, the eleventh year of the Hejrah, or flight of *Mohammed*, and had continued in the family of *Abbâs* for the space of 520 years.

THIS last Khalîfah, although he had neither courage nor conduct, reigned with greater pride and magnificence than any of his predecessors, who were sovereigns in temporals as well as spirituals. When he went out of the palace, on any occasion, he commonly wore a mask, or veil, over his face, to draw the more respect from the people, whom he did not think worthy to look on him^m: and it is probable, says *D'Herbelot*, that the *Mungls* put him to that kind of death, to punish his insolent deportment.

AFTER this execution, *Hulâkû* appointed the president of the *Dîwan*, the Wazîr, and *Ebn Bâghdâd Dunus* (or *Darnush*), to restore *Bâghdâd* to its former state. *Buka Timûr* was sent to *Hella* (*), to try what he could do with the inhabitants; after which, he marched to *Waset*; where, in one week, he put to death a multitude of people; and then returned to *Hulâkû*, whom he found at *Siyakûb*ⁿ.

As soon as *Badro'ddîn Lâlû*, lord of *Mausel* (or *Musol*), heard that *Bâghdâd* was taken, he sent his son *Al Mîlek al Sâleb Ismaël*, with part of his army, to the assistance of *Hulâkû*; who, looking on him with a stern countenance, reproached him and his father with their backwardness in bringing their succours; saying, "You waited to see who should get the better; and if the Khalîfah had been victor, would have gone to him, instead of coming to me." *Badro'ddîn*, terrified when he heard his son repeat these words, which he considered as pre-faging no good towards him, immediately resolved to prepare a magnificent present: to

¹ D'HERBEL, p. 453, art. *Hulâkû*.

^m KONDAMIR ap. D'Herb. ubi sup. p. 628. art. *Mostaâsem*.

ⁿ ABULFAR. ubi supra, p. 339.

(Q) *Mirkand* says, all who were found in *Bâghdâd*, and the neighbouring country, were slain, to the number, as was reported, of 1,600,000 people. *Truxara*, hist. Pers. p. 309.

(R) *Alûlfaraj* speaks as if he had been taken, and was slain by *Hulâkû*'s order, by the gate called *Kalwâd*. (*) Or *Hellab*, a city on the *Euphrates*, where stood *Talylon*: two itages S. by W. of *Bâghdâd*.

make up which, he not only employed all the precious stones and jewels that were in his own treasury, but stripped his rich subjects of their wealth; requiring the very bracelets off the arms of their women, and the pearls out of their childrens ears. When all was ready, he set out for the mountains of *Hamadân*, to pay his respects to *Hulâkû*; who received him very kindly, in reverence to his years; made him sit beside him, on the same estrade; and permitted him to touch his ear-rings, in which were two union pearls of great price. *Bedro'ddîn*, after paying homage, returned to *Mausel*, filled with joy, for his own good success; and wondered at the power, majesty, and wisdom, of *Hulâkû*.

Miyafarekîn
blockaded.

THE same year, *Al Asbrâf*, lord of *Miyafarekîn*, made a visit to *Al Mâlek al Nâsr*, lord of *Halep* (or *Aleppo*), desiring aid of him, that he might hinder the *Mungls* from entering *Syria*. But *Al Nâsr*, looking on his apprehensions as altogether groundless, paid no regard to his instances. Hereupon *Al Asbrâf* went away in anger; and, on his return to *Miyafarekîn*, not only drove out the *Mungl* governors, but hung up a certain priest, whom the *Kaân* (or *Khân*) had sent to him with mandates. Mean time, the *Mungl* army, led by *Yashmât*, son of *Hulâkû*, following him, came, and invested the city. In one day and night they surrounded it with walls, and a ditch; then placing their engines, vigorously attacked it. But, finding the place was not to be taken by force, they turned the siege into a blockade^o.

Hejrah 657.
A. D. 1258.
Halep sum-
moned.

IN 657, *Hulâkû* sent an ambassador to *Al Mâlek al Nâsr*, lord of *Halep*, with letters, exhorting him to submit himself, and avoid the *Khalîfah's* fate, by coming to his camp without delay. As his lords would not permit him to obey this summons, *Al Nâsr*, in a great consternation, sends his son *Al Mâlek al Azîz*, with a large sum of money, and rich presents. After *Al Azîz* had waited the whole winter, he received this answer; "We required to see *Al Mâlek al Nâsr*, not his son. If therefore he be really for us in his heart, let him come to us; otherwise we will go to him." When *Al Nâsr* heard these words, he was greatly terrified, not knowing what course to take. After this, *Hulâkû* sent for *Azzo'ddîn*, king of *Rûm*, and his brother *Rokno'ddîn*; who, obeying his summons, were received with great honour and kindness. Then, having divided the dominion between them, he began his march for *Syria*, taking with him the *Seljûk* princes; who, on arrival at the *Euphrates*, were permitted to return into their own country.

Hejrah 658.
A. D. 1259.
Syria invaded,

IN 658, he arrived at *Harrân*, with an army of 80,000 men, which city, with *Roha* (or *Orfa*), surrendered on conditions; nor were any of the inhabitants injured: but those of *Sarûj* (S) were all put to the sword, for not obeying the *Mungl* mandate. After this, *Hulâkû* *Il Khân* ordered three bridges to be laid over the *Euphrates*; one near *Malatiya*, another at *Kalâo'rûm*, and the third not far from *Karkîsia* (T); by which all his forces having crossed into *Syria*, they made a great slaughter, towards *Manbej* (U). Then the army dividing, in order to reduce the cities and castles, only a few soldiers took the route of *Halep*. Hereupon *Al Mâlek al Moâddham*, eldest son of *Salâho'ddîn* (or *Saladin*), advanced to meet them; but, being put to flight, returned to the city. The party which marched to *Moarrab* (or *Marrab*), ransacked that place: but *Hamâb* and *Hems* surrendered on terms. When *Al Mâlek al Nâsr* heard of these misfortunes, he betook himself, with his wives, children, and most valuable effects, into the deserts of *Al Karak* and *Al Shawbak* for shelter.

and subdued.

WHEN the *Mungls* came to *Damaskus*, the principal men delivered up the city, which received no manner of harm from the enemy. *Hulâkû* himself pitched his camp before *Halep*; and having raised a mount, to command it, began to play his engines. The attack was chiefly made against the gate of *Erâk* (or *Irâk*), which was found to be the weakest part; so that being forced in a few days, the *Mungls* entered, and slew more people than they had done at *Bâgbdâd*. Nor did the castle hold out long. Then proceeding to the castle *Al Harem* (X), the inhabitants were willing to surrender; but, not caring to trust to his word, required the oath of a Mussulman for their security. *Il Khân* consented; and they chose *Fakro'ddîn*, governor of the castle of *Halep*, because, they said, he was a sincere, honest man: who being sent to them, took all the oaths they proposed to him; and then they opened their gates, by which a great multitude of people went out, and the *Mungls* entered. But *Hulâkû* made them pay for their suspicion: for he first ordered *Fakro'ddîn* to be slain, and then all those who had been in the castle; without sparing any of either sex, or even the children in their cradles^p.

^o ABU'LFAR: p. 344, & seq.

^p Ibid. p. 346, & seqq.

(S) *Sarûj* lies to the north of *Roha*, *Roha* to the north of *Harrân*, supposed to be the ancient *Haran* and *Karra*.

(T) *Malatiyah* is a little without the bounds of *Syria*. *Kalâto'l Rûm*, or, as pronounced, *Kalâto'rûm*, is between *Someysat*, or *Samosat*, and *Al Bir*; and *Karkîsia* stood at the confluence of the *Al Khabûr* with the *Eu-*

phrates, some leagues to the north of *Rabba*, or *Rakaba*.

(U) *Manbej* is a corruption of *Manbe*, or *Mambe*, or *Bambe*, the ancient *Bambyce*, or *Hieropolis*; called by *Pliny* *Magog*, instead of *Mabog*, the *Syrian* name; an error uncorrected in *Hardouin's* last edition.

(X) Towards *Antioch*.

- a AFTER this, *Hulâkû* returned eastward, leaving in *Syria* a great commander, named *Ket-bîga*, with 10,000 horse. When he arrived at *Tel Bâsher*, he was joined by the army, which had taken *Miyafarekîn*, and brought with them *Al Asbrâf* its prince; after putting to the sword the few inhabitants whom the famine had spared: but for which calamity the *Mungls* could not have taken the city. *Il Khân* caused *Al Asbrâf* to be slain; which he afterwards was sorry for; and gave the government to one of that prince's commanders. When he drew near to *Mardîn*, he sent for the lord of that place; who, unwilling to obey the summons, sent his son *Modâfferoddîn*; because he accompanied *Hulâkû*, when in *Syria*, along with *Al Mâlek al Sâleb*, son of *Soltân Badroddîn Lûlû*, late lord of *Mausel*. *Hulâkû* bid him go back to his father, and command him to repair to the camp, and not turn rebel; in which case, he said, b it should not fare well with him: but the father, instead of taking his son's advice, imprisoned him.

UPON this, the *Mungls* besieged *Mardîn*: but could not have taken it in less than two or three years, had not the king, and most of the inhabitants, died of the pestilence: after which, *Al Modâffer* surrendered the castle, and all the wealth belonging to it. When the king of the earth, *Hulâkû*, was informed what that prince had suffered, he treated him with much affection, and appointed him king, in his father's room. Mean time, *Ketbîga*, who was left in *Syria*, having found out *Al Mâlek al Nâsr*'s lurking place, sent men to seize and carry him to *Hulâkû*: who was pleased to see him, and promised to restore him to his kingdom. But, while fortune seemed to flatter his hopes, news arrived, that *Kotuz*, *Soltân* of the *Turkmâns* (*), who reigned in *Egypt*, hearing that *Hulâkû* was returned homewards, and had left *Ket-bîga* behind him, with no more than 10,000 men, raised a great army, and attacked that general; who was killed in the battle, his forces defeated, and his children taken prisoners, on the 27th of *Ramazân*. When this advice reached *Il Khân*, who was then in the mountains of *Al Tak* (Y), he was enraged; and ordered *Al Malek al Nâsr*, with his son *Al Mâlek al Dbâber*, and all belonging to him, to be put to death.

THE execution was performed in the following manner, as *Mobayo'ddîn al Magrebi*, the only person who escaped the slaughter, told our author. One day, while *Mobayo'ddîn* attended *Al Nâsr*, who was asking him some questions about his fortune, there came a *Mungl* commander, at the head of fifty horse, whom the prince went from his tent to meet, and asked to alight: but the officer desired to be excused; saying, he came to acquaint him, by order of *Hulâkû*, that, as this was a day of rejoicing, he was desired to be present at the feast, with his brother, sons, and all his retinue, excepting the domestics and slaves. Upon this, they all, to the number of twenty, mounted their horses, and set forward. But, when they were come into a narrow valley, with high rocks on every side, their escort made them all alight, and then surrounding, fell to bind them: which when *Mobayo'ddîn* saw, he cried out, *That he was an astrologer, who consulted the stars, and had something of moment to reveal to the king, the lord of the earth*. Hereupon they set him aside, and then slew the rest, none escaping except two of *Al Nâsr*'s sons, and the astrologer; who was joined as an assistant to *Khoja Nasîro'ddîn*, in making astronomical observations at *Marâgha*.

c *Kotuz*, *Soltân* of *Egypt*, after the victory above-mentioned, recovered *Syria*; and having placed governors in *Halep*, *Damaskus*, and the other provinces thereof, returned homewards, to recruit his forces, in order to oppose the *Mungls*: but when he had gotten as far as *Gazza*, *Bibars*, called *Al Bundokdâr the lesser*, rising against, slew him, and seized the kingdom. This *Soltân*, who became very famous, took from the *Franks* all the cities and castles which they possessed along the coast of *Syria*. However, in 659, the *Mungls* entered *Syria* a second time, under the command of a general named *Gûgâlki*; and having proceeded almost as far as *Hems*, making great spoil, and destruction of people, returned to *Halep*. There he ordered all the inhabitants, and villagers who had retired, to go into the plain; under pretence of numbering and conducting them to their respective homes: but when they had got a good way on the journey, he said to them, "If your hearts had been sincerely towards us, you would not have fled from us;" and, without any more ceremony, put every soul of them to the sword; so that none of them escaped, excepting those who were wise enough to stay in *Halep*. In the mean time, as soon as the *Egyptians* understood that the *Mungls* had evacuated *Syria*, they entered that country, and seized it anew.

f THE same year *Alao'ddîn*, son of *Badro'ddîn Lûlû*, lord of *Senjar*, fled into *Egypt*: and, *Mausel* soon after, wrote to his brother *Al Mâlek al Sâleb Ismaël*, prince of *Mausel*: setting forth the power of *Bundokdâr*; and advising him to become a vassal to the *Soltân*, who, after driving out the *Mungls*, would make him lord not only of *Mausel*, but several other provinces. When

^a ABU'LFAR. p. 348, & seq. D'HERB. p. 454.

(*) Third of the *Bahrite Mamluks*.

(Y) Another Copy reads *Al Atlak*

Al Saleb had read the letters, he laid them under his bed : but *Shamso'ddin Mohammed Ebn Yûnes al Bâashîki*, one of his father's commanders in the country of *Niniveh*, watching his opportunity, took them, and, departing forthwith, rode off to *Bâashîka*. As soon as the king missed the letters, he suspected *Shamso'ddin*, and sent for him back, with design to put him to death : but *Ebn Yûnes*, making the messengers drunk, set out, in the night, with his family and effects, towards *Erbel* (or *Arbela*), giving out, that *Al Mâlek al Sâleb* intended to destroy all the Christians in the country of *Niniveh*, and then retire into *Syria* : upon which rumour, almost all the Christians of that quarter flocked to *Erbel* ^a.

Confusion
there.

NEXT morning, the messengers, not finding *Ebn Yûnes*, imagined he was gone before to *Mausel*. But when *Al Sâleb* saw that they had returned without him, taking it for granted, that he was gone to bring the *Mungls* upon him, he, in great consternation, left the city, with many of his principal men, and what effects they could carry off ; and went directly for *Syria*, without spoiling and then destroying the *Ninivitisb* Christians, as he at first designed. Soon after he had departed from *Mausel*, a difference arose among his commanders, some of whom followed him, and others returned to the city ; among which latter, was *Al Ammo'ddin Senjar* : but *Tarkân* of *Karazm*, wife of *Al Mâlek al Sâleb*, *Yasan*, a judge, and their partisans, shut the gates against them. However, being let in by *Mobayo'ddin Ebn Zebellak*, at the head of a great body of the citizens, *Tarkân*, and her friends, retired into the castle : the contrary party, at the same time, fell upon the Christians, spoiling and killing all, excepting such as turned *Mohammedans*. *Al Sâleb* had likewise, before his departure, agreed with the *Kûrds*, to come down with their forces upon *Niniveh* ; which they did two days after, and, after spoiling the Christians dwelling there, either killed, or carried away captives, all who remained. ^b

The city
besieged,

MEAN time, a rumour being spread, that the *Mungl* forces were advancing through *Al Fâzîreh* (or *Mesopotamia*), the *Amîr Al Amo'ddin Senjar*, with his party, left the city ; and, being joined by the *Kûrd* commanders, went to meet the *Mungls*, led by *Turîn*, judge of *Mausel* : by whom they were surrounded, and all cut to pieces. After this, the affairs of *Mausel* ran daily more into confusion, when, towards the end of summer, a report flew, that the *Mungl* army was coming ; and, in effect, not long after, it did come, under the command of *Samdagû*, a great general, who favoured the Christians, and besieged *Mausel*. In a little time, advice being brought, that *Al Mâlek al Sâleb* was returned from *Syria*, the *Mungls* withdrew a little way from the city, to let him enter ; and then sat down before it again. In one night they built a wall round it, and then began vigorously to attack the place. At length, provisions failing in the city, *Samdagû*, to delude *Al Sâleb*, made him very fair promises, and even forbore hostilities. During this cessation of arms, advice was brought, that an army from *Syria* was on its way to aid *Al Sâleb*, under the conduct of a general named *Barlû*. Hereupon the *Mungls* set forward ; and meeting the enemy near *Senjâr*, surrounded and slew them all, carrying away much spoil. ^c

and surrender-
ed.

AFTER this, *Samdagû* so far wrought on *Al Mâlek al Sâleb*, by his artifices, that the former, opening the gates, came out to him, without any apprehensions, preceded by musicians and jesters. But he was no sooner lodged in the camp, than the *Mungl* army entered the city ; where, for eight days, they plundered it, and killed an infinite number of people, besides those whom they made slaves of. Among the rest, there was slain *Alao'lmalk* (Z), son of *Al Mâlek al Sâleb*, whom, having intoxicated with wine, they cut in two, by the waist, near the castle. Then making *Shamso'ddin Ebn Yûnes* governor of the city, *Samdagû* departed, carrying with him *Al Mâlek al Sâleb* to *Hulâkû*, who ordered him to be put to death. But *Shamso'ddin* did not long enjoy the fruits of his perfidy ; for, in 661, one *Al Zaki*, or *Erbel*, accused him of defrauding the family of *Badro'ddin* of money and jewels ; and also of poisoning him, by means of *Mowaffek*, a Christian physician. *Ebn Yûnes*, denying the fact, was bastonadoed, to extort a confession : but, while he underwent the punishment, a paper dropped from him, containing some verse of the *Korân* ; which *Al Zâki* said was a charm against the *Mungls*. Hereupon he was put to death, and his accuser made governor in his room ^d.

A famous ob-
servatory.

MEAN time *Hulâkû*, who, after his expedition into *Syria*, had returned to *Azerbijân*, there to take some repose, assembled the principal astronomers to be found in the *Mohammedan* countries : to whom he gave large pensions, and furnished all sorts of necessary instruments for making observations, at *Marâgha* (A), where he built a famous observatory. He died in 663 (B), after he had reigned absolutely six years, since the death of his brother ^e : for the authors made use of by *D'Herbelot* suppose, that this prince, during the life-time of *Mangû Khân*, governed *Irân*, as his deputy ; but that, on his death in 657, he succeeded as fifth Khân of ^f

Hej. 663.
A. D. 1264.
Hulâkû dies.

^a ABU'LFAR. p. 350, & seqq.

^b Ibid. p. 353.

^c D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 454.

(Z) In another copy *Alaeddin al Molk*.

(B) Or 664, according to some authors.

(A) A city on the lake of the *Skâb*, about forty miles to the south-west of *Tabriz*, or *Tauris*.

a the *Mungls*, in that part of *Asia*^u. However, it appears, from what has been elsewhere related, that *Koplay Khán* was the immediate and true successor of *Mangú*, not only at *Karakorum*, but in all parts of the *Mungl* dominions, or empire; and that *Hulákú* actually acknowledged *Koplay* as such. 'Tis true, his successors in *Irán* did, at length, throw off their subjection to the successors of *Jenghíz Khán*, in the east: but it is not expressly mentioned under what prince this happened.

One of the principal wives of this monarch, named *Dugház Khatún*, was a Christian, and accompanied him in all his military expeditions; being much esteemed by him, for her prudence and knowledge. She died not long after him; and was buried near her husband, in the same city. It is reported, that *Hulákú* demanded in marriage the daughter of *Michael Paleologus*, emperor of *Constantinople* (C), who drove the *Franks* out of that city: but 'tis more probable he asked her for his son and successor *Abáka Khán*; who married her, on her arrival, in *Irán*, which happened after his father's death.

The dominions which *Hulákú* left at his death are reckoned up by *Ebn Shobnah*, as follows: The great province of *Khorassán*, of which *Nisabár* was, at that time, the capital: *Jébúl*, or *Persian Irák*, the country of the *Parthians*, whose capital was *Ispáhán*: *Irák Arabi*, called also *Irák Babeli*, comprising *Assyria* (or *Kürdestán* and *Khaldea*), whose metropolis was *Bághdád*: *Adherbiján* (or *Azerbejân*), that is, *Media*, its chief city *Tabríz*, or *Tauris*: *Párs*, or *Proper Persia*, its capital *Shíráz*, formerly called *Cyropolis*; for *Eshékhar*, or *Persepolis*, was then in ruins: *Khúrestán*, or *Khúzeftán*, the antient *Susiana*, whose capital was *Tóster*, or *Sháster*, formerly called *Susa*, of *Persia*: *Diyárbekr*, which comprehends part of *Assyria*, or *Kürdestán*, and *Al Jazíreh*, or *Mesopotamia*, whereof *Mússal* (or *Mosul*), built near the antient *Niniveh*, was the capital: lastly, the country of *Rúm*, or the *Romans*, containing *Armenia*, *Georgia*, and *Asia minor*, whose capital was *Koníya*, the antient *Ikonium*^{*}.

The same author remarks, that the *Mungls*, or *Tatars*, in all the conquests which they made, were never defeated, excepting that once under *Ketbúga*, as before-mentioned. But it is not fact, as *D'Herbelot* affirms (perhaps without any authority), that all those countries were conquered by *Hulákú*: for *Irán*, or *Persia* at large, was subdued by *Jenghíz Khán*. Nor does it appear, from what goes before, that any considerable part of it had revolted, or thrown off its subjection to the *Mungls*, excepting the country of the *Ismaelians*. On the contrary, there seems to have been no considerable change in the state of those countries, from the account given by *Abú'lfaraj*^v; who informs us, that *Munkáka* (or *Mangú*) *Khán*, in 650, the year before *Hulákú* was sent into *Irán*, had appointed *Argún Aga* to govern the kingdoms of *Khorassán* and *Hindústán*, *Mazanderán*, *Irák*, *Párs*, *Kermán*, *Lúr*, *Arrán*, *Azerbejân*, *Gorjestán* (or *Georgia*), *Mausel* (or *Mesopotamia*), and *Syria*. It appears also, by the proceedings of *Bayejú Nowayn*, that the *Khán*'s authority extended even to *Anatolia*. So that *Hulákú* came to the government of nearly as many countries as were in his hands at his death; and may be said rather to have more fully settled and completed the old conquests, than to have added new ones.

The oriental historians begin this dynasty of *Mungl* princes with *Jenghíz Khán*, as hath been observed above: but as *Hulákú* was the first of his descendants who reigned in *Irán*, we shall set him at the head of it. *Abú'lfaraj* dates the commencement of the *Mungl* dynasty in *Irán*, or *Persia* at large, from the destruction of the *Khalifat*, in the year 656. The *Persian* historians give him a reign of six years only, reckoning from the death of *Mangú Khán*, in 657.

According to *Mirkond*, *Hulákú*, before his death, divided his dominions among three of his sons, *Abáka* (D), *Yashmut*, and *Tandon*; to the first he gave the kingdoms of *Irák*, *Mazanderán*, and *Khorassán*; to the second, *Arrán*, or *Armenia*, and *Azerbejân*; to the third he assigned *Diyárbekr* and *Rabíya*, which are two provinces of *Al Jazíreh* and *Mesopotamia*. *Hulákú* had, besides these three sons, two others, *Nikúdar Oglán*, and *Targabe* (or *Targhiyeh*) *Khán*, who had no share in their father's partition of his dominions; yet one of them obtained the empire himself, and so did the children of the other^z.

^u D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 454.

^{*} D'HERBEL. ubi sup.

^v Hist. dynast. p. 327.

^z MIRKOND ap. Teixeira, hist. Pers. p. 309, & seq.

(C) *Abú'lfaraj* says, *Hulákú* demanded the emperor's daughter in marriage: that she was met at *Cæsarea*, in *Asia minor*, with a messenger, with the news of *Hulákú*'s death; but as she could not return to her own country,

she proceeded to the court of *Abáka*, who took her to himself.

(D) *Teixeira* spells most names of persons and places very ill; for *Abáka Khán*, he writes *Haybka Kan*; and, for *Yashmut*, *Hyaxemet*.

C H A P. II.

The reign of Abâka II Khân.

2. Khân
Abâka.
Hej. 663.
A. D. 1264.

AF T E R the death of *Hulâkû*, his son *Abâka* was, in an assembly consisting of his sons the princes, and the ladies his widows, unanimously acknowledged for his successor. He was a prince endowed with prudence, capacity, learning, and knowledge; which good qualities rendered him dear to every-body, and gave him success in all his transactions, both domestic and foreign ^a.

His first regulations.

As soon as this prince ascended the throne, he sent one of his brothers to *Dârbend*, on the *Caspian* sea, and another into *Khorassân*, to shut up the passages into his dominions from the descendants of *Tûshi* or *Jûji Khân* on one side, and those of *Jagatay Khân* on the other. He declared *Sunjak* (or *Sowenjak*) *Nowayn* general of his armies, and his lieutenant throughout his empire: gave the employment of grand Wazîr, and president of his councils, to *Shamso'ddîn Mobammed*, who made *Bahao'ddîn*, his son, Wazîr of *Ispâhân*; and *Alao'ddîn Atbao'l Molk*, his brother, Wazîr of *Bâghdâd*. Under the wise government of this latter, that capital recovered its lustre, which it had lost by the arms of *Hulâkû*; the people flocking from all parts to settle there: on the contrary, *Bahao'ddîn* exercised so much rigour at *Ispâhân*, that he often involved the innocent in the same punishment with the guilty; nor could the advice of his father *Shamso'ddîn*, to whom frequent complaints were made, reclaim him, till death freed the inhabitants from his severity.

Invaded by Barkah, Hej. 664. A. D. 1265.

AT the beginning of *Abâka's* reign, *Barkah Khân* (A), of the race of *Jagatay Khân*, who reigned in *Great Bukhâria*, having marched with forces on the side of *Dârbend*, with design to break into *Persia*, *Shamat*, brother of *Abâka*, who was posted in that city, opposed his entrance; and, after a battle, which he obtained against him, obliged him to retire in 664. But this defeat did only irritate that prince: for, soon after, he set on foot an army of 300,000 men, with which he threatened utter desolation to *Persia*, had not *Abâka Khân* marched in time with all the forces of his empire. *Barkah Khân*, after conducting his numerous squadrons through the vast plains of *Kipjâk*, round the north side of the *Caspian* sea, had forced the narrow passages between that sea and mount *Kaukasus*, commonly called the *Iron Gates* (B); and was already arrived on the banks of the river *Kûr*, when *Abâka Khân* appeared at *Teflis*, capital of *Gurjestân*, that is, *Gorja*, or *Georgia*; but, as the two armies were on the point of giving battle, *Barkah Khân*, very happily for *Persia*, was taken out of the world; for, immediately on his death, his army divided, and returned into *Tartary* ^b.

and Borak Khân. Hej. 666. A. D. 1267.

IN 666, *Borak Oglan* (C), who was also of *Jagatay Khân's* race, sent to the court of *Abâka Khân* one *Massûd*, under pretence of a compliment: but, in reality, to pry into the state of affairs; and observe the roads which were to be taken, in order to attack *Persia*. This being perceived by a soldier, he gave advice thereof to *Shamso'ddîn* the grand Wazîr, who continued to treat him with great civility, as if he suspected nothing; resolving to have him seized, or cut off in his return: but *Massûd* had taken such precautions, by causing horses to be placed along the road, that the men sent after could never overtake him. *Borak Khân*, having received the necessary informations from this spy, in 667 passed the *Jihûn*, or *Amû*, with 100,000 horse; and, having presently reduced the great province of *Khorassân*, where he met with small opposition, he advanced as far as *Azerbejân*, where *Abâka* had the bulk of his forces. The *Tatars*, who came foremost, were soon repulsed: and at length, the year following, the two armies faced each other not far from *Herât*. There a bloody battle was fought; wherein victory, after a long suspense, declared in favour of *Abâka*, who became master of the field, with all the baggage and booty of the enemy. *Borak*, after this defeat, was obliged to repass the *Amû*; and *Abâka*, having left his brother *Benshîn* with troops sufficient for the guard of *Khorassân*, returned to *Azerbejân* ^c.

^a ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. 355.
art. Abâka.

^b KONDAMIR ap. D'Herb. p. 1. art. Abâka.

^c Ibid. p. 2.

(A) Called also *Berrak Khân*: he was fifth Khân thereof; see before, page 465: but, as there he is said to have died in 1260, and it is not likely he would go so far about, through the dominions of another prince; possibly this might be *Bereke*, third Khân of *Kipjâk*, whose death is placed by *La Croix* in 1266, co-incident with that of *Barkah Khân*. See before, p. 446.

(B) In the *Mungl* or *Turkish* language, *Damir Kâpi*, the

same with *Dârbend*, which, in *Persian*, signifies the *shut gate*. The *Arabs* call it *Bâb al Abwâb*, the gate of gates.

(C) This, doubtless, must be *Bereke*, or *Barkah*, fifth Khân of *Jagatay*; but then his death must be placed, not in 1660, as it is in *D'Herbelot* and *La Croix*, but in 1670, or later, and so indeed his distance from *Hulâkû* seems to require.

a THE same year that *Abâka* was proclaimed Khân, *Bundokdâr* (D), lord of *Egypt*, sent to invite *Hâtem*, king of *Armenia* (E), to submit to pay him tribute, and settle a commerce between their respective subjects. As *Hâtem* would not consent to this, for fear of the *Mungls*; *Bundokdâr*, without more ceremony, invaded his dominions. The *Armenian* king, upon this surprise, made a journey, to crave aid of *Nefji*, the *Mungl* governor in *Rûm* (or *Anatolia*); who answered, that he could not assist him without *Abâka*'s order. Mean time the brothers and sons of *Hâtem* marched, with what forces they could raise, to oppose the entrance of the *Egyptians*, but were defeated; and, one of the king's sons being slain, the other was taken prisoner. For twenty days the enemy plundered *Sîs* and *Ayyâs*, carrying away great numbers of people captives. At length, when they were gone, *Hâtem* came with an army of *Mungls* and *Rûms* (F); who, finding nothing but a waste country without people, fell to making good cheer, and consumed every thing which the *Egyptians* had left.

b *HATEM*, grieved for the devastation made in his country, but more for the loss of his Lesser Armenia, sent to offer *Bundokdâr* cities and castles, with a good sum of money, for his ransom. *Bundokdâr* made answer, that he would release him, provided only *Sankar al Afhkar*, who was a slave among the *Mungls*, should be sent to him. *Hâtem*, on this, made a journey in 668 (G) to the court of *Abâka*; who, pitying his tears, bad him go back, and promised to send *Al Afhkar* to him, if he was to be found. Accordingly, next year, *Al Afhkar* was conveyed to him from *Samarkant*; and, being transmitted to *Bundokdâr*, this latter returned *Hâtem*'s son in exchange. Afterwards *Hâtem* made another journey, to intreat that he might resign the crown to his son: to which *Abâka* consented. But the joy this favour created, was greatly allay'd by a dreadful earthquake, which, in 670, happened in *Armenia*; and, besides overturning many castles, destroyed above 100,000 people, not to mention the cattle ^d.

c IN the year 675, *Abâka Khân* went to pass the winter at *Bâghdâd*. About the same time died the celebrated *Khoja Nasîro'ddin al Tûsî*, who was eminent in all kinds of philosophy, and wrote many books on different subjects. This same year *Hâtem*'s son, now king of *Armenia*, understanding, by his correspondents, that *Bundokdâr* intended to invade the country of *Rûm*, through the instigation of some of the natives, gave notice to the *Mungl* commanders to be upon their guard: but, *Berwânab* having persuaded them that it was a false alarm, they neglected their security; so that the *Egyptians* came upon them when they were in liquor, and **d** slew them all, with 2000 *Georgians*, out of 3000 who were along with them: however, they did not fall unrevenged, a multitude of the enemy having been slain. After this success, *Bundokdâr* marched to *Kaysariya* (or *Cesarea*), where he staid fifteen days, but did no manner of harm to that city; saying, he came not to ravage the country, but deliver its lord from slavery.

e WHEN this news reached the court of *Abâka Il Khân*, he was greatly enraged; and, assembling his forces, marched towards the country of *Rûm*: but, before he arrived, the *Egyptians* were withdrawn into *Syria*. Then sending for *Berwânab*, he received him without seeming at all offended; and carried him to the camp, under pretence of consulting with him what number of men would be sufficient to secure *Rûm* against the *Egyptians*. There, at a banquet, he plied *Berwânab* well with mares milk, for he drank no wine; and giving a sign, when the latter went out to make water, an officer in waiting followed, and killed him. *Bundokdâr*, on his way to *Egypt*, died at *Hems* in *Syria*; some say, of poison; others, of a wound in the fight, from a *Mungl* arrow ^e.

f *KONDAMIR* relates concerning this war, that, as soon as *Bundokdâr* had ascended the throne of *Egypt*, he was resolved, before he ventured to engage with the *Mungls*, to inspect himself into the condition of their forces. With this view he set out, accompanied by three or four persons only, and visited all the countries which the *Mungls* possessed on this side of the *Euphrates*. At his return, he sent a courier, by way of gallantry, to *Abâka Khân*, who had then newly succeeded his father *Hulâkû*, acquainting him, that having, for his diversion, made a tour over his (*Abâka*'s) dominions, he had left, in a certain inn which he named, a jewel of value, in pledge of the debt he had contracted, to defray his expences; and desired that he would send it to him. *Abâka* was so complaisant as to remit the jewel to the Soltân by another courier, with very obliging letters on the occasion; and thus matters

^d ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 356, & seq.

^e Ibid. ubi sup. p. 357, & seq.

(D) He was fourth Soltân of the *Turkish Mamlûks*, or slaves, who reigned in *Egypt* after the family of *Ayûb*, or *Salâho'ddin*.

(E) This is to be understood of the *Lesser Armenia*, in *Anatolia*; of which *Sîs*, about two stages to the north of *Skanderûn*, or *Alexandretta*, was the capital. *Hâtem* is the same name with *Hayton*, *Haithon*, or *Aïten*, among *Europeans*.

(F) That is, people from *Rûm*, or *Anatolia*; probably for the most part *Greeks*.

(G) According to *Mirkond*, he had war this year with *Bora Khân*, who marched with an army from *Chagatay* (or *Great Bukharia*), but was defeated, and forced back. *Teixîra*, ubi supra, p. 310.

passed between the two princes, without coming to hostilities^f. But, as the contrary appears a from *Abû'lfaraj*, we perceive here a great defect in the *Persian* historian; who, besides, mentions nothing of *Abâka's* expeditions into *Rûm* and *Syria*.

Mongols in-
vade Syria.
Hej. 679.
A. D. 1280.

Hej. 680.
A. D. 1281.

A. D. 1282.

They are de-
feated.

Abâka's
death.

Suspicion about
it.

IN 679 *Sayfo'ddîn Kelâsen*, surnamed *Al Alfî* (H), having seized the dominion of *Syria* and *Egypt*, after the death of *Mâlek al Sâleh*, son of *Bundokdâr*, *Sankar al Asbkar* before-mentioned, who had opposed his advancement, fled to *Rababa* (on the *Euphrates*), and confederating with *Isa Ebn Mohanna*, a *Bedwîn* (I) prince; sent an ambassador to invite *Abâka Il Khân* into *Syria*, promising to deliver into his hands both that country and *Egypt*. On this engagement an army was sent, in the year 680, under the command of *Kungortay*, a younger brother of *Abâka*; but when, in winter, they arrived in *Syria*, *Al Asbkar*, being afraid to join them, shut himself up in the castle of *Sâbyîn*. The *Mungls*, for all this, advanced as far b as *Hâlep*; and, having destroyed all the places in their passage, returned into *Irân*. However, next year (K) they invaded *Syria* with 50,000 troops, under the conduct of *Munga Timûr*, youngest brother of *Abâka*, accompanied by the king of *Armenia*, with all his forces. The enemy, led by *Al Alfî* and *Al Asbkar*, who were now reconciled, met them between *Hamâb* and *Hems*, where a battle was fought, in which the *Mungls* prevailed: but, when they were on the point of gaining the victory, and had even put the *Syrians* to flight, the c *Arabs* of the tribe of *Bâni Taglab* rushed out of an ambuscade on the left wing of the *Mungls*; who, thinking themselves surrounded by numerous troops, took to flight, followed by the main body. Mean time the right wing, in which was the king of *Armenia*, with 5000 *Gorjans*, not minding the ambuscades, put to flight the *Egyptians* who opposed them; and, pursuing them to the gates of *Hems*, killed a considerable number; nor gave over the slaughter, till the news of the flight of their companions drew them off. In their return, they fell in with certain troops of the enemy, who followed their flying squadrons: here-upon the battle was renewed, in which many were slain on both sides; but at length they returned laden with spoils.

WHILE *Munga Timûr* was on his march back through *Al Fazîreh*, some of his domestics, who had been tampered with, gave him poison one day, after he came out of the bath. The prince, finding himself much out of order, turned off towards *Nisibîn*, where he died. The people of the country were seized with great fear at this disaster; and, laying hold of *Al Sâfi al Karkûbi*, bound him, and carried him round all the market-places in *Al Fazîreh*, d after which they put him to death. This year was fatal likewise to *Abâka Il Khân* himself. He made a progress first to *Bâghdâd*, from whence he went back to *Hamadân*, where he celebrated *Easter* day with the Christians, in their church (L). Next day one *Bahnâm*, a *Persian*, gave him a magnificent feast: but on *Tuesday* he found himself very ill, and became delirious; so that he died on *Wednesday* the twentieth of *Dhu'lhajjah*, after a reign of seventeen years e.

ON the occasion of the death of this prince, *Kondamîr* relates, that, soon after the defeat of his army in *Syria*, under his brother *Munga Timûr*, great troubles arose at court: for one *Magdo'molk Yezdi* having, in concert with some of the principal lords, prejudiced *Abâka Khân* against *Shamso'ddîn* his prime Wazîr, the authority of this minister daily diminished: e he had likewise the mortification to see his brother *Atbo'molk* arrested, and called to account for matters laid to his charge. At the same time *Abâka* happening to die pretty suddenly at *Hamadân*, it was judged that his death was hastened by a draught which *Shamso'ddîn* had caused to be given him^h.

^f KONDAM. ubi supra, p. 2.

^g ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 360.

^h KONDAM. ubi sup. p. 2.

(H) He was seventh Soltân of the *Turkish Mamlûks*, or third from *Bundokdâr*.

(I) The *Bedwîns*, or *Badwîns*, commonly called *Bedo-wins*, are the field *Arabs*.

(K) *Kondamîr*, in *D'Herbelot*, places this in the year 669, twelve years earlier; but that cannot be, since *Bundokdâr* lived till the year 676.

(L) Some authors say he was a Christian.

C H A P III.

S E C T. I.

The reign of Nikûdar Oglan, or Ahmed Khân.

- ^a **A** B A K A I L K H A N being dead, the princes of the blood, and the great men, with one consent, conferred the government on *Abmed*, son of *Hulâkû* by *Kutay Khatûn*; as judging him most worthy to reign, and that the empire belonged of right to him after his brother. To all the qualities requisite in a prince, he joined a great knowledge of things, and was very munificent. Accordingly, one of his first acts was, to distribute the treasures which he found, among his sons, the grandees, and the army; nor was his benevolence confined to the *Mungls* alone, but was extended to those of all other nations, especially the principal men among the Christians². His *Mungl* name was *Nikûdar Oglan* (A); but, after he had embraced *Mohammedism*, which he did the first of all his family, he assumed that of *Ahmed*. On occasion of his conversion, he wrote a long letter (B) to *Al Mâlek al Mansûr* ^{3. Khân Ahmed. Hej. 681. A. D. 1282.} *Kelawn*, Soltân of *Egypt* and *Syria*, who was at that time the most considerable of all the *Mohammedan* princes; to let him know that he would publicly profess the *Mussulman* religion; and offered his favour and protection to all the professors of it. According to the *Persian* historians, he succeeded *Abâka*, in prejudice to *Argûn*, that prince's son; and confirmed *Shamsô'ddîn* and *Attho'molk* his brother in all their employments; delivering up to them *Magdo'molk*, their capital enemy, to dispose of as they should think fit. This Soltân's change of religion excited great troubles in his family, and at length throughout his dominions; because the *Mungls* or *Tatars* of those times had an extreme aversion for the *Mohammedans*, although they loved the Christians; so that this prince, though endowed with several excellent qualities, could never gain their affections.
- ^b **T**H E S E troubles began in the very first year of his reign, at which time *Attho'molk* departed this life. His nephew *Argûn*, who could not bear to see him upon a throne, which, he pretended, belonged to himself, retired immediately into the province of *Khorassân*, where he made preparations to dispute the sovereignty with his uncle; but did not declare himself openly till the year 683, when he came to encamp with his forces at *Damegân*. As soon as *Ahmed* received advice of these motions at *Bâghdâd*, he caused his forces to march, under the conduct of *Al Inâk* (C), a sage and valiant commander, who soon dispersed the troops which *Argûn* had assembled. This young prince, being thus left without an army, was obliged to return to *Khorassân*, and at length to shut himself up in the castle of *Burdeb*; whither *Al Inâk* did not fail to go and besiege him. However, without using force, he drew him out, by promising to reconcile him to his uncle: but, as soon as he arrived at the imperial camp, he was confined by the Soltân's order, and guarded by 4000 men. ^{Argûn revolts. Hej. 683. A. D. 1285.}
- ^c **A** F T E R this *Abmed*, believing that he had no sort of danger to fear, resolved to return to *Ahmed* at *Bâghdâd*, there to enjoy the sweets of peace. Before his departure, he gave directions to the *Amîr Bûga*, who guarded *Argûn*, not to let him live above seven or eight days. But *Bûga*, in concert with several other lords of the court, who could not relish the soft and delicate manners of the Soltân, resolved to set *Argûn* at liberty, and fall upon the quarters of *Al Inâk*. This design being immediately put in execution, *Al Inâk* was slain, with the principal officers of the Soltân who had remained in the rear-guard of the army; which latter was on the march. *Argûn* put himself at the head of the most resolute troops, and pursued the Soltân; who, having received information of this revolt, escaped from the city of *Esfarayn*, where he then was, to the camp of his mother *Kutay Khatûn*, which was towards *Serâb* in *Azerbejdân*. But the scouts of *Argûn* followed him so swiftly, that they soon overtook, and brought him to the camp of his nephew. This prince forthwith delivered him into the hands of *Soltâna Kungortay*, his mother-in-law; who put him to death, to revenge the loss of her child. ^{and put to death.}

² ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 361.

(A) That is, according to *Mirkond*, in *Teixeira*, *Nikûdar* the good son.

(B) *Abû'lfaraj* has given a copy of that long letter; wherein he acquaints the Soltân, that he had an inclination for *Moslemism* from his youth, and desired to live in peace with the *Mohammedan* princes: that, to spill the blood of *Moslems* being contrary to his principles, he had

therefore put a stop to the war which had been decreed in the *Kuriltay*, or diet, called by his brother *Abâka*: that he had provided for the security of the pilgrimage to *Mekka*; and given liberty to all foreign merchants to trade in his dominions.

(C) Or *Al Yanâk*, as in *Abû'lfaraj*.

dren, whom he had served in the same manner. This happened in the year 683^b, after he had reigned two years and two months.

ACCORDING to *Abû'lfaraj*, *Abmed* had ordered *Al Yanâk* to bring *Argûn* after him to his mother's residence, for which he intended to set out next morning: but that, at night, breaking the affair to a certain great lord, he said, he could not be secure, unless he made away with *Argûn*, and the rest of his nephews. When the Amîr *Bûga* came to understand *Abmed's* intention, he staid behind the Soltân next day, under pretence of business; and, when night came, made known to all the princes of the blood what *Abmed* had resolved upon. The princes, pierced with anger at this news, went all in a body to the place where *Argûn* was confined, and brought him forth; then, mounting him on a horse, they rode to the quarters of *Al Yanâk*; and, rushing on, slew him, and all the great men concerned with him, in the tent. After this, they ordered what they had done to be published through the camp, which remained very quiet on the occasion. Next morning they sent a numerous body of forces to pursue *Abmed*, whom they overtook; and, having pillaged his whole Orda, brought him back with his hands bound. Hereupon they deposed *Abmed*, as not fit to govern; and set *Argûn* on his father's throne, on *Wednesday* the eleventh of *Jomada prior*, in the year above-mentioned.

MANY of the Amîrs and great lords were for having the deposed Khân put to death. *Argûn* told them, that he would not consent to have his uncle slain; but should leave it to *Kungurtay*, his mother-in-law, and her sons, to dispose of him as they thought fit. This being resolved on, he was delivered into their power; and, after a few days respite, her sons in retaliation, deprived him of life, on *Wednesday* the second of *Jomada posterior*, to revenge the blood of their father, which he had shed^c. On his death the crown returned to the sons of *Abâka Khân*.

^b KONDAMIR, ubi sup. p. 72. art. Ahmed.

^c ABU'LFAR. p. 367.

S E C T. II.

The reign of Argûn Khân.

4. Khân Argûn.
Hej. 683.
A. D. 1284.

AS soon as *Argûn* was upon the throne, he gave the chief post in the empire to *Bûga*,^d or *Boga*, who disposed of every thing with an almost absolute power. *Shamsô'ddîn Saïd*, who was president of the Diwân, that is, chief of the councils (A), in the reign of *Abmed*, upon that prince's deposition, retired from court; and had already left *Ispahân*, in order to go into *Hindûstân*, when *Argûn*, whose good-will he suspected, sent for him, and confirmed him in his office: but *Bûga*, finding his authority thus divided, presently contrived how to get rid of him. To do his business the shortest way, he accused *Saïd* of poisoning his father *Abâka*; and the too credulous prince, without examining the depositions of the witnesses, sacrificed that great man to the ambition of his rival, who wanted to put in his place a creature of his own^a.

The Wazîr
Saïd

THIS is the account of *Khondamîr*, the *Persian* historian: but *Abû'lfaraj* relates the affair with other circumstances. According to him, *Argûn* received the information (but it is not mentioned from whom) in the reign of *Abmed*; and thereupon sent *Shamsô'ddîn* to acquaint the Khân his uncle; desiring, at the same time, that *Saïd* might be delivered up to him. As *Abmed* refused to grant his request, *Argûn* concluded that he was pleased with his father's death. When *Argûn* was settled in the throne, the president of the Diwân fled to the mountains of *Awbâz*, to the tribe of *Kurds* named *Al Lûr*; whose prince, *Yûsef Shâh*, delivered him up to the Khân. *Shamsô'ddîn*, after offering 100 Tûmans in gold to save his life, desired time to raise more money, by selling the residue of his estate, and borrowing of his friends. Having, by this means, made up eighty Tûmans more, he brought them: and, on delivering them, said, This is all I am able to raise; do with me what you think fit. Hereupon *Argûn* ordered him to be put to death; and he was accordingly executed on *Tuesday* the fifth of *Shaabân* 683.^f

put to death.

SHAMSO'DDIN was a man endowed with great understanding and experience; perfectly versed in all the arts of government, and eminent for his humility: he always saluted those he met first, and suffered no man to prevent him^b. Several elegies were composed, to con-

^a KONDAMIR ap. D'Herb. p. 126. art. Argoun.

^b ABU'LFAR. p. 368.

(A) A dignity superior to that of prime Wazîr.

a sole the people for his loss: and the historians report this circumstance of his death, that, when the executioner entered, to perform his office, he made the ablution usual before their prayers; and then opening the Korân, to draw the Fâl, or good lot, met with these words: "They who say to God, 'Tis you who are our master; and to those who walk in the right path, and conformable to that belief, God will send angels to comfort them in their afflictions, and assure them of the paradise which has been promised to them."

HOWEVER this be, *Bûga*, seeing himself delivered from such a colleague, set no bounds to *A Jew Wazîr*: his ambition; and rose to such a pitch of authority, that he had but one step more to become master of the whole. At length he took off the mask; and, in 686, revolted openly against the Soltân: but did not push his fortune any great length; for he was slain miserably, in the *Hej. 686.*

b midst of his enterprize. After *Bûga's* death, a Jew, named *Saedo'ddawlet*, by profession a physician, and very agreeable in conversation, became so much in favour with Soltân *Argûn*, that all the affairs of the greatest lords of the empire depended on him. He put many of his own nation and religion into employments; without hurting, however, the interest of the Christians, who were very powerful at court. The *Mussulmans* were the only people who had no credit there, especially since the death of *Saïd*; which made them murmur continually against both. *Argûn*, at the solicitation of these latter, had taken from them (the *Mussulmans*) all the places belonging to the judicature, as well as the finances. In short, the two ruling parties carried things so far at last, that they denied them access to the Soltân's camp; and, in the end, forbade them to appear at court. *A. D. 1287.*

c ARGUN, say the historians, had promised the Christians to convert the temple of *Mekka* into a church; where, instead of worshipping the Almighty God, they would have adored statues and images. But Providence, which always watches over the preservation of *Moslemism*, and the prayers of good *Mohammedans*, prevented this great revolution; for *Argûn* fell sick at that very juncture. All they, throughout the empire, who had an interest in the life of that prince, spared neither prayers nor alms; and the Jew *Saedo'ddawlet*, who was prime minister, sent express orders into all the provinces, to re-establish the things which he had unseasonably changed. But, as the moment of the Soltân's death was fixed, neither their prayers nor alms availed any thing. Mean time *Argûn* grew extremely weak, and was even near his last agony, when he had the mortification to understand that his favourite the Jew was assassinated by his enemies. In fine, the Soltân died in the year 690; and the *Mussulmans*, reckoning his death among the miracles of *Mohammed*, say, that it restored *Moslemism*, which had received a great dishonour under this prince's reign. *Hej. 690. A. D. 1291.*

SOME Arab historians, as *Abû'Iseda*, relate, that the favourite Jew was put to death on a suspicion of having poisoned his master. Whether this accusation was true or false, it is certain, that the enemies of the Jews, who had beheld, with envious eyes, the great authority they were in, and, it may be, suffered many injuries at their hands, took this occasion, after the death of the Soltân and his minister, to be revenged, by making a cruel massacre of them. *The Jews massacred.*

e It was *Argûn Khân* who confirmed *Massûd*, son of *Kay Kaw*s, last Soltân but one of the *Seljuks* of *Rûm*, in the dominions which his family then possessed in *Asia minor* ^c.

^c KONDAM. ubi sup. p. 126, & seq.

S E C T. III.

The reign of Ganjatû Khân.

f THIS prince, named also *Kaïktu* (A) and *Kaykatû*, was the son of *Abâka Khân*, and succeeded *Argûn Khân* in the empire of the *Mungls* in *Irân*. *Kondamîr*, the *Persian* historian, remarks, that the true name of this prince was *Aykatû*, or *Gaykatû*, which, in the *Mungl* language, signifies *marvelously fine and shining*. He adds, that this prince, notwithstanding his debauches, was the most liberal of all the descendants of *Hulâkû*; and administered justice with so much circumspection, that, under his reign, no innocent person suffered death. *Babi Bok*, or *Basbi Bog*, was generalissimo of the armies of this prince, under the title of *Amîro'l Omara*; and *Khovajeh Sadro'ddin Khaled Zenjani* was his prime Wazîr. ^{5. Khân Ganjatû.}

GANJATU KHAN sullied all the good qualities which he was possessed of, by his excessive lewdness. At length, several lords of his court, whose daughters he had seized to put in his Harâm, conspired against him, and some of them were imprisoned on the occasion: but *Gencrous, but debauched.* *Hej. 694. A. D. 1294.*

(A) This happens by changing the punctuation, or diacritical points, of the *nun* and *jîm*, so as to convert these letters into *ya* and *kha*.

Slain by con-
spirators.

the rest sent privately to *Badû Ogul*, son of *Targay* (B), and grandson of *Hulâkû*, then governor of *Bâghdad*, informing him; that, in case he took the field without delay, he might easily become master of the empire. *Baydû*, having gathered what troops he could at so short a warning, advanced towards *Mogân* (C), where *Ganjatû* waited for him with his army: but this prince, finding himself betrayed and abandoned by his generals, escaped to a certain grotto; whither being followed by those lords whom he had imprisoned, and who had been released by the rest of the conspirators, he was by them assassinated, in the year 694^a.

THIS is the account of *Kondamîr*: but his father *Mirkond* relates the occasion of the rebellion differently. According to this author, he would have introduced paper money into *Persia*, to pass, as it did in *Ketau Kotan* (D): but it met with great opposition, chiefly from his uncle *Badû*, who, on this pretence, made war on, and slew him, in 693, after he had reigned b for three years^b.

^a KONDAM, ubi sup. p. 359. art. Gangja.

^b MIRKOND ap. Teixeira, p. 311.

(B) *Targhi*, or *Targhiyeh*. See *Pocock*, suppl. ad hist. dynast. p. 2.

(C) A great plain in *Azerbijân*, bounded on the north

by the rivers *Arras* and *Kûr*, and on the east by the *Caspian* sea.

(D) By this must be understood *Katay*, or perhaps *Little Bukhâria*.

S E C T. IV.

The reign of Baydu Khân.

6. Khân
Baydû.

THE partisans of this prince, having slain *Ganjatû*, saluted him emperor in the city of c *Hamadân*, and afterwards caused him to be proclaimed through all the provinces and cities of the empire. The first thing he did, on ascending the throne, was, to testify his gratitude to *Dogajar*, who had been the principal instrument of his advancement, by giving him the chief command of all his troops; at the same time he made his friend *Jamâlô'ddîn* president of the *Diwân*, or his council. Mean time *Gâzân*, or *Kâzân*, who, from the death of his father, possessed the government of *Khorassân*, resolved to revenge the death of *Ganjatû*: and, for that purpose, consulted with the Amîr *Newrûz Gâzi*; with whom, for some time past, he had been in friendship. This Amîr was the son of *Argûn Aga*, who had possessed *Khorassân* as governor, under the descendants of *Jenghîz Khân*, during the space of thirty-nine years (A). After his father's death, he became an officer in the court of the d emperor *Argûn Khân*, where he continued till such time as that prince put to death *Bega*, his friend and relation: for, being in fear of meeting with the same fate, he fled to the most eastern part of *Irân*. There, making open profession of *Mohammedanism*, he waged war upon the enemies of that religion, and gained several great advantages over them. On this occasion he had many quarrels with *Gâzân*, who then governed the province of *Khorassân*: but at length, matters being accommodated between them, the Amîr came to kiss the feet of that prince, and thenceforth became his best friend.

Gâzân takes
arms.

GAZAN having consulted *Newrûz* about the manner of wresting the provinces of *Azerbijân* and *Irâk* out of the hands of *Baydû*, to join them to *Khorassân*, which he already possessed; that Amîr told him boldly, that if he would embrace *Mohammedism*, he would do his utmost e to put him in possession of the empire, and expel his rival. *Gâzân*, without hesitation, gave himself up to the direction of *Newrûz*; and, soon after, made public profession of *Moslemism*, in the city of *Firûzkûh*: where a great number of persons embraced the same faith, and entered into his party. When this was done, he set forward with a numerous army, shaping his march towards *Ray*: and, being arrived near that city, sent an ambassador to *Baydû*, to demand the murderers of Soltân *Ganjatû*: but no regard was paid to his application. Hereupon he resolved to make use of hostilities; and his scouts having met with the van-guard of *Baydû's* army, defeated, and took most of them prisoners; while the rest carried the news of this rupture to their camp^a.

Comes to terms.

GAZAN, after gaining this advantage, having recourse to artifice, sent a second ambassador f to *Baydû*, to excuse what had happened, pretending it was done without his knowledge. This apology having been accepted of, it was agreed that the two princes should have an interview, each accompanied with a certain number of persons in his train. They met, and a

^a KONDAM, ubi sup. p. 173. art. Eaidu.

(A) As he was made governor in 650, as mentioned in the reign of *Hulâkû*, he must have died in 689, the sixth or seventh year of *Argûn Khân's* reign.

a conference was held ; in which, after many compliments on both sides, *Gâzân* demanded of *Baydû* the government of the provinces of *Pârs* and *Irâk*, to hold of him by way of homage. The Khân (B), who desired nothing so much as peace, yielded to his request : after which it was agreed, that, the day following, a splendid entertainment should be made, for joy of this accommodation ; and that the two princes should visit each other in his tent. But *Gâzân*, having been informed that a plot was laid to assassinate him on his entering the Khân's tent, broke off the conference, and immediately returned with his army into *Khorassân*.

HOWEVER, so soon as he arrived in that province, he sent a third ambassador to acquaint *Baydû* ^{Baydû *eriz* : them.} that the cause of his hasty return, without taking leave of him, was, the advice he had received of a revolt among some of his officers ; and prayed, at the same time, that he would send his orders into the two provinces above-mentioned, for delivering them up to him, pursuant to his grant. *Baydû* dissimulated the chagrin which *Gâzân*'s abrupt departure had given him ; and directed *Jamîlo'ddîn*, his Wazîr, to dispatch the orders for putting the officers of that prince in possession of those provinces. *Jamîlo'ddîn* did so : but, at the same time, gave orders underhand to the contrary ; so that *Gâzân*'s officers were obliged to return, without accomplishing the business which they were sent about. Hereupon the Amîr *Newrûz*, who managed the affairs of *Gâzân*, persuaded that prince to depute him to go to the Soltân's court, under pretence of soliciting his interest there : but the real end of his embassy was, to form a party against *Baydû*, in favour of his master. In effect, he managed his intrigue so well, that, having gained *Dogajar*, prime minister of *Baydû*, they agreed together to dethrone this prince, and set up *Gâzân* in his room.

MEAN time *Baydû*, who had some suspicion of *Newrûz*, caused him to be watched, and would not suffer him to stir out of his palace : but that Amîr assured him, with so many oaths, that, if he would permit him to return to *Khorassân*, he would deliver *Gâzân* bound into his hands, that at length he obtained leave. It is reported, that, as soon as *Newrûz* returned to *Khorassân*, to save his oath, he sent a kettle tied up in a bag to *Baydû* ; thus joining railery to his knavery : for *Gâzân*, or *Kâzân* (which word is pronounced indifferently either way), signifies, in the *Mungl* or *Turkish* language, a kettle. The Soltân perceived, by this proceeding, that he had made a false step, in letting the Amîr *Newrûz* escape out of his hands : but now there was no help for it. In effect, that lord, after having corrupted the principal officers of *Baydû*'s court, went back, to dispose *Gâzân* to put in execution the design which he had long thought upon ; while *Shamso'ddîn* arrived very seasonably to forward the enterprise : for he informed *Gâzân*, who was then at *Sebzawâr*, of the divisions which reigned among the lords of *Baydû*'s court, and the general aversion which the people had to his person.

GAZAN finding, by this intelligence, that things were arrived at the pass he wished them at, lost no time, but sent *Newrûz* before with the van-guard of his army. This commander set out immediately, and spoiled the country where-ever he came : at the same he made such haste, that, in one night's space, he reached a camp, which was only two days journey distant from that of the Soltân. So soon as *Dogajar*, and those of his cabal, who had the chief posts in the Khân's army, heard that *Newrûz* was arrived, they, like base traitors, left their camp, and went over to his troops. The unfortunate prince, thus abandoned by his army, had nothing for it but to fly ; and, thinking he might be safe in *Nakhshivân* (or *Nakhshivân*, in *Arrân*), took the road to that city : but *Newrûz* pursued him so hotly, that he overtook him by the way, and put him to death (C), after a reign of no more than eight months, in the year 694 ^b.

^b KONDAM. ubi sup. p. 178, art. Baidû.

(B) Our author commonly uses the word Soltân instead of Khân, the former being the name for king, or sovereign prince, most used in *Persia*.

(C) *Mirkond*, in *Teixeira*, says the Wazîr, who seized him, carried him back to *Tauris*, and there dispatched him : but *Kondamîr* says, he was put to death at *Nakhshivân*.

S E C T. V.

The reign of Gâzân or Kâzân Khân.

f GAZAN KHAN, who took the name of *Mahmûd*, after he turned *Mohammedan*, was the son of *Argûn Khân*. This prince was no sooner on the throne, than he received advice that some of his kindred had passed the *Jibûn*, in order to dispute it with him. Hereupon he sent *Newrûz* against them with a potent army ; who obliged those princes to return, and leave *Gâzân* to enjoy in peace a kingdom which he governed with much wisdom and equity. In effect, he often sat himself in his court of justice, where all his subjects might
Mod. Hist. Vol. II. 6 H freely

freely make their complaints against the greatest lords and prime ministers of his court ; whom a he obliged to make satisfaction, according to the wrongs which they had done^a.

puts to death

THE Amîr *Newrûz*, who had rendered his master such signal services in *Khorassân*, was again sent thither in quality of governor : but he was no sooner arrived, than several lords of the country, who sought that preferment, and envied his advancement, created a suspicion of him at court ; this they confirmed, by means of a letter of *Newrûz*, which they pretended to have intercepted, and sent to *Sadro'ddin Khâled*, president of the diwân ; by which he seemed to enter into combination with the king of *Egypt*, to make war on *Gâzân*. As soon as the Soltân was informed of this plot, he, without inquiring farther into the matter, immediately assembled his troops, in the year 696 ; and, sending them into *Khorassân*, under the conduct of *Kutluk Shâh*, ordered that general not to return to court, till he had punished *Newrûz* b for his rebellion. *Gâzân* was at this time at *Hamadân*, where he usually resided, altho' he had been crowned in *Tauris*, the capital of his empire ; because the disputes which he had in *Syria*, with the king of *Egypt*, obliged him to be near that province (A). *Kutluk Shâh*, having entered *Khorassân*, presently constrained *Newrûz* to abandon his government, and retire towards *Fâkro'ddin Mâlek Kûrt*, who was his son-in-law and creature : but this faithless prince, forgetting all his obligations, as well as duties of alliance and hospitality, delivered him up, loaded with chains, into the hands of *Kutluk Shâh* ; who put him to death on the spot, and sent his head to *Gâzân*.

Hej. 696.
A. D. 1296.
his general
Newrûz,

and treasurer.

Hej. 697.
A. D. 1299.

In 697, *Gâzân* gave the government of *Khorassân* to Soltân *Aljaptu* (or *Aljaytu*), his brother ; who had many disputes with *Mâlek Kûrt*, on account of the nearness of their dominions : c but at length they came to an agreement, by means of the Mufti *Shehâbo'ddin Jâmi*. In 699 *Gâzân* caused his Wazîr *Sadro'ddin Renjâni*, surnamed *Sadr Jêhân*, to be prosecuted for mis-managements in the finances ; but, in reality, to strip him of the great wealth which he possessed. This minister having been put to death, his employment was divided between two considerable officers of state.

Invades Syria.

Hej. 702.
A. D. 1302.
His forces defeated.

His death,

THE same year *Gâzân* entered *Syria*, and gave battle to *Nasser*, son of *Kalawm*, Soltân of *Egypt*, near the city of *Hems* ; in which the latter being defeated, escaped with no more than seven horsemen. After this, *Kutluk Shâh*, the *Mungl* general, took *Damaskus*, by composition, and all the rest of *Syria* was subdued : but, shortly after *Gâzân* had repassed the *Euphrates*, to return to *Hamadân*, the *Syrians* cut the throats of all the *Mungl* garrisons thro' d the country. In 702 *Gâzân* made a second expedition into *Syria*, and came to *Halep* ; where having spent some time to divert himself, he left the care of recovering that province to *Kutluk Shâh*, and his other generals. Mean time *Nasser*, hearing of his return into *Syria*, was come with a powerful army to *Damaskus* ; where he waited for the Khân, who had already passed the *Euphrates*, in his way back : while his generals deceived by their spies, and knowing nothing of *Nasser's* arrival, advanced towards *Damaskus*, expecting to surprise it ; when, of a sudden, their vanguard, having descried the army of *Nasser*, was obliged to come to an engagement. The battle was long and bloody (B) : but altho' the Amîr *Jubân* did surprising things, yet, not being well supported by the other *Mungl* officers, who turned their backs to the enemy, the latter gained a complete victory. e

and acts.

KUTLUK SHAH, having been thus vanquished, retired with his forces, of which he had lost 10,000, into *Persia* ; and, near *Kazwîn*, joined the Soltân, who rewarded the valour of the Amîr *Jubân*, and punished with the korrah, or whip, according to the *Mungl* discipline, those who had not done their duty. Not long after this, he became bedridden ; and died, greatly lamented by all his subjects, in a place named *Shâm Gâzân*, that is, the *Damaskus* of *Gâzân* f. This was a town built by this emperor of the *Mungls*, near *Tauris*, in imitation of the *Syrian Damaskus*, and adorned with a stately mosque ; where he was interred in the year 703. It was the only sepulchre of the *Mungls* which remained standing in the time of *Kondamîr*, about 200 years after. He built two other cities, to which he gave the names of *Kaberab* (or *Kayro*) and *Halep*. In the year 702 this prince established *Kaykobâd*, son of *Feramorz*, last Soltân of the *Seljuks* of *Rûm*, or *Anatolia*, in the sovereignty of those dominions^c. *Gâzân*, according to *Al Jannâbi*, died the thirteenth of the month *Shawal*, near *Hamadân* (others say in *Ray*) ; and thence was conveyed to *Al Shâm*, near *Tauris*, after he had reigned eight years and about ten months. Some say he was taken off by poison.

^a KONDAM. ubi sup. p. 363. art. Gâzân. Pocock. suppl. ad Abû'lf. p. 2.
p. 363. art. Gâzân. ^c D'HERBEL. p. 773. art. Sham Gâzân.

^b KONDAM. ubi sup.

(A) But *Tauris* is as near *Syria* as *Hamadân*.

(B) *Abû'lfeda Ismael*, prince of *Hamah*. a great his-

torian, and the most famous geographer of the east, was in the army of *Nasser* when this battle was fought.

S E C T. VI.

The reign of Aljaytu or Aijaptu Khân.

- ^a **T**HE name of this prince, who succeeded his brother *Gázân* in 703, is variously written S. Khân Al-
by authors ; as *Aljaptu*, or *Ollaptu*, and *Oljaytu*, according to the author of the *Magmu* ^{jaytû.}
Al Rashîdiab (A), who dedicated his work to him. This last word is written also *Aljaytu*, ^{Hej. 703.}
and, with some little variation, *Aljâytû*, which, according to *Al Jannâbi*, signifies *the great* ^{A. D. 1303:}
emperor. He relinquished the religion of *Jenghîz Khân*, and became a *Mohammedan*; upon
which occasion he assumed the name of *Gayâtho'ddîn Mohammed Khodâbandeh*; which last word
signifies, in *Persian*, *the servant of God*: but, instead of *Khodâbandeh*, as *Al Jannâbi* and
others have it, *Abû'Isfeda* and *Ahmed ebn Yusef* write *Khorbândâ* ^a.
- THIS prince came from the province of *Khorassân* to *Arrejân* (B), where he was crowned *Builds Soltania.*
emperor; and gave the post of *Amîr al Omara* (C), which is that of generalissimo, to *Kotluk*
^b *Shâh*; dividing the office of prime Wazîr between *Rashîdo'ddîn* and *Saado'ddîn*: but this latter,
being some time after suspected of committing certain misdemeanours, was put to death, and
his place assigned to *Ali Shâh*. In 704 *Aljaytu* built the city of *Soltania*, and made it the seat
of his empire (D). In the time of his abode here, several lords of *Syria* and *Egypt* came to
implore his assistance against *Mûlek al Nasser*, son of *Kelawn*, Soltân of *Egypt*. *Aljaytu*, who
ardently desired to recover *Syria*, which his ancestors had possessed, passed the *Euphrates* in
712, with a great army, and encamped at *Rubabat*, near *Damaskus*. Several skirmishes ^{Hej. 712.}
happened between the *Syrian* and *Mungl* forces: but they never came to a pitched battle (E); ^{A. D. 1312.}
for the Wazîr *Rashîd*, by this management, brought about a peace between the two powers;
and *Aljaytu* returned to *Soltania*.
- ^c HE was no sooner arrived there, than he received advice that *Kepek Khân* and *Bissur Oglan*, *Repulses the*
two princes of *Turkestan*, had passed the river *Amû*, with a design to reduce the province of *Turks.*
Khorassân. These invaders had already defeated *Yessawl* and *Ali Kushji*, the principal comman-
ders in that province, when *Aljaytu* marched against, and compelled them to repass the *Amû*
with great precipitation. This irruption of the *Turks* induced the Khân to confer the govern-
ment of *Khorassân* on his son *Abûsaïd*, sending with him considerable troops to defend that pro-
vince; and the *Amîr Sunej* to direct his affairs. The young prince began his government by
punishing the two generals before-mentioned, who had fled from the *Turks*; and caused such
exact justice to be observed in all respects, that he quickly restored peace and commerce to
that large province.
- ^d NOT long after this, *Bissur Oglan*, having quitted the interest of *Kepek Khân*, went *His death.*
over to *Abûsaïd*; which turn must have occasioned a great war between the neighbouring ^{Hej. 716.}
powers: but the death of *Aljaytu*, which happened in 716, prevented the storm. This prince ^{A. D. 1316:}
died at the age of thirty-six, after he had reigned twelve years (F); and made justice flourish
in his dominions more than any other of the family of *Jenghîz Khân*. He had a great zeal for
the *Mohammedan* religion; and honoured the chief professors of it, especially those of the
sect of *Ali*; in favour of whom he caused the names of the twelve Imâms to be engraved on
his coin ^b.

^a KONDAM. ubi sup. p. 88. art. Algiaptu; & Poc. suppl. p. 3.

^b Idem ibid. p. 88. art. Algiaptu.

(A) This was the Wazîr *Rashîdo'ddîn*, mentioned afterwards. It is a great collection of *Arabic* learning, and to be found in the king of *France's* library N° 1.; being the largest volume, and in the best order, of any *D'Herbelot* had met with among the *Arabs*. He was author also of the *Jama'at-warîk*, or history of the *Turkish* tribes, mentioned before, p. 123. See also *D'Herb.* p. 711. art. *Rashîd Thabib*.

(B) Or *Al Rajân*, a city of *Khûzestân*; but, by some geographers, ascribed to *Pârs*, or *Proper Persia*, one day's journey from the *Persian* gulf.

(C) *Amîr al Omara* signifies *commander of commanders*; *Omara* being the plural of *Amîr*.

(D) According to *Mirkond*, he built this city in 705, and removed his seat from *Tauris*, where he before resided; and, the next year, possessed himself of the provinces of *Gheylân* and *Rasht*. *Teixeira*, p. 312.

(E) According to *Mirkond*, in *Teixeira*, he recovered *Shâm*, or *Damaskus*.

(F) Twelve years and nine months, according to *Mirkond*, who says, he first brought up the custom of taking away the children of *Christians* and *Jews*, to educate them in their manner, and be served by them.

S E C T. VII.

The reign of Abûsaïd Khân.

9. Khân
Abûsaïd.

Hej. 718.
A. D. 1318.
Amîr Jûbân
regent.

Repulses the
Uzbeks.

His troops re-
volt.

Marries Abû-
saïd's sister.
Hej. 719.
A. D. 1319.

ABUSAID, surnamed *Behâdr Khân*, succeeded his father *Aljaytu*, and was crowned in ^a the city of *Soltânia*. He immediately confirmed *Rashîd* and *Ali Shâh*, his father's Wazîrs, in their employments; and made *Jûbân Noyân* (A) generalissimo of his forces, who governed the empire as tutor to the young prince, then but twelve years of age.

IN 718 *Ali Shâh* so far wrought upon the Amîr *Jûbân* by his management and presents, that *Rashîd'ddîn* was turned out of his office, and some time after put to death. The same year *Bayfûr*, a prince of the royal blood of the *Mungls*, revolted against *Abûsaïd*; and, advancing from *Khorassân* into *Mazânderân*, threatened to march on to *Soltânia* itself, if the Soltân had not sent a potent army, under the conduct of the Amîr *Hûssayn Kurkhân*, to reduce him to obedience. The Soltân at this time passed the winter at *Karabâgh* (in *Arrân*); where advice came, that *Uzbek Khân* (B) had crossed over the great desert of *Kapjâk* (or *Kip-jâk*), and made himself master of the city of *Dârbend*. This obliged him to depart immediately, with the few troops which he had about him, to go and encamp on the *Kûr*, in order to hinder the *Tatars* from passing that river. On the other hand, the Amîr *Jûbân*, who had followed the Amîr *Hûssayn*, to appease the troubles raised in *Khorassân*, no sooner heard of the irruption of the enemy, than he turned back, to strengthen the army of Soltân *Abûsaïd*. ^b

As the *Tatars* had hitherto done nothing but plunder the country, without undertaking any thing of consequence, their army was much diminished; so that *Shâh Uzbek*, finding himself no equal match for the Soltân, whose forces were now considerably increased by reinforcements, resolved to break up his camp, and retire: but, being followed at the heels by the Amîr *Jûbân*, he lost a great number of men in his retreat. After this success, while *Abûsaïd* ^c marched back to *Soltânia*, the general caused several of the principal officers of the Soltân's army to be whipped, according to the *Mungl* discipline; for not having done their duty in his absence, and then proceeded towards *Gorja* (or *Georgia*). Mean time the officers, who had received the correction, plotted to revenge that disgrace; and engaged in their party several officers, who bore with impatience the severe humour of the Amîr *Jûbân* ^a.

THE malcontents, having formed a pretty considerable army among themselves, followed that general, who had already entered *Gorja*; and, while he had left his camp, to go on some enterprise against the enemy, they seized on, and pillaged it. After this surprise, which reduced the Amîr to great want of every thing, they gave battle to, and defeated him. *Jûbân* stood ^d in need of all his courage, but more of his wit and address, to save his person out of such imminent danger. In effect, by making use of several stratagems, he at length escaped; and, by marching many round-about ways, arrived at *Soltânia*. The Khân, not thinking himself safe in his capital, while the rebels continued in arms, gathered all the troops he could in haste, and marched to chastise them. The revolters, losing all respect for the Soltân, gave him battle, but were defeated; and it was on this occasion that *Abûsaïd* got the surname of *Bahâdr*, or *Brave*, by rushing into the midst of the enemy.

IN 719 the Amîr *Hûssayn Kurkhân*, who was at war with *Bayfûr* in *Khorassân*, obtained so many advantages over him, that he at length constrained him to repass the *Amû* into *Great Bukhâria*; where he was slain some time after, in fight with a prince of the race of *Jagatay*, ^e son of *Jenghîz Khân*. In 721 the Soltân married his sister, named *Satibeg*, to the Amîr *Jûbân*, whose nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence. Next year *Timûrtash*, son of *Jûbân*, who was governor of the country of *Rûm*, or *Anatolia*, revolted against *Abûsaïd*; setting up for sovereign in his department. The Amîr, on this advice, tho' in the depth of winter, set out with a powerful army, to bring him back to his duty: which the son no sooner understood, than he laid down his arms, and put himself into his father's hands; who carried him as a prisoner to the feet of the Soltân. By this means *Abûsaïd* was appeased; and pardoning the son, in consideration of the father's services, restored him to his government.

^a KONDAM. ap. D'Herb. p. 33. Aboufaïd.

(A) Written by some *Noyân*, by others *Noyân*. This person is named also Amîr *Jûbân*. In *Abûlghâzi Khân's* history *Zûpânî*, that is, *Jûpânî*, or *Chûpânî*; and, in *Teixeira Chûbân*; the *Persians* often using the *p* for the *Arab b*. *Abûlghâzi* says, the chiefs of the tribe of *Saldus*, from father to son, bore that name. Hist. Turke, &c. p. 188.

(B) Called afterwards *Shâh Uzbek*: the titles of *Shâh*, *Soltân*, *Khân*, and sometimes *Mâlek*, being given indifferently, by the oriental historians, to the kings or sovereigns of different nations, with no small impropriety.

^a IN 723 *Ali Shâh* the Wazîr died; and his post was given to *Sayn*, lieutenant-general of the *Dilbliges* Amîr *Jûbân*. Some time after this, the Amîr gave his daughter, named *Bâghdâd Khâtûn*, ^{him.} one of the greatest beauties in all *Asia*, in marriage to the Amîr *Hassan Ilkbânî*, son of Sheykh *Hâssayn* (C): but this marriage proved very fatal to him; for Soltân *Abûsaïd*, having fallen in love with that lady, demanded her in marriage of her father. Now, according to the laws of the *Mungls*, every private person was obliged to repudiate his wife, when the Khân had a mind to espouse her. For all this, the Amîr *Jûbân* never would consent to his daughter's divorce; and even uttered disrespectful words against this young prince, who required nothing contrary to the laws, or his own duty ^b.

^b *ABUSAID* at that time dissembled the resentment which he conceived at this refusal: while ^{Out of favour.} the Amîr *Jûbân*, thinking to cure his passion by absence, sent his son-in-law and daughter to *Karabâgh*; and carried the Soltân, against his inclination, to *Bâghdâd*, there to pass the winter. But *Abûsaïd*'s love, far from diminishing by this separation, only increased the more. Mean time the Wazîr *Sayn* inflamed the aversion of the prince against *Jûbân*, by several false reports which he framed, relating to the conduct of the Amîr and his sons. As these practices of the Wazîr came to the knowledge of *Damashk Khowajeh* (or *Khoja*), son of the accused, one of the chief officers of the Soltân's household, and who had oftenest access to him, he took care to send his father an account of them. On this occasion the Amîr *Jûbân* took a very bold step: for, under pretence of going to quash some insurrections which were begun in *Khorassân*, he departed hastily from *Bâghdâd*, and went to *Soltâniâ*, carrying with him the Wazîr ^c *Sayn*, as it were by way of hostage for his son, whom he left at court.

^d THIS son remained there, to direct all affairs: for *Jûbân*, who had the intire mananage- ^{His son Da-} ment of them, communicated them to none but him. It happened, at length, that *Damashk*, ^{malik} abusing his father's authority, disposed so absolutely of all things, that *Abûsaïd* had little left to him besides the name of Soltân. This prince, weary of being always under guardianship, discovered his dissatisfaction to some of his confidants; and they informed him, that *Damashk* carried on an intrigue with one of the wives of the late Soltân *Aljaytû*, his father. On this advice, the prince ordered *Damashk* to be watched, to discover the truth; and, in a short time, was himself witness of a rendezvous made by the two lovers. The Soltân, wounded in his ^{put to death.} honour, as well as authority, by this insolent minister, would readily have signed the order ^e for his death: but as none of his domestics durst undertake so dangerous a task, he found there was a necessity of leaving things to chance; which soon turned out to his wishes. For it happened, at this very juncture, in 727, that some heads of men, who had revolted in the pro- ^{Hej. 727.} vinces, having been brought to the Soltân's palace, a report was spread, that they were the ^{A. D. 1326.} heads of the Amîr *Jûbân* and his adherents, which had been sent from *Khorassân*. This rumour so frightened *Damashk*, that, without inquiring into the truth of the matter, he left the palace, in the night, with only ten men, and took to flight. As soon as *Abûsaïd* was informed of this, he sent after him *Mesr Khowajeh*, one of his confidants, who overtook, and cut off his head, which he brought forthwith to the Soltân.

^e THIS prince, delivered from the son, proposed soon also to get rid of the father: for this ^{Raises an ar-} purpose, he sent strict orders to the officers of *Khorassân* to seize the person of *Jûbân*; and cou- ^{my.} riers to those of other provinces, to put to death all who could be found, either of his relations or dependents. But as these officers lived in good understanding with that general, instead of executing the Soltân's mandate, they immediately gave him notice of it. Upon this intelligence, he lost no time: for, making use of the favour and credit of his friends, he set on foot an army of 70,000 horse, with which he moved towards *Kashân*; whither the Soltân was advanced, with all the forces which he was able to assemble. *Jûbân*, before he left *Khorassân*, caused the Wazîr *Sayn* to be slain, by way of reprisal, for the death of his son; and *Abûsaïd*, to be even with him, appointed for Wazîr *Gayâtho'ddîn Mohammed*, a person of learning, son of *Rashîdo'ddîn*, whom the Amîr had also put to death, as before hath been related.

^f MEAN time, the Amîr *Jûbân* marched forward, with design to make himself master of the ^{His troops ac-} court, and the person of the Soltân. When he came to *Semnân* (in *Kumes*), he made a visit ^{sent.} to *Rokno'ddîn Alao'ddawlet*, whose tomb is still respected there, by *Mohammedans*, for his great sanctity; and, after some conferences with him, promised, on oath, to follow strictly his advice in every thing: proposing, as a testimony of his sincerity, that the Sheykh should go from him to the Soltân, to demand the murderers of his son, and the conditions of a good peace. *Abûsaïd* received the Sheykh with respect, and did him a thousand honours: but refused either to deliver up the assassins, or, in any sort, treat with *Jûbân*. The Amîr, enraged at this refusal, no longer kept any measures with the Soltân; and came to encamp within one day's march of his ordû, or imperial camp, in a place named *Kuba*. But he did not continue

^b KONDAM. ubi sup. p. 32. art. Aboufaïd.

(C) The same with the Amîr *Hâssayn Karkhân*, mentioned a little above.

long in that post : for several of his principal officers, who intirely owed their fortunes to him, abandoned him, with 30,000 horse, and went over to their sovereign.

He retreats.

As the Amîr *Jûbân*, after such an instance of inconstancy in so considerable a part of his troops, could not prudently confide in the rest of them ; he quitted his camp, and took the road of the desert of *Nubendijân*, with design to retire into *Khorassân*. This long and difficult march, joined to a farther desertion of his officers, so weakened his army, that, being no longer able to support his party in that province, he resolved to repair to *Turkestan* : a country where there were several great princes, who often made incursions into the dominions of *Abûsaïd*, as hath been already remarked. This resolution would probably have proved very advantageous to the Amîr, had he pursued it : but his evil destiny so ordered it, that, when he came to the river *Morgâb*, he of a sudden changed his mind, and turned back, to throw himself into the arms of *Gayâtbo'ddîn*, surnamed *Mâlek Kârt* ; whom he had bred up from his youth, and advanced to the principal posts in the armies of *Asia*.

Betrayed, and slain,

MALEK KURT proved not more faithful to him than the rest : for having, at the same time, received an express from the Soltân, with dispatches full of great offers and promises, if he would send him *Jûbân's* head, the first visit of this ingrate was that which he made him by the executioner. The Amîr could never obtain so much as the favour to see him : so that finding he must die, he required three things of him. First, That, as soon as his head was severed from his body, he should send one of his fingers, which was double at the end, to the camp of *Abûsaïd*. Secondly, that he would cause his body to be sent to *Medinah*, there to be buried in a chapel which had been built at his expence. And thirdly, That he would convey his son *Jalayr*, whom he had by *Satibeg*, to the court of Soltân *Abûsaïd* his uncle. These three requests being granted him, the executioner cut off his head : which *Mâlek Kurt* sent immediately to the Soltân, and set out soon after himself, to receive the reward of his perfidy. But he was much surprised, when he understood, on the road, that Sheykh *Hassan* had divorced his wife, the daughter of *Jûbân*, and sent her into the Soltân's harâm. What still more increased his chagrin was, that Sheykh *Hassan*, by this submission to the desires of *Abûsaïd*, had obtained the employment which he expected at court ; and that *Bâghdâd Khâtûn* (D) had gotten an intire influence over the mind of the prince.

By Mâlek Kurt.

THIS disagreeable news made him resolve, before he proceeded any farther, to send his orders into *Khorassân*, to put to death *Jalayr*, son of the Amîr *Jûbân* ; whose life he had preserved, at the request of his father, though contrary to the Soltân's orders. After this second execution, he continued his route towards *Karabâgb* (E), where *Abûsaïd* then resided : but, through the great credit which *Bâghdâd Khâtûn*, who was married, in a solemn manner, by the Soltân, possessed at court, he received but a very cold reception ; and was considered rather as the murderer of the Soltâna's father, than a person who had rendered a great piece of service to *Abûsaïd*. He was even made to wait in the camp, all the time which the corpses of *Jûbân* and his son were bringing from *Khorassân* to *Awfân* ; where the Soltân ordered them to be put into the hands of the pilgrims of *Mekka*, to bury them at *Medinah*. To defray this expence, he caused 40,000 dinars to be paid to them ; and gave to *Mâlek Kurt* no other reward, than the permission of returning to his own country. With regard to the Amîr *Jûbân*, we shall only observe farther, that he had always passed for a good man, a lover of justice, and a great zealot for his religion.

Hej. 732.
A. D. 1331.
Sheykh Hassan promoted.

IN 732, some persons envying the good fortune of Sheykh *Hassan*, and uneasy at the great power which the Soltâna had in affairs, began to whisper about, that this princess still carried on a secret intimacy with her first husband. As these reports came, at length, to the Soltân's ears, he banished Sheykh *Hassan* to the castle of *Kamakb* (F) ; and shewed great coldness to his new spouse. But the falsity of those insinuations having been discovered, and the authors of such black calumny punished, *Abûsaïd* restored the Soltâna and the Sheykh to his favour ; and even conferred on the latter the government of part of *Rûm*, or *Asia Minor*, which, at that time belonged to his dominions.

Hej. 736.
A. D. 1335.

IN 735, Shâh *Uzbek* made a second irruption into the territories subject to Soltân *Abûsaïd* ; who, next year (G), marched to fight his enemy : but he was scarce arrived in the province of *Shîrwân*, when the heat, and malignity of the air, threw him into a dangerous sick-

* KONDAM. ubi sup. p. 33. art. *Abûsaïd*.

(D) According to *Mirkand*, in *Teixeira*, *Abûsaïd* gave her the title of *Khândekar*, which was the royal style ; and that he put the whole government into her hands, which she managed with much wisdom and discretion, while he diverted himself with reading, being very bookish. 'Tis added, that his judgment was sound, and his person graceful.

(E) According to the same author, *Jannûbi*, and the

Nighiarijlân, he spent his summers in *Soltâniya*, and his winters at *Karabâgb*.

(F) *Kamakb*, or *Kemak*, as some authors write, stands on the *Euphrates*, twenty-one miles to the south of *Arzenjân*, in *Rûm*, or *Anatolia*.

(G) This year, 736 of the Hejrah, of Christ 1335, was remarkable, as well for the birth of *Timûr Beg*, or *Tamerlan*, as for the death of *Abûsaïd*.

a nefs. For this, his physicians prescribed bathing: but one day, after taking medicines, while he was in the bath, he fell into a swoon, and died not long afterwards. The author of the preface to the *Jafar Nâmeb* writes, that the Soltâna *Bâghdâd Khâtûn*, perceiving a change in this prince's affections towards her, gave him poison, which took away his life, at the age of thirty-two, of which he had reigned nineteen years. His corpse was transported to *Soltânîyâ*, with a pomp worthy of so great a monarch, and inhumed in the sepulchre of his ancestors (H). *Arbab Khân*, his successor, caused the Soltâna to be put to death, who was accused of being concerned in the death of *Abûsaïd*; and had been convicted of corresponding with *Shâh Uzbek*, who disputed the crown with him ^d.

^d KONDEM. ubi sup. p. 34.

(H) He was buried near his father *Khodabandeh*, under the fine dome of the monk of *Soltânîyâ*; on the walls of which, the whole *Korân* is written, in golden characters. *La Croix*, hist. Gengh. p. 404.

C H A P. IV.

Dynasties which sprung up on the death of Abûsaïd Khân.

b **O**N the death of *Abûsaïd*, in 736, the empire of the *Mungls* in *Irân*, or *Persia* at large, fell all to pieces, and into great confusion: for, after him, they acknowledged no single monarch of the race of *Jenghîz Khân*; but cantoned themselves in the several provinces, which were plundered by the frequent wars which the lords waged among themselves, every one aiming at the sovereignty, and to reduce the rest under his power. Nor did these disorders cease, till the time of *Timûr Beg*, who, after the conquest of the countries to the north of the *Jibân*, or *Amû*, turned his arms against those to the south of that river; and, in a short time, brought all the jarring princes of *Irân* under his obedience.

c **A**MONG the petty dynasties which, during this interval of distraction, sprung up in that great region, historians mention two *Mungl*, which rose out of the ruins of their empire, immediately on the death of *Abûsaïd*. The first, called *Il Khânian*, its princes being descended, in a direct line, from *Hulâkû Khân*, surnamed *Il Khân*. The second, named *Jûbânian*, or *Chûbânian*, as being founded by the family of *Jûbân*, or *Chûbân*. The first had four princes, who reigned from the year 737 to 813, the space of seventy-six years. The second had but two, who held the scepter only twenty years, that is, from 738, two years after the death of *Abûsaïd*, to 758; though some make their dominion end two years sooner. The *Il Khânians* reigned in *Arabian Irâk* and *Azerbejân*; the *Jûbânians* in this latter province, and the *Persian Irâk*. Although these two dynasties were cotemporary, and their affairs blended together, yet we shall treat of them separately; but avoid all repetitions, except what must be used to make the necessary connections.

S E C T. I.

The dynasty of the Il Khânians.

Reign of Sheykh Haffân Buzruk.

d **T**HIS dynasty had four Soltâns, or princes; the first of whom was *Amîr Haffân*, or *Haffân Nowyân*, son of the *Amîr Haffâyî Kurkhân*, one of *Abûsaïd Khân's* generals, mentioned in the reign of that Soltâh. *Haffân* married the famous *Bâghdâd Khâtûn*, daughter of the *Amîr Jûbân*, or *Chûpân*, with whom *Abûsaïd* was enamoured; and, after the death of her father, divorced her, to gratify that prince: who, in 732, conferred on him the government of the *Mungl* dominions in *Rûm*, or the country of the *Romans*, meaning chiefly *Anatolia*. This *Haffân* was surnamed *Buzruk* (A), or *the great*, in the *Mungl* or *Turkish* language, to distinguish him from *Haffân*, surnamed *Kujuk*, or *the lesser*; who, near the

(A) In the *English* translation of *La Croix's* history of *Genghîz Khân*, p. 404, he is named *Buzure Haffân*; a mistake, perhaps, for *Buzurc*, or *Buzurk*, as that author seems to have read it.

fame

same time, founded the dynasty of *Jûbânians*^a. *Arab Shâh* says, that *Hassan Buzruk* was the son of *Hussayn*; and *Hussayn*, the son of *Ak Buga*; that *Ak Buga* was the son of *Id Khân*; and that *Id Khân* descended from *Sberfo'ddin Sebîb Alkân*, or *Ilkân Argân*, son of *Abûsaïd*. *Arabshâh* does not say who this *Abûsaïd* was^b; yet *D'Herbelot* will have him to be *Abûsaïd Khân*. But this cannot be; since *Hassan Buzruk* was cotemporary with *Abûsaïd Khân*, and, from circumstances, older: whereas his ancestor *Abûsaïd* was, at least, five or six generations earlier than *Abûsaïd Khân*. The same author furnishes no more materials relating to this founder of the *Il Khânian* dynasty. But *Abû'lgbâzi Khân* gives us some farther particulars of his history. According to this author, on the death of *Abûsaïd*, those of the tribe of *Suldus*, the heads of which bore the name of *Zûpani*, or *Jûpani* (B), put the sceptre into the hands of *Arpa*, or *Arba Khân*, descended from *Artokbuga* (C), son of *Tawlay* (or *Tuli*) *Khân*.

Arba Khân.

SOME time after this, *Ali*, a chief of a tribe of the *Virats*, by the great credit which he had in the city of *Baghdâd*, caused *Musa*, descended from *Hulâkû* (D), to be proclaimed *Khân* there: who marching to attack *Arpa Khân*, defeated, and slew him; whereby he became master of all his territories^c. This *Alî Khân*, according to *D'Herbelot*, reigned no more than six months (E); and, on his coming to the crown, put to death *Bâghdâd Khâtûn*, the beloved wife of *Abûsaïd Khân*^d, for the reasons already mentioned, in the reign of that prince.

Musa Khân.

As soon as *Sheykh Hassan Jalayr* (F), called also *Sheykh Hassan Buzruk*, who was then very powerful in the provinces of *Rûm* (or *Anatolia*), heard that the people of *Baghdâd* had proclaimed *Musa* in quality of *Khân*, he caused *Mohammed*, a descendant of *Hulâkû* (G), to be acknowledged *Khân* of the *Mungls* in that country. This prince, immediately on his advancement, got together a great army, and marched from *Rûm* to the borders of *Irân*. At the news of his approach, *Musa Khân* marched as far as *Tabrîz* (or *Tauris*) to meet him: but coming to a battle, was intirely defeated; and having in the action lost *Ali* (H), by whose interest he had been raised to the throne, he fled for shelter to the *Virats*.

Mohammed Khân.

ADVICE of this revolution coming to the knowledge of *Sheykh Ali*, son of the *Amîr Ali Koshji*, who, at the same juncture, commanded in *Khorassân*, he hastened to *Bastân*, and there proclaimed *Togay Timûr*, one of the descendants of *Fujikar*, brother of *Jenghîz Khân*, who formerly resided in *Mazânderân*. Soon after, being joined by *Musa Khân*, they all three went in quest of *Mohammed Khân*: but the *Sheykh Hassan Jalayr* advancing against them, with a powerful army, as far as *Yagarm Rudh* (I), intirely routed them. *Musa Khân* lost his life in this action (K): but *Togay Timûr* and *Sheykh Ali* escaped into *Khorassân*.

Togay Timûr Khân.

WHEN *Sheykh Hassan Kujuk* (L), who commanded on the borders of *Rûm*, in the time of *Abûsaïd Khân*, received information of the ill success of this battle, he gathered in haste a numerous army, and took the field against *Mohammed Khân*, and the *Sheykh Hassan Buzruk*. After some skirmishes of no moment, the competitors came, at length, to a decisive battle near *Nakhsivân*; in which *Mohammed Khân* being killed, and his forces defeated, *Sheykh Hassan Buzruk* fled for shelter to the city of *Soltâniya*. On this occasion, *Sheykh Hassan Kujuk* conferred the government of *Tabrîz* (or *Tauris*) on a lady named *Satibika* (M), while he marched in pursuit of his enemies. *Sheykh Hassan Buzruk*, perceiving the victor pressed him close, and that there was no likelihood of escaping out of his hands, implored his clemency, and surrendered himself at discretion. After this, *Sheykh Hassan Kujuk* returning to *Tabrîz*, *Satibika* delivered

^a D'HERBEL. p. 489. art. Il Khân.
KHAN, hist. Turks, p. 188.

^b ARABSHAH, hist. Timûr, l. iii. § 3.

^c ABU'LGHAZI

^d D'HERBEL. p. 34, & 382, art. Abûsaïd & Genghîzkhaniân.

(B) *Jûpani*, or *Jûbani*, is the gentile name of *Jûban*, formed by adding the final *i*.

(C) *Arba Khân* was the son of *Senghigân*, son of *Mâlek Timûr*, son of *Arfakâ Buga*, son of *Tuli*, son of *Jenghîz Khân*. *D'Herbelot*, p. 382. art. *Jenghîz Khânian*. *La Croix* makes *Arpa Khân* the son of *Ali*, son of *Baydu Khân*, son of *Targay* (or *Tarighi*), son of *Hulâkû*. Hist. Gengh. p. 404.

(D) *Musa* was the son of *Ali*, son of *Baydu Khân*, son of *Targay* (or *Targbiyek*), son of *Hulâkû Khân*.

(E) According to *La Croix*, he died in 1335.

(F) By this, he seems to have been of the tribe of *Jalayr*. *Soltân Ahmed* likewise is, by *Sharîfo'ddin*, in the life of *Timûr Bek*, called *Ahmed Jalayr*.

(G) *Mohammed Khân* was the son of *Yol Kutluk*, son of *Timûr*, son of *Anbarji*, son of *Mangu*, son of *Hulâkû Khân*, according to *Abû'lgbâzi Khân*: but *La Croix* makes him the son of *Majuni*, son of *Amîjin*, son of *Hulâkû Khân*: he puts his death in 1337; and says, some call him *Mahmûd*. Hist. Gengh. p. 405.

(H) *La Croix* calls him *Ali Shâh*; and says, he was another *Khân* of *Hulâkû's* race. Hist. Gengh. p. 404.

(I) This seems to be a river; which, in the *Persian*, is called *Rudh*: the *dh* being sounded like *te*, in *them*, *this*, &c.

(K) *Mohammed* caused his head to be cut off. This happened in 1336. *La Croix*, p. 405.

(L) This is the grandson of *Hassân*, son of the *Amîr Jûbân*, founder of the *Jûbânian* dynasty. *Abû'lgbâzi Khân*, to distinguish him from *Sheykh Hassan Buzruk*, calls him *Sheykh Hassan Kboja*; possibly, because the authors he made use of do not add the surname of *Kujuk*, which we, to prevent confusion, have put instead of *Kboja*; as, afterwards, we have substituted *Buzruk* for *Jalayr*.

(M) This must be *Satibeg*, daughter of *Abûsaïd Khân*, and married to the *Amîr Jûbân*, grandfather of this *Hassân*, who was son of *Timûrtayeb*. *La Croix* names her *Shâh Zâdeb Shâhibek Kârûn*; and places her as the sixth *Khân* among the eight *Khâns*, which, according to his authors, reigned after the death of *Abûsaïd*.

a him the keys of that city, after she had governed there a whole year; and the Sheykh, to recompense her fidelity, married her to *Soleymân*, a lord descended (O) from *Hulâkû*.

SOME time after this, the Sheykh *Hassan Buzruk*, having found means to escape out of the hands of his conqueror, fled to *Bâghdâd*, and caused *Jehân Timûr* (P) to be proclaimed Khân. This done, he set forward, to try his fortune once more against the Sheykh *Hassan Kujuk*: but, having met with another defeat, he retreated to that capital; and believing he had reason to be dissatisfied with *Jehân Timûr*, deposed him, and seized the supreme authority himself. It does not appear that he had any farther contest with *Hassan Kujuk*, whose death seems to have happened not long after (Q): nor do we meet with any thing relating to him further (R), than that he died in 757, after a reign of twenty years; and left for his successor his son *Soltân Avîs*.

Jehân Timûr
Khân.
A. D. 1356.

The reign of Soltân Avîs, or Weîs.

AVÎS, or *Avîs* (called also *Veîs*, or *Weîs*, and commonly Sheykh *Avîs*, or *Veîs*), on the death of his father Sheykh *Hassan Ilkhâni*, surnamed *Buzruk*, succeeded to the states which he possessed (S); at a time when several *Mungl* princes, descended from *Jenghîz Khân*, had divided the empire of *Abûsaïd Khân*, the last sole monarch of *Irân*, amongst them. In 759, Sheykh *Avîs* entered *Azerbejân*, with an intent to conquer it; and defeated *Akbijuk*, who was master of that province (T), although attended with a powerful army. *Akbijuk*, on this disaster, fled to *Tauris*; but, not thinking himself safe in that city, he abandoned it to his enemy, and retired to *Nakhshivân*, on the borders of *Armenia*. *Avîs* would have found no more enemies in all that great province, if he had not procured them himself, by his severity: for having put to death forty of the principal lords of the country, he so alienated the minds of the rest, that they joined with *Akbijuk*, and put him in possession of all which he had formerly lost. Thus *Avîs* being constrained to abandon his new conquest, retired with a shattered army to *Bâghdâd*, which he made his residence. However, he did not lose courage on this reverse of fortune, but still pursued his first design: for, the next spring, he caused fresh troops to march towards *Tauris*; where having surprised *Akbijuk*, who had been disturbed all the winter by another enemy, named *Mohammed Modhaffer* (U), or *Mozaffer*, he seized his person, and put him to death.

d IN 765 *Avîs* was engaged in troubles at home: for, while he was in *Azerbejân*, *Khawâja Merjân*, with whom he had there left the command of the troops in his absence, refused to obey his orders; and obliged him to come in person, at the head of his forces, to bring him to his duty. But this expedition was soon finished: for *Merjân* opened the gates to him; and received pardon for his transgression, on making new protestations of fidelity. After taking one year's repose in his capital, he of a sudden fell upon the cities of *Mosul* and *Mardin* in *Diyâr-bekr*, and reduced them both in a very short space. In 772 *Soltân Avîs* marched against the Amîr *Veli*, who had subdued the province of *Mazânderân*, after driving out *Toga Timûr Khân* (X), whom he put to death; and, having defeated him in battle, pursued him as far as *Sem-nân*, towards the borders of *Khorassân*.

e AFTER this victory, *Avîs* returned to *Bâghdâd*; where he resided in peace till 776, when he fell sick; and, his distemper increasing, the principal ministers intreated that he would give

2. *Soltân*
Avîs.
Hej. 759.
A. D. 1357.
Conquers
Azerbejân.

A. D. 1358.

Quells a rebellion.
Hej. 765.
A. D. 1363.

Hej. 772.
A. D. 1370.

His death.
A. D. 1374.

c ABU'LGH. ubi supra.

(O) *Soleymân* was son of *Mohammed*, son of *Sangu*, son of *Tashmut*, son of *Hulâkû Khân*; so writes *Abûl-ghazi Khân*. *La Croix*, less accurately, says, he was the son of *Sanki*, son of *Abmed*, whom some called *Shemed*, son of *Hulâkû Khân*. The same author makes him the seventh Khân; and says, his wife gave him that title, in 1338.

(P) *Jehân Timûr* was son of *Alfrân*, son of *Kojestû Khân*, son of *Abâka Khân*, son of *Hulâkû Khân*. *Kojestû* of *Abûl-ghazi Khân* is the same with *Kaiktû*, or *Ganjatû Khân*; that is, the eighth Khân of *La Croix*, who seems to have made his fourth and fifth out of *Togay Timûr*: the first called *Tagur Khân*; the second *Bûka Timûr Khân*.

(Q) *Viz.* in 745; for he is reckoned to begin his reign in 738, and to have sat on the throne seven years.

(R) For we know not what to make of what *La Croix* says, that *Buzruk Hassan* at last got himself crowned king of the *Medes* (he must mean *Azerbejân*), and afterwards of *Khaldea*, by the reduction of *Baghdâd*, *Hilleh*, *Wâset*, and *Bârab*, which had been possessed by *Mâlek Ashraf* the *Chubanian*, unless *Ashraf* had taken them from him before.

(S) *Hassan Buzruk* seems to have been master of *Bagh-*

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dâd, and the places dependent on it, or of *Arabian Irak* at most, at the death of *Hassan Kujuk*. 'Tis possible he enlarged his dominions in the remaining eleven years of his reign, and during that of *Mâlek Ashraf* (the successor of *Hassan Kujuk*); who was a debauched prince.

(T) Here we meet with a difficulty. *Azerbejân* was conquered by *Jani Bek*, eighth Khân of *Kipjâk*, in Hejrah 746, A. D. 1355: then returning, he left his son *Birdi Bek*, who did not return till two years after his father's death, which happened in 758: so that *Birdi Bek* must have staid in *Azerbejân* till 759, if not till 760. Yet, in the text, we are told *Akbijuk* was master of that province in 759. How happened this? did *Birdi Bek* leave it to *Akbijuk*? or did *Akbijuk* seize it after *Birdi Bek*'s departure? This seems to be the case; since *La Croix* tells us, that *Birdi Bek* left the country of *Azerbejân* to *Soltân Avîs*.

(U) This might have been *Mobaraze'ddin Mohammed*, founder of the *Mozaffrian* dynasty in *Pârs* or *Proper Persia*, in 718, where he reigned forty-two years.

(X) Before called *Togay Timûr Khân*, set up by Sheykh *Ali*.

orders about the succession ; for he left four sons, *Hassan*, *Hussayn*, *Abmed*, and *Bayezîd*. His answer was, that he chose *Hussayn* for his successor ; and that *Hassan* should be content with the government of *Bâghdâd*. The ministers replied, that *Hassan*, being the eldest, would possibly not rest satisfied with that disposition. Upon which the Soltân said, *You know that which must be done*. By these words the ministers concluding, that the Soltân gave them power to do that which they judged most good for the state, seized *Hassan*, and put him under a strong guard. As *Avîs* lost his speech not long after, so that he could not explain himself farther with relation to *Hassan*, as soon as his eyes were closed, the ministers of state, who were desirous to secure the crown to *Hussayn*, put *Hassan* their prisoner to death, and buried both the father and son on the same day ^a.

His character. SOLTÂN AVIS reigned nineteen years. According to *Arabshâh*, he was a religious, good, and just prince ; had few vices ; and many virtues, which were visible in his aspect. He was an excellent commander, and very courageous ; a great warrior, and successful in his expeditions : was well beloved and respected by all degrees of persons ^b. But, in what the same author adds, that this prince resigned the crown to *Hussayn* (whom he calls his eldest son), to lead a devout life, on account of a dream which he had of his death ; and that he died, after having lived holily more than thirty years, he seems to have been mistaken : since the *Persian* writers are silent as to any such thing ; and what is related above, appears more probable.

The reign of Soltân Hussayn.

3. Soltân
Hussayn.

Hej. 784.
A. D. 1382.

Slain by Ah-
med.

HUSSAYN, second son of Sheykh *Avîs*, or *Veîs*, had the surname of *Kurkbin* ; because he was nearly related to the *Mungl* Soltâns of the race of *Jenghîz Khân*, as well as that of *Il Khâni*, as being descended from *Hulâkû*. This prince, who was possessed of *Arabian* or *Babylonish Irâk*, and *Azerbejân*, carried his arms into *Persian Irâk* ; and probably would have subdued that province, had he not been prevented by the rebellion and fratricide of his brother *Abmed*, in the following manner. In the year 784 Soltân *Hussayn* sent *Adel Aga*, general of his troops, to besiege certain castles belonging to the city of *Ray*, or *Rey*, in *Persian Irâk* ; and having, for that purpose, given him the greater part of his forces, *Abmed* took the opportunity ; under pretence of some discontent, to retire from the city of *Tabriz*, or *Tauris*, where the court then was, to that of *Ardebîl* (about thirty miles distant). The Soltân being informed of this retreat, immediately sent an express after him, to order his return : but this prince, who had great designs in his head, refused to obey the command ; and, at the same time, raising what troops he could, came and surprised his brother, who remained in a manner disarmed in his capital. *Hussayn*, not being in a condition to make resistance against this unexpected attack, endeavoured to conceal himself, that he might not fall into *Abmed*'s hands : but he was soon discovered, and brought before his unnatural brother, who ordered him to be put to death ^c. *Arabshâh* relates, that *Abmed* revolted in the latter *Jomada* of the year 783 ; and, after keeping his brother a year in misery, put him to death ; at which time he was turned of twenty. According to the same author, this prince, whom he names *Jalâlo'ddîn Hussayn*, was the most virtuous, and worthy to reign, of all the sons of Sheykh *Avîs*, in whose steps he trod : he was good to his subjects, and very generous, full of courage and magnanimity ^d.

The reign of Soltân Ahmed.

4. Soltân Ah-
med.

MOGHITHO'DDÎN AHMED, commonly called also *Abmed Jalayr* (A), third son of Sheykh *Avîs*, having put his brother *Hussayn* to death, immediately assumed the title of Soltân ; but was in danger of losing it almost as soon as he had usurped it : for his younger brother *Bayezîd*, frightened at the horrid murder which he had committed, fled for refuge to *Adel Aga*, who commanded the army. This general, shocked at the horrid act no less than the young prince, immediately acknowledged him for lawful Soltân, and marched in pursuit of *Abmed* ; who, not having forces sufficient to resist his, fled in his turn, and retired to *Marvand*. However, while *Adel Aga* persisted to pursue *Abmed*, and had almost gotten him into his hands, the principal officers of the army mutinied against him, in favour of the usurper ; so that he was forced to retire with his new Soltân to the city of *Soltâniya*. *Abmed*, on this advice, did not fail to throw himself immediately into *Tauris* : but he was no sooner arrived there, than he received the news that Sheykh *Ali* and *Pîr Ali* were advancing to besiege him.

^a KONDAM. ap. D'Herbel. p. 149. art. Avis.
ubi sup. p. 149. & 464. art. Avîs & Houssain ben Avîs.

^b ARABSH. ubi sup. l. iii. §. 3.
^d ARABSH. ubi sup.

^c KONDAM.

(A) Called *Moghitho'ddîn* in *Arabshâh*, and *Abmed Jalayr* in *Sharîfo'ddîn's* life of *Timûr Bek*.

- a AHMED, tho' not sufficiently prepared for such a sudden attack, yet, being full of courage, *Expelled and*
marched out of *Tauris* to give them battle. The two armies were now in fight near a place *restored.*
called *Heft Rûdb*, or the *seven rivers*, when *Omar Kiptbâki* went over with his troops from
Abmed, and joined *Sheykh Ali*. As this piece of treachery lost him the victory, of which he
seemed already secure, he found he had no other course left but to retire in haste to the city of
Nakhsbiwân, and obtain succour of *Kara Mohammed* the *Turkmân*, first prince of the dynasty
named *Kara Kuyunlu*, or the *Black Sheep*. This prince intirely re-established the affairs of
Abmed: for, joining him with 500 horse, they marched against their enemies; and defeated
them so effectually, that both *Sheykh Ali* and *Pir Ali* were killed on the spot. After this
victory, *Abmed* returned in triumph to *Tauris*; but he did not remain quiet long: for *Adel*
b *Aga* still maintained his ground in *Soltânîya* with *Soltân Bayezîd*, and gave him no small uneasi-
ness; till *Timûr Bek*, in the year 795, subdued *Persian Irâk*, when that city, with the rest,
fell into his hands.

BUT at the same time *Timûr* took this thorn out of *Abmed*'s side, he thrust a worse into its *Expelled by*
place: for, the same year, that conqueror marched to besiege him in *Bâghdâd*, from whence *Timûr.*
the *Soltân* fled, leaving his capital at the mercy of the enemy. A party of *Tatars* pursued *Hej. 795.*
him hotly as far as the plain of *Kerbela*, on the west side of the *Euphrates*: where, after sever- *A. D. 1392.*
al skirmishes, *Abmed*, by stratagem, escaped out of their hands, with *Kara Yûsef* the *Turk-*
mân; who had accompanied him ever since the great service which he had done him at the
battle of *Heft Rudb*. After this narrow deliverance, they continued their road, nor stopped
c till they arrived in *Anatolia*: but, not finding themselves safe enough there, they passed into *A. D. 1398.*
Egypt, under the protection of *Al Mâlek Al Nâsser Farraj*, second *Soltân* of the *Cherkassian*
Mamlûks, who began his reign in 801. This prince, who, through fear of *Timûr*'s power,
was willing to hold a good correspondence with him, did not fail to send him notice of the
arrival of these two new guests.

TIMUR, on this advice, wrote to *Farraj*, that, if he would give him some proof of his *Detained in*
friendship, he should send him *Soltân Abmed* under a strong guard, and keep the *Turkmân* *Egypt.*
prisoner. The king of *Egypt*, willing both to preserve the laws of hospitality, and in some measure
satisfy *Timûr*, set guards upon the refugee princes: but, as they had liberty to converse toge-
ther, they formed a league among themselves, by which they engaged to remain firm in the
d *Soltân* of *Egypt*'s alliance, and to assist each other against all opposers, as soon as they should
recover their liberty; which did not happen till the year 807, after the death of *Timûr*. As *Hej. 107.*
soon as *Farraj* received this news, he loaded his prisoners with caresses, and dismissed them: *A. D. 1404.*
but scarce had *Kara Yûsef* gotten out of the *Egyptian* dominions, when, putting himself at
the head of his *Turkmâns*, he seized great part of *Irâk Arabi*, and *Al Fazîreh*, or *Mesopota-*
mia. *Farraj*, highly incensed at this irruption, complained in sharp terms to *Soltân Abmed*,
on whose account that conquest was made: but receiving no satisfaction, he intirely withdrew
his protection from him.

MEAN time *Abmed*, losing no courage, altho' he saw himself abandoned by so powerful an *Recovers*
ally, had recourse to stratagem: he put himself, with some of his people, in the habit of men- *Bâghdâd.*
e dicants; and, by that means getting into *Bâghdâd* undiscovered, stirred up a great tumult
against the governor, who there commanded in behalf of *Omar Mirza*, to whom *Timûr* had given
it. The effect was, that the governor was driven out; and then *Abmed*, appearing among
the inhabitants, was proclaimed *Soltân* by them. Towards the end of the year 808, while *A. D. 1405.*
Abûbekr Mirza, grandson of *Timûr*, was engaged in the siege of *Ispâbân*, *Sheykh Ibrâhîm*,
king of *Sbîrwân*, came and reduced the city of *Tauris*. On this news, *Abmed* immediately
set out from *Bâghdâd* with his army: but, on his approach, *Ibrâhîm* returned to *Sbîrwân*;
while the *Soltân*, entering that city, became again in possession of all his dominions; on which
account he made great rejoicings.

NEXT year *Sheykh Ibrâhîm*, after he had reduced *Ispâbân*, resolved to pay *Abmed* a visit; *Defeated and*
f and, having marched to *Tauris*, obliged him to leave that city, and fly full-speed to *Bâghdâd*. *slain,*
In the mean time *Kara Yûsef*, taking advantage of the divisions which reigned among these
neighbouring princes, who made war upon each other, fell with his fresh and warlike troops upon
the province of *Azerbejân*, and subdued it intirely within the space of two or three years.
Abmed, unable to see this conquest without regret, resolved, in 812, to attack the *Turkmân*; *Hej. 812.*
and wrest out of his hands a country which he considered as the patrimony of his ancestors. *A. D. 1409.*
For this purpose he took the opportunity, when he was most employed in the war which he
then carried on against *Kara Othmân* (prince of the *White Sheep* dynasty), in the *Greater Arme-*
nia, and surprised *Tauris*; which he entered in 113, without any resistance. *Kara Yûsef* no
sooner heard this trick which *Abmed* had played him, than he marched with his troops against
g the *Soltân*; who advanced to meet him with all his forces, two leagues from *Tauris*, where
a most bloody battle was fought between these two princes.

by Kara Yû-
sef.

THE *Turkmân* obtained the victory in so complete a manner, that the Soltân had scarce time a to save himself in a neighbouring garden, where he remained hidden for some time; but, being at length discovered, he was presented to his vanquisher; who reproached with his late treachery, but without depriving him either of his life, or the title of Soltân. However, he disposed of his dominions, and laid him under an injunction never to attempt any thing against his authority. But, not long after, the principal lords of *Irâk Arabi*, who were incensed against the Soltân, counselled *Kara Yûsef* to cut him off; alleging, that this prince, who was naturally of a restless disposition, would not remain long without involving them in some new war, which would complete their ruin. The *Turkmân* followed their advice; and commanded both him and his children to be put to death that same year, 813 (B). Thus ended the family of Sheykh *Hassan Buzruk*, which had raised itself to a very high pitch of grandeur as well as power; b and that of the *Kara Kuyonlu*, or *Black Sheep*, succeeded in its room^c.

Hej. 813.

A. D. 1410.

His character.

It appears from the above history of this prince, that he was of a cruel, tyrannical, treacherous, and turbulent disposition; which is agreeable to the character given him by *Arabshâh*: who informs us, that, after he was become master of *Bâghdâd*, by the murder of his brother *Husfayn*, he gave a loose to his violent and unjust humour, by treating his subjects very ill; and never ceased from doing mischief, depriving them of their effects and lives at pleasure. In short, his debauchery, cruelty, and rapines, grew at length so intolerable, that it was reported the citizens of *Bâghdâd* called in *Timûr* to relieve their misery. The same author recites two lines which his Soltân wrote to that conqueror, when he fled before his army: the sense of which is, *If I have been maimed, so that I cannot fight; yet I have not been so lame, but that I am able to run.* These verses were cutting, as they hinted at a lameness in the arm and leg, such as *Timûr* is reported to have had^f.

^c KONDAM. ubi sup. Avis, Ahmed

^f ARABSHAH, ubi supra.

(B) The reader will meet with several other particulars relating to this prince, in the history of *Kara Yûsef* and *Timûr Bek*; which it will be necessary to con-

sult, in order to explain some obscurities which may occur in the next.

S E C T. II.

The dynasty of the Jubânians, or Chubânians.

The reign of Sheykh Hassan Kujuk.

1. Soltân
Hassan Ku-
juk.

SHEYKH *Hassan Kujuk*, or the Lesser, so called to distinguish him from Sheykh *Hassan Buzruk*, or the Greater, founder of the dynasty of the *Ilkbânians*; was the son of *Timûrtash*, son of the Amîr *Jubân*, or *Chûbân* (A), who was tutor to *Abûsaïd Khân*, and general of his armies. In virtue of these great employments, he acted as regent during the minority of his pupil; and discharged his trust with so much justice and fidelity, that, as soon as he heard that his son *Timûrtash* had rebelled in the country of *Rûm*, or *Anatolia*, of which he was governor, he marched against him, and brought him in chains to the foot of the throne, for *Abûsaïd* to dispose of him as he thought fit: but having afterwards disoblinded that prince, by refusing to consent to the divorce of his daughter, whom he had married to Sheykh *Hassan Buzruk*, and give her up to his embraces, conformable to a law among the *Mungls*, which intitles the Khân to the wife of any of his subjects; *Abûsaïd* never rested till he found an occasion of destroying him, as hath been already related in the history of his reign. c

Rise and
power.

A. D. 1355.

As for *Timûrtash*, that prince not only pardoned his crime, the Amîr *Jubân* being then in favour, but also restored him to the government of *Rûm*, where, for the future, his conduct was free from blame: but, not thinking himself safe in that country after the death of his father, in 727, he took shelter in the court of *Al Mâlek Al Nasser*, Soltân of *Egypt*. Thus matters stood with his family till the year 736: when, on the demise of *Abûsaïd Khân*, who left no issue, *Hassan*, surnamed *Kujuk* (B), son of *Timûrtash*, seeing the governors of provinces set up for sovereigns in their respective departments^a, and assume the title of Soltân, or prince, believed he had no less a right to aspire to a crown. In order to compass his design, he returned to the country of *Rûm*, where his father had many friends; and, assembling a considerable number f of troops, marched into *Azerbejân*, against *Mohammed Khân* and *Hassan Buzruk*, whom he vanquished, killing the first in battle; and so distressing the latter, that he at length surren-

^a D'HERBEL. p. 403. art. Gioban.

(A) It has been noted in the former section, that this name belonged to the chief of the tribe of *Saidus*.

(B) *Abû'lghazi Klân* calls him Sheykh *Hassan Khoja*.

dered

a dered himself into his hands. It is true, *Buzruk* made his escape to *Bâghdâd* some time afterwards; and, having set up another Khân in the room of the deceased *Mohammed*, marched to try his fortune anew against *Hassan Kujuk*: but he was again defeated, and took refuge in *Bâghdâd*, as has been related in the foregoing section.

MEAN time *Hassan Kujuk* became every day more formidable; and it is not known how far he would have carried his conquests, if he had not been cut off, in the midst of his career, by a violent death, in the following manner. This prince having caused one *Yâkûb Shâh* to be arrested on some occasion or other, his wife, who had an intimacy with that person, imagined the secret had been discovered; under which apprehension, she took the opportunity, while *Sheykh Hassan* was fast asleep, after hard drinking, to cut his throat. It is remarkable, that, notwithstanding this *Sheykh* was so powerful, he never assumed the title of Khân^b. This prince founded the dynasty of the *Jûbânians* in 738, two years after the death of *Abûsâid Khân*, and reigned seven: during which time he was always at war with some or other of his neighbours, and made himself master of *Azerbejân* and *Persian Irâk*; which dominions he left to his brother *Mâlek Ashrâf*^c. *Murdered by his wife.* Hej. 738. A. D. 1337.

The reign of Mâlek al Ashrâf.

c **S**HE Y K H *Hassan Kujuk* having come by an untimely death in the manner above related, his brother *Mâlek al Ashrâf* succeeded him in the usurpation of the supreme power; and, immediately after, conferred the dignity of Khân upon *Naw Shîrwân*, one of the descendants of *Hulâkû Khân*: but, in a short time, repenting of what he had done, thrust him from the throne to which he had advanced him, and seized it for himself. As this prince was very tyrannical, and led a most scandalous life, great numbers of his subjects, and, among others, the chief justice, left his dominions, and went into *Kipjâk*, where *Jâni Bek Khân* then reigned; to whom they represented the actions of *Mâlek Ashrâf* in such a light, that he thought himself obliged in conscience to invade his dominions^d. Accordingly he set forward; and, after a long march, entered *Azerbejân*; in which, advancing as far as the city *Khui*, or *Koy*, he was met by *Mâlek Ashrâf* with nearly equal forces: but, victory declaring in his favour, the latter was defeated and slain, in the year 756. Hereupon *Jâni Bek Khân* seized his dominions; and divided among his subjects all the treasure of that usurper, which amounted to 400 camel-loads of gold and jewels, besides other valuable effects. After this, the Khân returned home, leaving his son *Birdi Bek* to govern the conquered countries^e. The oriental authors give to *Mâlek Ashrâf* a reign of thirteen years. ^{2.} *Soltân Mâlek al Ashrâf.* Hej. 756. A. D. 1355.

^b ABU'IGH. KHAN, p. 190. hist. p. 191, 198.

^c D'HERB. ubi sup.

^d See before, p. 447.

^e ABU'LOHAZI KHAN

B O O K X.

*The history of Timûr Bek, commonly called Tamerlan,
and his successors.*

C H A P. I.

The transactions preceding Timûr's reign.

Sharifo'ddîn
Ali.

AMONG the many oriental authors who have written the life of this great prince, two are particularly famous. The first is the Mûlla *Sharifo'ddîn Ali*, a native of *Yezd*, in *Pârs*, or *Proper Persia*; who wrote in *Persian* (A), at the command of *Ibrakîm Soltân*, son of *Shâh Rukh*, son of *Timûr*, in the year 1424, nineteen years after the death of that conqueror. Not only *Kondamîr*, but all other historians, agree that he is the most valuable of all those who have written on the subject, on account both of the delicacy of his style, and completeness of his work^a: nor is this to be wondered at, when the reader is informed, that it was compiled from a journal, or memoirs, wherein the minutest actions and discourses of *Timûr* on all occasions were penned down by *Tatar* and *Persian* secretaries, who always attended him for that purpose. To these were added, reports of facts, by several officers and great lords who were upon the spot; after they had been verified, in the presence of *Timûr*, by other credible witnesses, whom he examined himself^b.

Ahmed Arab-
shâh.

THE second author is *Ahmed ebn Arabshâh*, a *Syrian*, who wrote in *Arabic*; and, thirty-five years after the death of *Timûr*, published his history; which is reckoned by *Golius* to comprise *all the elegance of that language*^c (B). But this author lived at too great a distance to be acquainted with the actions of that prince so well as the former; besides, being prejudiced against *Timûr*, like several other *Turkish* and *Arab* historians, for having conquered their countries, he takes all occasions to vilify and blacken his character. These writers make him originally a shepherd, who raised his fortune by robbing on the highway; they have changed his name from *Timûr Bek*, or *Beg*, to *Timûr Lenk*, which signifies *lame*, pretending that he was lamed by an arrow, with which he was shot by a shepherd whose sheep he was stealing; and from hence *Europeans* have formed the name of *Tamerlain*, or *Tambourlan*^d.

The first fol-
lowed.

As the first of these two authors (C) is, in many respects, to be preferred, we judged we could not do better than give the reader an abstract of his history; yet adding, by way of notes, what we thought proper, from *Ebn Arabshâh*, and others. Our giving the history of this prince, as well as *Jenghîz Khân*, in some detail, may serve to make the reader some amends for the scanty memoirs relating to the intermediate successors of the latter. And indeed, from the reign of one great prince, we receive more useful knowledge, by the variety of extraordi-

^a Hist. Tim. Bek, pref. edit. p. 6, & seq.
& VATIER's Translat. of Arabsh. pref. p. 6, & 11.
Translat. of Arabsh. pref. 6, & 11.

^b Ibid. pref. auth. p. 30.

^c Ibid. pref. edit. p. 8.

^d Hist. Tim. Bek, pref. edit. p. 8. & VATIER's

(A) This history is intituled, *Zafer Nameh Amîr Timûr Gûr Khân*; that is, *The history of the conquests of prince Timûr, son-in-law of the Khân*.

(B) The work is intituled, *A memorial of the wonders of destiny, in the life and actions of Timûr*; composed by Ahmed, son of Arabshâh. The history of *Al Hafin*, or *Hafin*, and others, are full of fables, and not much to be regarded.

(C) They have been translated into *French*, the first by M. *Petit La Croix* the son; the second by Mr. *Vatier*; and *Golius* gave an edition of it in *Arabic*. The history of *Timûr Bek* has been translated into *English*; and both are valuable, for the considerable light which they give into the geography of several countries of *Asia*.

a nary events which happen, than from those of many others, who have made no great figure in the world. But, before we enter directly upon the reign of *Timûr Bek*, it will be proper to recount certain transactions which preceded it, and, in effect, prepared the way to his future grandeur.

It hath been already mentioned^c, in the history of the Khâns who succeeded *Jagatay* in *Confusion in Great Bukhâria*, that, after the death of *Kâzân Khân*, in 747, the princes of the empire assumed the government, and made the Khâns at pleasure; leaving them little more than the bare title, *Hej. 747. A. D. 1346.* while themselves usurped all the authority. The first of those princes was *Amîr Kazagân*; who, in the administration of affairs, acquitted himself with a conduct which deserves to be immortalized in history.

b AFTER the death of *Abûsaïd Khân*, eighth successor of *Hulâkû* in *Îrân*, or *Persia* at large, who died in 1335, the affairs of that country fell into confusion for want of a successor of the race of *Jenghîz Khân* to succeed in his dominions, which the princes and governors divided among themselves; and as the *Turks*, *Moguls*, and *Tatars* (D), had no longer the sovereign power in *Khorassân*, *Mâlek Hussayn*, surnamed *Moazo'ddîn*, son of *Mâlek Kayazo'ddîn*, prince of *Herât*, capital of that country, took advantage of the conjuncture to extend his authority. *Hej. 747. A. D. 1346.* *Mâlek Hussayn.* *Massûd*, surnamed *Vejedîn*, king of the *Serbedâls*, who, on the death of *Abûsaïd*, had formed a small kingdom at *Sebzawâr*, a strong city towards *Nisâbûr*, to put a check to this rival, marched from that fortress in 743 (1342). The armies met near *Zâve*, between both cities; and that of *Mâlek Hussayn* was defeated. But this prince, rallying 300 horse, fell on the *Serbedâls* while they were plundering his camp, killed their general, made a great slaughter, and took all their camp, the young king escaping by flight^f. On this victory *Mâlek Hussayn* assumed the authority of a king; and, knowing that *Kâzân's* tyranny had thrown *Jagatay* into confusion, made incursions as far as the borders of *Andekûd* and *Shebûrgân*, near *Bâlk*, in *Khorassân*. *Mir Kazagân*, on this advice, passed the *Jibûn*, or *Amû*, with the grand Khân, and princes of the empire, and marched towards *Herât*; near which *Mâlek Hussayn*, with 4000 horse, and 15,000 foot, expected him: but, after an obstinate battle, his troops were defeated, and he fled into the city only with his guards. Next day the *Jagatays* besieged the place, which held out vigorously for forty days; at the end wherof, *Hussayn*, weary of the leaguer, with the consent of his lords, proposed, in case *Mir Kazagân* would withdraw his forces, to go next year, and ask pardon of the grand Khân and him. *Mir Kazagân*, who was of a sweet and merciful temper, consented on those terms, and returned to *Great Bukhâria* in 752^g. *Oppos'd by Kazagân.*

MEAN time the commanders of *Mâlek Hussayn's* army set up his brother *Mâlek Baker*: but he was restored next year, by the bounty of *Mir Kazagân*; who, now having sent his son *Mirza Abd'allah* to conquer *Karazm* (which he effected), after passing the spring, as usual, at *Karânver*, went to spend the summer and autumn at the city of *Munek*, for the conveniency of hunting. One day, parting unarmed from *Sâli Saray* with only fifteen persons, he crossed the *Jibûn*, with design to hunt in the country of *Arbenk*: but, while he was in the chace, *Kotluk Timûr*, his son-in-law, in revenge for an affront, fell on him with a company of robbers, and slew this great prince; but some of his officers, pursuing the assassin, overtook and killed him; *Hej. 752. A. D. 1351. who is slain.* then carried back the body of *Mir Kazagân* to *Sâli Saray*, in 759. Upon his death, all the princes paid homage to his son the *Mirza Abdo'llah*, who immediately confirmed *Beyan Kâli* in the dignity of Khân. After which, contrary to the advice of the princes, he removed to *Samar-kant* with the grand Khân, whom he caused to be assassinated, to secure himself of the empress, with whom he had fallen in love; placing on the throne *Timûr Shâh Aglen*, son of *Bisun* (or *Yasun*) *Timûr Khân*. *Hej. 759. A. D. 1357.*

Timur Shah Khan did not long enjoy his dignity: for, the princes offended at *Abdo'llah's* proceeding, *Beyan Seldûz*, the chief of them, raised an army at *Hissar*, or *Shaduman*; and, being joined at *Kesh* by *Haji Berlâs*, *Timûr Bek's* uncle, marched to *Samarkant*; where *Abdo'llah* (E) being routed, and his brothers taken, they were both put to death, together with the Khân of his making. The two princes, who were at that time in great reputation and authority, made themselves masters of the country, and took on them the government. *Beyan Seldûz* was of a good-natured and pleasant disposition: but, as he loved wine to excess, and seldom passed eight days without a debauch of that kind, it bred great confusion in his kingdom, and made the princes set up for sovereigns, some through ambition, and others in their own defence^h.

THE city of *Kash*, or *Kesh*, with its dependencies, remained in the possession of the princes *Timûr* and *Haji Berlâs*, as it had done from the time of *Karashar Noyân*, the lieutenant of *Jagatay Khân*. The country of *Kojend* was in the hands of prince *Bayezîd Jalayr*: *Mir Hussayn*, *Empire divided.*

^c Page 466.^f Hist. TIM. BEK, l. 1. c. 5.^g Ibid. p. 6—11.^h Ibid. p. 11—15.(D) These names, with that of *Jagatays*, are promiscuously used by our author.(E) This young prince fled to *Andevâb*, a city of the little kingdom of *Badaghân*, where he spent his days.

son of *Mufella*, son of *Mir Kazagân*, made himself master of *Kabul*, and several other lordships; where he maintained himself, as long as he was able, in the dignity of his grandfather. *Olaja Boga Seldus* became sovereign of *Bâlk*: and *Mehemed Koja Aperdi*, prince of the *Naymâns*, took possession of *Shebûrgân*: the kings of *Badâgshân* fortified themselves in their mountains; while *Key Khofrû* and *Olaja Itû Aperdi* seized *Katlân* and *Arbenk*: lastly, *Kefer Yesûri*, prince of the tribes of *Serpol* and *Takun*, assumed the title of king. All these princes were continually at war; and some were slain in battle, particularly *Mehemed Koja Aperdi*, in a rash attack upon *Mâlek Hussayn*, prince of *Herût*.

Togluk Timûr Khân.

A. D. 1359.

TOGLUK TIMUR KHÂN, prince of *Jetab* (F), son of *Aymel Koja* (G), son of *Dava* (or *Doyji*) Khân, to whom the crown of this country belonged; taking advantage of the confusion which at this time reigned there, in 761 invaded it with a great army, by way of *Tisbkunt* and *Khojend*; the prince of which, *Baezîd Jalayr*, judged it prudent to join them. *Haji Berlâs*, after raising troops at *Kash* and *Kârshi*, thought fit to retire into *Khorassân*. Prince *Timûr Bek*, who was but twenty-five years old, and had but just lost his father *Tragay*, concluded the only way for him to save his patrimony, and serve his country, was, to give way to necessity, and submit to the grand Khân. This submission was so acceptable to *Togluk Timûr*'s commanders, who had entered *Great Bukhâria*, that they conferred on him the command of a toman, or 10,000 men, which had belonged to his great ancestor *Karasbar Noyân*; and the principality of *Kash*, or *Kesh*, with its dependencies. Soon after this, a dissention arising between the said commanders, they marched out of the country, to attend their master^b.

Timûr assists Hussayn

MEAN time Amîr *Hussayn*, intending to make war on *Beyân Seldûz*, sent to desire aid of *Timûr Bek*, *Kesûre Yesûri*, and *Bayezîd*. These princes agreed to assist him; and, while the two first went to join him, the third was sent, to excuse this step, to *Togluk Timûr Khân*: but finding, when he came to *Kojend*, that the Khân was returned home, he proceeded no farther. The other two princes having joined Amîr *Hussayn*, they all marched to *Hissar*, or the fortress of *Shaduman*; and *Beyân Seldûz*, not being in a condition to oppose them, fled to *Badâgshân*, whither they pursued him. This obliged the king, *Shâh Babao'ddîn*, to fly also; by which means the whole country fell into the hands of Amîr *Hussayn*, who afterwards put to death *Key Kobâd*, brother of *Key Kosrû*, prince of *Katlân*. The war being thus finished, *Timûr Bek* and *Kesûr Yesûri* returned home; but were not there long, before Amîr *Hussayn* sent again to desire their assistance against *Togluk Seldûz*, who had broken the peace by several acts of hostility. The princes hastened to his aid: but the enemy fled on the news of their approach.

against other princes.

TIMUR BEK, being on his way back, was informed that his uncle *Haji Berlâs* was on his return to *Kash*; and had joined *Mir Bayezîd*, with design to attack *Kefer Yesûri*. Hereupon he joined prince *Kefer* with his troops, and marched towards that city: *Haji Berlâs*, on this advice, marched thither also. The two armies meeting, a bloody battle was fought; in which *Timûr* gained the victory, and obliged his uncle to fly to *Bayezîd* at *Samarkant*. The two princes resolved to follow him thither: but, in the way, all the troops of *Kash*, by what motive is unknown, abandoned *Timûr*, and went over to *Haji Berlâs*. This desertion raised a jealousy in *Kefer Yesûri*; which he making known both by his words and behaviour, *Timûr* at length quitted him, and returned to his own country; where his uncle gave him a kind reception, and conducted him to *Mir Bayezîd*.

Escapes a plot.

THESE resolving to renew the war against *Kefer*; *Timûr*, who longed for an occasion to revenge the affront, readily joined with them, and marched at the head of the van-guard. He met the enemy, beyond the mountain of *Kash*; and, after an obstinate fight, obliged them to fly. This victory secured *Bayezîd* in the throne, and *Haji Berlâs* in possession of his territories. Yet these two princes had a consultation, the next day, to the disadvantage of *Timûr*: who, discovering it in the council, pretended his nose bled; and went out: then, returning home, he mounted his horse, and retired with his arms into the field; by which means he avoided the snare. As soon as his uncle heard of his departure, he sent to desire him to raise the troops of the desert, and return to his assistance against two princes who threatened them with war. *Timûr* did as he was intreated; and defeated *Ali Gurguri* near *Termed*, which he entered.

Togluk Timûr Khân.

A. D. 1360.

MEAN time *Togluk Timûr Khân*, of *Jetab* (or the *Getes*), renewing his design of conquering *Great Bukhâria*, in 762 marched on that side with a great army. As soon as he arrived at *Kojend*, *Mir Bayezîd*, prince of that place, paid him his respects: *Beyân Seldûz*, went to meet him as far as *Samarkant*; and *Haji Berlâs* at this time made no scruple to wait on him. But, the Khân having seized and put to death *Mir Bayezîd*, *Berlâs*, for fear of the like treatment, fled with a few troops, and crossed the *Jibûn* (or *Amû*). There, being overtaken by the regi-

^b Hist. TIM. BEK, p. 15—22. c. 3 & 4.

¹ Ibid p. 22—28. c. 5.

(F) He was king of *Kâshgar*, or, more properly, *Little Bukhâria*, with perhaps the neighbouring parts of *Tartary* on the north.

(G) Or *Amul Koja*, the same with *Isan Buga*, eleventh Khân of *Great Bukhâria*.

a ment of *Kashmîr*, a bloody battle was fought, in which *Shugam Berlâs* was killed; yet *Haji Berlâs*, with his brother *Idekîl*, escaped, only to be slain by robbers at the village of *Korash* (dependent on *Sebzawîr*): which, on the reduction of *Khorassân* soon after, *Toghluk Timûr Khân* gave to *Timûr Bek*, who slew the murderers of his uncle. The Khân likewise confirmed him in the sovereignty of *Kash*; and of a Toman which descended to him by the death of *Haji Berlâs*.

After this, *Toghluk Timûr Khân* marched against *Amîr Hussayn*, who waited for him at the river *Vâkesb*: but *Key Kosrû*, prince of *Katlân* (whose brother, *Key Kobîd Hussayn* had put to death), going over to the *Getes*, that prince fled; and was pursued across the *Jibûn*, as far as *Kondoz*. The Khân, after this, returning to *Samarkant*, put to death *Beyân Seldûz*, on suspicion of harbouring inclinations to revolt: but behaved obligingly to those whom he judged to be sincerely in his interest; and, having brought the empire of *Jagatay* to submit to his authority, gave the government of the conquered countries to his son *Elias Kojâ Aglen*. Several lords and great officers were ordered to attend him, under the command of *Bikîjek*; and *Timûr* had the principal administration of affairs under the prince: after which, *Toghluk Timûr Khân* returned to his capital ^k.

When the Khân was gone, prince *Timûr*, observing that *Bikîjek*'s proceedings, in contempt of his master's authority, would throw things into confusion, thought fit to withdraw from court, and repair to *Amîr Hussayn*, in the desert of *Kivak*. The two malecontent princes went to *Tekil*, the governor of *Kivak*; but, he having a design to seize them, they left him. *Tekil* pursued them with 1000 horse: but, though they had only sixty men, they made so brave a stand, that, when they had but seven men left, the enemy were reduced to fifty; who still continued the fight, and had twice slain *Hussayn*, but for *Timûr*. At length, the first having dismounted *Tekil* with an arrow-shot, the latter dispatched him with a pike; whereupon the battle ended. After this, the two princes thinking it safer to part, *Timûr* crossed the desert, with his wife *Turkhân Aga*, *Hussayn*'s sister, and came to *Jûrfey*, where he was surrounded by *Turkmâns*; and must have fared ill, if he had not been known by one of them, who prevented their attacking him, and put him in a condition to join his brother-in law at a place called *Mahmûdi*, in the desert.

MEAN time *Ali Bey*, having advice of their arrival, with sixty horse, surprised and carried them prisoners to *Makhân* (H); where he detained them for two months, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his brother *Mohammed*, from *Thûs* (or *Mashâd*); he also seized the presents which *Mohammed* sent them, and dismissed them with one lean horse, and an old camel. In this distress *Mobarek Shâh*, prince of *Sanjer*, went in quest of them with several fine horses, and other necessaries; which enabled them to pursue their design of returning privately into *Great Bukhâria*. *Timûr*, being known at *Samarkant*, retired to *Kesh*, and thence to *Kandabâr*¹. From hence, at the request of the prince of *Sistân* (or *Sejestân*), they marched to his assistance with 1000 horse. In their return they were intercepted by some people of the country; in which conflict, *Timûr* was sorely wounded in the hand (I). At length, arriving at *Arsif*, near *Bakalân*, they were there joined by several princes, and bodies of men. Others, hearing of the success of their affairs, broke with the *Getes*, and went to meet them in the country of *Bâlk*. There they were opposed by *Abûsaïd*, son of *Tayfû*, *Mengheli Buga Seldûz*, and *Hayder Andekûdi*, three princes, their enemies, with 6000 men. The battle, which lasted from morning till night, was renewed next morning; and, altho' the troops of the two princes were much inferior in number, yet, by *Timûr*'s valour, they gained the victory.

Of two thousand horse, which remained, *Timûr* took one moiety; and, passing the *Jibûn* at *Termed*, sent scouts to *Kolûga*, or the iron gate. But these, falling asleep, were surprised by *Ajûni*, brother of *Bikîjek*; so that, while *Timûr* thought himself secure, both the scouts and enemy arrived at his camp. The soldiers, not having time to draw up in order, were under a necessity to repass the river; which they did in barks, while *Timûr* made a stand in an isle, to favour their design. The two parties remained in sight of each other for thirty days; after which, *Timûr*, having burnt the barks, went to join *Mîr Hussayn* at *Kulm*, on the borders of *Bâlk*. From thence they marched towards *Badâghshân*: and, having gathered troops, went and encamped near *Ghûlek*. Here they learned that a new army of *Getes* was arrived in *Great Bukhâria*; and that several princes were encamped between *Jâla*, and the bridge of *Senghîn*, with 20,000 troops. This news caused 6000 men to desert the princes: yet *Timûr*, not dismayed, marched with 2000 men to dispute the passage of the bridge^m.

^k Hist. TIM. BEK, p. 28—31. c. 6.

¹ Ibid. p. 31—37. cap. 7.

^m Ibid. p. 37—44. c. 8.

(H) Or *Makhân*, a city in *Khorassân*, from whence the *Othmâns* are said to have retired into *Asia Minor*, on the irruption of the *Mingls*.

(I) This wound seems to have lamed him; and hence

possibly the *Turkish* historians make him lame of a leg. This he revenged afterwards at *Sistân*, by putting to death the author of it.

*Defeats the
Getes.*

THIS prince, after maintaining the fight from morning till night, finding himself not strong enough to execute his design, had recourse to policy. He left 500 men at the foot of the bridge; and, swimming over the *Jibûn* with the rest, in the night, went and posted himself on the hills.

NEXT morning the enemy, perceiving, by the tracks of horses, that troops had passed the river, abstained from fighting that day. When night came, *Timûr* ordered his men to approach them, and light fires on the tops of the hills. This struck the *Getes* with such fear, imagining themselves surrounded with a numerous army, that they fled in disorder; but not towards the bridge, because they believed the men posted there to be much more numerous than they were. Mean time *Timûr*, perceiving the effect of his stratagem, came down from the mountains; and, being joined by *Hussayn*, made a great slaughter of the enemy. This defeat gained great reputation to *Timûr*, who recovered *Kash* by another stratagem.

*Another over-
thrown*

Hej. 765.

A. D. 1363.

*with great
slaughter.*

ABOUT this time *Elias Kojâ*, who was encamped at *Tâsh Arighi*, four leagues from *Kash*, received advice of the death of his father *Toghluk Timûr Khân*. But *Timûr*, whose troops were much increased since the late victory, proposed to pay him a visit before his departure, though his army was greatly inferior to that of the enemy. He encouraged them by declaring, that, in his sleep, a voice said to him, *Fear nothing; for the most high God will graciously give thee the victory*. With this assurance, they marched against the *Getes* in two bodies; *Hussayn* commanded the right wing, and *Timûr* the left. The new emperor likewise divided his army into two bodies; and, putting himself at the head of the left wing, gave the conduct of the right to *Mîr Tokatmûr* and prince *Bikîjek*. The two armies being at length engaged, *Timûr* broke thro' the enemy with such fury, that he threw the right wing into disorder, and drove the first rank upon the second. Having put them to flight with great slaughter, he advanced to attack *Bikîjek* and *Tokatmûr* in the rear, whom *Hussayn* had engaged in front: so that, notwithstanding the number of their troops, and bravery of their generals, they were compelled to follow their companions. *Tokatmûr*, with other generals, were killed; and *Bikîjek*, with *Elias Kojâ Khân* himself, besides other great commanders, taken: but these two being known by some of *Timûr*'s soldiers, they generously gave them their horses, and let them escape. *Timûr* pursued the enemy to the river *Yam*, where he made a great slaughter; then crossing the *Sihûn* (or *Sîr*), at *Kojend*, in pursuit of the *Khân*, encamped at *Tâshkunt*.

*New Khân
elected.*

THE two princes, observing that the rest, who had joined them against the *Getes*, paid them no great deference, and aimed at being independent, found the only way to prevent things running into confusion, was, to elect a grand *Khân*; and, having represented this in a general assembly, proposed *Cabul Shâh Aglen*; who was accordingly chosen at *Samarkant*. Then, causing him to ascend the throne, they presented him with the royal cap, after the custom of the *Turkish* kings, and bowed nine times before him.

*Timûr's gra-
titude.*

A. D. 1364.

AFTER the election of *Kabul Khân*, *Timûr* made a great feast; which being over, he proposed to deliver out of prison *Amîr Hamid*, lieutenant-general of the *Getes*, whose father had been his friend, and prince *Eskânder* his companion. *Hussayn* consented, altho' the latter was his enemy. When those, who assisted at the assembly, were returned home, *Timûr* sent two *Amîrs* to release the prisoners: but their keepers, seeing the *Amîrs* at a distance, and imagining they came to put *Hamid* to death, to save them the trouble, knocked him down, and cut off his head. This mistake proved fatal also to *Eskânder*: for, when *Amîr Hussayn* heard of it, he sent to demand that prince; who was sent to him, and put to death.

New invasion

THINGS seemed now to be in a settled condition; when, the beginning of next spring, news was brought that the *Getes* were marching towards *Great Bukhâria*. The princes, having passed the *Sihûn* at *Kojend*, met the enemy at *Exam*, between *Tâshkunt* and *Chinaz*: the *Amîr Hussayn* commanded the right wing, and *Timûr* the left. The *Getes* were led by the emperor *Elias Kojâ* himself; and, tho' they were by far inferior in number to the troops of the princes, yet they overcame them by help of the stone *Jedi* (K), which, steeped in water at a certain hour, has power to produce tempests, rain, and thunder. However that be, such a storm and deluge fell, that the earth shook like a sea; and this excessive moisture bred the *esterka*, a cruel distemper, which renders the limbs paralytic, and dries up the body to skin and bones.

of the Getes.

FOR all this, when the rain was over, the princes attacked the enemy courageously: but the *Getes*, who had covered themselves and horses with felts, brought for the purpose, received them with such vigour, that their forces were obliged to fly. *Timûr* at length rallied them, and a terrible carnage ensued: every man must have been slain, had not *Shem Kân Noyân* (brother of *Amîr Hamid* before-mentioned, who commanded the enemy's right wing), been slain by prince *Taku Berlâs*, as he was rising to strike *Timûr* with his sabre. As soon as *Elias Kojâ Khân* heard that his general was killed, he retreated with his troops, who were pursued by

^a Hist. TIM. BEK, p. 44—53. cap. 9, 10, 11.

(K) We have already taken notice of this superstition among the *Mangli* and *Tatars*.

^a *Timûr*. Mean time the left wing of the *Getes* pressed on the right wing, even to the guards of Amîr *Hussayn*. The fight was bloody, and the enemy triumphing, when *Timûr* advanced, and put *Shams'o'ddîn*, one of the generals, to flight. This gave *Hussayn* an opportunity to rally his troops; and he might have obtained the victory, had he followed *Timûr*'s advice to advance: but, whether through envy or presumption, he twice abused the messengers sent, for that purpose, by *Timûr*; who, seeing so fair an opportunity lost, thro' *Hussayn*'s caprice, gave over the attack, and resolved to be revenged. When the other was recovered from his ill humour, he sent several messages to *Timûr*, to intreat him to come and see him: but this prince, weary of his manner of acting, refused to go.

^b NEXT morning the battle was renewed, and, the *Getes* being soon put to flight, *Timûr* pursued them. In the way, his men perceiving the standard of prince *Shams'o'ddîn*, who was separated from the rest, with a great number of troops, they gave over the pursuit, and turned towards the white standard: the enemy likewise, perceiving them, rallied, and returned to the charge. The fight was bloody; and at length *Timûr*'s forces were defeated: a great number perished in the sloughs and marshes; many more were killed in the pursuit; more than 10,000 were slain in the whole. This famous battle, called that of *Lay*, or *The Slough*, was fought in *Ramadin*, in 776. After this great defeat, *Hussayn*, and the other princes, crossed the *Jihân*, and returned to *Sheberto*: but *Timûr* staid in the country, with a resolution to oppose the *Getes*. However, finding his endeavours vain, he in some time repaired to *Bâlk*, where he took no small pains to augment his forces ^c.

^c MEAN while the *Getes* laid siege to *Samarkant*, at that time without a citadel. The inhabitants defended themselves a long time very bravely: but, provisions at length beginning to fail, they must have surrendered, had not the loss of three-fourths of the enemy's horses by a mortality, obliged them to retire. The principal men of the city hereupon assumed a superiority over the rest, and caused great disorders in the place. On this advice, *Timûr* and *Hussayn*, having renewed their friendship more strongly than before, agreed to be at *Samarkant* the beginning of spring; where they put to death all the *Serbedâls* who had usurped the authority, excepting *Mulâna Zâde* (L), whom *Timûr* saved through a motive of piety. It was now that *Hussayn*, seeing all obstacles removed, discovered his insatiable avarice, and meanness of spirit. Altho' *Timûr* had as much, or a greater, share in the war, he even taxed his domestics. He exacted vast sums of the princes who had lost all in the wars; and, although he saw his sister's jewels among the cash which *Timûr* lent them to make up the demand, he did not hesitate to receive them. Indeed, when *Timûr* gave his horses, to satisfy for 300 dinars (or gold ducats) which remained unpaid, he would not take them; but waited till *Timûr* discharged that debt another way.

^d THE lords, highly incensed at this conduct of *Hussayn*, resolved to break off the union between him and *Timûr*: to whom, after humbling the other, they proposed to give the absolute power; as he was of a sweet temper, generous soul, and, in short, possessed of every virtue necessary to form a great prince. To bring this about, they wrote *Hussayn* word, that *Timûr*, offended with the grand Khân and him, was raising forces to attack him. *Hussayn*, on this, sent to desire *Timûr* would come to *Samarkant*, to confront his accusers. *Timûr* immediately went thither, and his accusers fled to *Kojend*: but, finding *Hussayn* still harboured his suspicion, and knowing his temper, one day opened his heart to the princes, declaring his intention to remedy the evil. *Shîr Babrâm*, and *Babrâm Jalayr*, on this, took off the mask; declaring their hatred, and design of all the princes to break with *Hussayn*: hereupon they entered into a treaty with *Timûr* to make war on him, and then retired. *Shîr Babrâm*, having raised troops at *Katlân*, began hostilities against *Hussayn*: but this politic prince, by his artifice, gained him over to his interest. For all this, *Timûr* pursued his enterprise; and, having at length raised an army, consisting of the most valiant men of the empire, in autumn 767 detached prince *Seyfo'ddîn*, with the van-guard, against *Hussayn*; who, on this, sent a treaty drawn up in the most enticing manner, to soften *Timûr*: but this prince would pay no regard to his overtures. However, as the governor he had left at *Samarkant* (M), and some other princes, had before gone over to *Hussayn*; so, on this occasion, the tribe of *Tesûri* deserted him ^e.

^e MEAN time *Hussayn* set forward with a great army: but, aiming still to over-reach his rival, sent another letter to him, with the korân; and, declaring that, by virtue of that book, his intentions were sincere, proposed a conference at *Shekichek*, each to be accompanied with no more than 100 men. *Timûr*, convinced of the deceit, was not for going: but, to gratify the

• Hist. TIM. BEK, p. 53—63. c. 11, 12.

P Ibid. p. 63—73. cap. 13, 14.

(L) They were all, or most of them, ecclesiastics, and this *Mulâna* the chief of them.

(M) About the same time also died his wife *Olâja*

Turkbân Aga, sister of *Hussayn*; who thereby lost the cement of union with *Timûr*.

princes, who chose peace, if it could be had, went. He took 300 men; and, leaving 200 at a some distance, advanced with the rest to the place of interview. *Hussayn*, after putting *Shir Babrám* to death, detached 3000 men to surprise *Timúr* at *Dehno*; of which a peasant, who had been a domestic of this prince, fled from the enemy to give him notice. But the officer, who stood centinel at the palace, not giving credit to what the man said, sent him away, without mentioning the matter to *Timúr*: so that, when this prince was near the place of rendezvous, he was alarmed with the appearance of those forces; whose march he stopped in a narrow passage, and then made his retreat fighting.

Timúr surprises Karshi.

THE army, to whom news was brought of *Hussayn's* treachery, concluding all was lost, dispersed themselves; and *Timúr*, with the other princes, retired to *Makhán*, in *Khorassán*, where he kept a saray of women. There he stopped all the karawáns; and, when he gave them leave to depart, took the road to *Herát* in their sight, as if he designed to go to that city. This the merchants reporting, when they arrived at *Kársbi*, Amír *Mússa* left the fortress, intending, with 7000 men, to visit *Uzkunt*: but *Timúr*, when the karawáns were at some distance, returned to his old station; and, having staid while the merchants might be going to *Kársbi*, set out for the same place, altho' he had but 200 men, and there were 12,000 in the neighbourhood of that city, which makes the action so much more remarkable. Being arrived near *Kársbi*, with several lords who accompanied him, he went with only two more; and, walking round the walls with great precaution, at length perceived a proper place for scaling. On this, *Timúr* returned; and, sending 100 men with ladders, to mount the wall, went, with an hundred more, to wait for the opening of the gate in the morning: but the scalers, having succeeded in their design, came and opened it for him, after slaying the drunken guards in the arms of their mistresses. *Timúr* made himself master of the city, while the troops seized the castle, where they took *Mehemed Bey*, son of the Amír *Mússa*.

Defeats Amír Mússa.

A. D. 1366.

THIS lord, being very young, was suffered to escape, that the news might cause his father's troops to disperse. Instead of this, he and *Málek Behádr*, next day, invested the city with 12,000 horse: but they were so harrassed and beaten by the sallies of only 100 men, that at length *Mússa* fled with his 7000 horse; and left *Málek*, who still stood his ground, with 5000 Koronas (N): yet, as soon as he perceived *Timúr* advancing with his horse, he fled likewise; and, being pursued, his men dispersed. In the pursuit, *Timúr*, perceiving the wife of Amír *Mússa*, who fled with *Málek Bahádr*, called to him to quit her. *Málek*, to save his life, which, on that condition, was promised him, abandoned the lady, and fled before. For all this, the lady continued her flight full speed; and, as *Timúr* alone pursued, a servant offered to shoot, if he advanced. The prince, who had neither buckler nor arrows, taking him for a better archer than he was, stopped, till *Dawlet Sháh* joined him; and, covering his head with his buckler, renewed the pursuit. On this, the valet let fly at him: but, missing his aim, he fled as fast as the rest, so that *Dawlet Sháh* was not able to come up with them. *Azú Mulk*, then nine months gone with child, was soon after deliver'd of a princess, named *Tímán Aga*, who was afterwards married to *Timúr*⁹.

Retires to Makhán.

THIS prince wintered at *Kársbi*; where he gave the government of *Amúya* to *Nikepeysba*; and that of *Bokhára* to *Manúcha*; whose son-in-law, *Ali Yefúri*, came and submitted with his tribe, after often refusing to obey *Timúr's* summons. Amír *Hussayn* was astonished at the recital of what had passed: yet, having raised an army, he set out from *Sáli Saray*; and sent Amír *Mússa* before, with 10,000 Koronas, who encamped at *Shekedálik*. *Timúr* at first intended to attack them in the night; but, having only 200 men, he thought fit, after appearing in sight of the enemy, to retire to *Bokhára*; and from thence to *Makhán*, by way of *Merú*. Mean time *Hussayn* came and besieged *Bokhára*, where *Manúcha* and *Ali Yefúri* made a brave defence: but their soldiers, having suffered by venturing too far in a sally, could not be brought to fight afterwards. This obliged them to pass by night to *Makhán*, and leave the city to the enemy. Soon after, *Timúr* set out with 600 men to reduce *Nikepeysba*, governor of *Amúya*; which having done, he went and defeated the army of the Koronas, encamped near *Bokhára*; and then returned to *Makhán*.

Attempts Karshi.

TIMÚR, unable long to be idle, crossed the *Jibán* again with 600 men, and sat down before *Kársbi*: but, hearing 500 Koronas were at *Kuzimondak*, he marched to attack them, not knowing that they had been joined by several other troops. However, after a bloody fight, he drove them back as far as their main army, which he advanced to reconnoitre: and, on their approach, rushing forward like a lion, in less than an hour, intirely routed this vast multitude. In the pursuit to *Shekedálik*, they took the principal officers prisoners, with a great booty. *Timúr* resolved not to give the enemy time to recover their loss, but march against Amír *Hussayn*:

⁹ Hist. TIM. BEK, p. 73—85. cap. 15, & seq.

(N) Koronas are a militia.

however,

a however, the princes refusing to assist in that enterprize, he returned to *Samarkant*. At his approach, the governor *Ushâra Babâdr* sallied out with the Amîr *Mussa*'s troops, but was routed, and hardly escaped; yet he made another sally, with 1500 raw soldiers, who fled at the cry of *Timûr*'s men. While this prince diverted himself in the delicious valley of *Sogd*, news arrived, that a great body of Koronas was encamped on the *Tûm*, and Amîr *Hussayn* with a numerous army at *Kârshî*.

On this advice, *Timûr* thought proper to defer his revenge; and, disbanding his other forces, with his first 600 men retired towards *Kojend*, where he crossed the *Sibûn*. ^{Crosses the} Understand- ^{Sir.} ing here, that *Key Kosrû* and *Babrâm Jalayr* were at *Tâshkunt*, with 7000 *Getes*, just brought from *Jetâb*, he turned that way; in hopes *Babrâm*, who had by his means recovered his patri-
b mony, and had sworn to join him against *Hussayn*, would assist him, when now in his power: but not finding the friendship he had reason to expect, he reproached the Amîr with his ingra-
titude. On the contrary, *Key Kosrû*, who was son-in-law to *Togluk Timûr*, Khân of *Jetâb*, enter-
tained *Timûr* magnificently, at his palace, for a month; promised to join him against every
body, and to give *Rakia Khân*, his daughter by another wife, to the Mirza *Jebân Gîr*, *Timûr*'s
eldest son^r.

MEAN time, Amîr *Hussayn* having entered *Sebz*, with a great army of Koronas, sent before ^{Defies the}
20,000 men, under the command of Amîr *Mussa*, and his most considerable generals; who, ^{enemy.}
through fear of *Timûr*'s valour, detached three great squadrons, by different roads, to intercept
that prince's passage. *Timûr*, accompanied by *Key Kosrû*, and 2000 *Getes*, on this advice,
e crossed the *Sibûn* (or *Sîr*) at *Kojend*; and, with 1500 men, in the night, attacked *Jebân Shâh*,
who had with him the same number, and dispersed them. Next day, he defeated *Khermân*,
with his 1000 soldiers, at *Dizâk*: then, with 200 horse only, departed, to attack *Mâlek Babâdr*,
who had with him 3000. When the enemy saw the thirty men so well equipped, who were
sent before, advancing with great boldness, they were surprised; and, taking them for the van-
guard of the *Mungls*, that is, the *Getes*, began to fly. *Timûr* pursued; while the fugitives
approaching the main body under *Mûssa*, caused them to fly full speed also, to rejoin *Hus-*
fayn.

WHEN this prince saw them, he was wroth; and, departing with the Khân, sent 10,000 ^{Peace with}
choice men as scouts, to attack the two princes; who marched to *Barsin* with 1500, and there ^{Hussayn,}
d caused the trumpets to be sounded; the noise of which so frightened the enemy, that they fled back
to *Hussayn*. After which, *Key Kosrû* went to winter at *Otrâr*, and *Timûr* at *Tâshkunt*. In
spring, the messengers, whom *Timûr* had sent to *Jetâb*, returned; and brought word, that a
numerous army was coming from thence to his assistance. As this news soon reached *Hussayn*,
he resolved to make peace with *Timûr*; and, the better to succeed, applied to the doctors of
Kojend and *Tâshkunt*, to dispose him to it. The Mollahs undertook the task; and urged the
danger which the state was in of being ruined by war, and the *Muslmâns* being plundered, as
well as slaughtered, by idolaters (O). These remonstrances, with a dream which followed,
determined *Timûr* to resolve on peace, and to go himself to *Hussayn*, as the most effectual way,
to agree on articles. He was met near *Sâli-saray* by the Amîrs *Mûssa* and *Olajia Itû*, on the
e part of *Hussayn*, to ask pardon for all that had passed. When the peace was settled, the princes
disbanded their armies; and having regaled themselves with diversions, *Timûr* returned to
Kash, to enjoy the sweets of this delightful kingdom.

Not long after, while Amîr *Hussayn* and the Khân were gone to reduce the kings of ^{who repairs}
Badâghshân, who had revolted, *Mâlek Hussayn*, prince of *Herât*, sent forces to ravage the pro- ^{Balk.}
vinces about *Bâlk*, which were subject to the Amîr. On this news, *Timûr* set forward, to
repulse the enemy, who did not wait for him. After which, he went in quest of the Khân and
Amîr; who, meeting him at *Kondoz*, renewed their friendship. They then marched to reduce
Pulâd Buga and *Ak Buga*, who had revolted at *Kâbul*; which, after some loss, they effected.
In their return from this expedition, *Hussayn* asked *Timûr*'s advice in relation to a design he
f had to reside at *Bâlk*. *Timûr* endeavoured to dissuade him, by the example of his uncle *Mirza*
Abdo'llah; who, contrary to the advice of his lords, would remove his seat to *Samarkant*.
Although *Hussayn* could not but approve of *Timûr*'s counsel, yet he did not follow it: but
prevailed on him to go to that city; where, as soon as he arrived, he began to rebuild the
fortress of *Hendwân*. This was in 769^t.

MEAN time, advice arriving, that an army of *Getes* were on the march towards *Great Buk-*
bâria, the two princes set forward to repulse them: but, while the enemy wintered at *Tâshkunt*, ^{Watches the}
discord arose among the lords of *Jetâb*. *Kamro'ddin*, of the tribe of *Uglat*, *Kepek Timûr*, and ^{Getes.}

^r Hist. TIM. BEK, p. 85—100, c. xvi—xx.
cap. xxi—xxiii.

^s See before, p. 499.

^t Hist. TIM. BEK, p. 100—110,

(O) The *Getes*, or *Mungls*, of *Kashgar*, and the parts of *Tartary* eastward, were, for the general, idolaters.

Shirawl, joined against *Haji Arkenut*, who resolved to give them battle. When they were ready to engage, a peace was clapped up; and *Arkenut* returned home. But the other two, instead of following him, retreated with their troops; and *Shirawl*'s son cut off *Arkenut*'s head: which putting the *Gete* army into disorder, obliged them to retreat. *Timur* was for pursuing them in this confusion: but, as the king of *Badagshân* had renewed his irruptions into *Hussayn*'s dominions, this prince prevailed with him to march on that side. On his approach the enemy fled: yet at length they fought, and were routed; *Sheykh Ali*, the king, being made a prisoner.

In great danger.
A. D. 1368.

HOWEVER, part of those who fled having defeated *Jebân Mulk*, Amîr *Hussayn*'s son, who pursued them, and taken 630 horses; *Timur*, enraged, ascended the mountain: but as his soldiers, being fearful, would not follow him, he, with only thirteen horse, seized a narrow pass, where he fell on furiously, and defeated the enemy; altho' he confessed this was the roughest battle he had ever been engaged in. Mean time, fifty of their foot, covered with their bucklers, boldly marched up, and let fly a shower of arrows at *Timur*: at the same time, 200 more advanced, to second them. But the prince escaped this danger, by the address of *Elchi Bûga*; who running up to them, on foot, began to wheedle them, touched them several times on the neck, and speaking in a soothing manner: *The person you see, said he, is the great Timur: he will restore you your slaves: why then do you fight to no purpose? You know, if you are either killed or made prisoners, you will bear the blame of having your slaves taken.* When the soldiers heard that prince's name, they gave over fighting, kissed the earth in token of submission, and sent two of their number to beg pardon. *Timur* promised to return their slaves, provided they brought the horses and bucklers they had taken, next morning, to his camp; which they performed.

Hussayn's jealousy.

NOT long after, Amîr *Hussayn* having sent to acquaint him, that *Mehemed Beyân Seldûz* and *Key Khosrû* had made war on him, *Timur* left *Badagshân*: On which notice, the rebels wrote to him the cause of their discontent, and begged his assistance. As the prince knew this letter was intercepted by *Hussayn*, he became jealous that *Hussayn* did not shew it him at their interview: and, at his return to *Kesh*, three persons came to tell him, *Hussayn* designed to surprise him. This was confirmed by a lord, who shewed him a letter from the *Khân Kabûl Shâh* (P); importing, that Amîr *Mûssa* had orders to watch an opportunity to seize him. *Timur*, far from distrusting so much, or fearing danger, went to know the truth of this from *Hussayn*, whom he met on the bank of the *Jibân* (or *Amû*): but, as he was about to speak, word came, that the enemy was near; and being desired to march forthwith against them, he set forward with the troops; on whose approach, *Sheykh Mehemed* and *Key Kofrû* fled. After the pursuit, *Timur* returned to *Kesh*; and *Hussayn* went to *Bâlk*, to reside in the castle of *Hendwân* ^u.

Timur declares war.

ALTHOUGH *Timur*'s attachment to *Hussayn* was all the latter's support, yet he ceased not to do him ill offices. He sent for all that prince's subjects in *Kash*, to people *Bâlk*, and to bring away *Timur*'s sister: because her husband, Amîr *Muyad*, had, in his drink, killed a man, and fled. He likewise dismissed prince *Jebân Ghîr*, whom *Timur* had placed near him. Upon all these provocations, he took counsel with Amîr *Mûssa*, and other lords: who after having concluded to make war on *Hussayn*, as a prince not to be trusted, as well as an oppressor of the people, they began the rupture, by the death of *Ali*, brother of *Kezer Tefûri*; and then *Timur* boldly declared war against him at once.

Joined by the princes.

HAVING raised troops, he kept with him *Mûssa*, to command the rear; and, after consulting his astrologers, departed from *Kash*: but, at *Kuzar*, that Amîr, as usual, seized with a panic fear, returned to *Samarkant*. *Timur* seemed to take no notice of this action: but sent *Siorgatmish Aglen*, with the Amîrs *Muyad* and *Hussayn Berlâs* before, as scouts, who found those of Amîr *Hussayn* at *Termed*. At *Boya*, within three leagues of that city, *Timur* met the holy *Seyd Bereke*, the most considerable of the Sharîfs, or descendants of *Mohammed*: who presenting him with a drum and standard, which are the usual marks of sovereignty, as if inspired, sang a hymn, predicting *Timur*'s future grandeur. Here that prince contracted an inviolable friendship with this great Sharîf; and ordered, that after his death he should be buried in the same tomb, with his face turned side-ways: that at the day of judgment, when every one should hold up their hands to heaven, to implore assistance of some intercessor, he might lay hold on the robe of this child of the prophet.

Rejoins Bâlk.

TIMUR, having passed the *Jibân*, or *Amû*, and encamped at *Kulm*, was there joined by a great number of princes, who hated *Hussayn*, and came from all parts with their troops. Among the rest, were the Amîr *Olajia Itû*, placed in *Kondoz* by *Hussayn*; *Sheykh Mehemed*, king of *Badagshân*, whom *Timur* had invited; the Amîr *Key Kofrû*, who had fled from

^u Hist. TIM. BEK. p. 111—117, c. 24, 25.

(P) It is the *Khân Aiel Seldûz* in our author, by some mistake; for *Kabal Shâh* was now *Khân*, and succeeded *Aiel Khân*.

a *Katlân*, to avoid *Huffayn*; the Amîr *Yâkûz*, with the troops of that country; and *Zende Hasbâm*, with the herd of *Aperdi*: so that *Timûr* saw himself at the head of a powerful army. Then he gave *Siorgatmish Aglen* the title of Khân; and having regulated his army, departed for *Balk*. As soon as he arrived, he blocked up the city on all sides, and besieged the citadel, called *Hendwân*. The enemy made a vigorous defence: they sallied out to repulse the confederates; and the two armies fought with unparalleled courage till night. In this battle, prince *Omar Sheykh*, a son of *Timûr*, fighting bravely, though but fifteen years old, was shot through the foot with an arrow, and though the surgeons drew a hot iron through the wound, he bore it with extraordinary patience*.

b NEXT morning, at sun-rise, the besieged made another sally, and renewed the fight. *Huffayn* ^{*Huffayn suri*} ^{*renders:*} who at a distance beheld this terrible encounter, perceived his affairs to be in a desperate condition. *Timûr* sent to acquaint him, that, if he desired his life, he must submit, and deliver up the fortress. *Huffayn*, for once, acting with prudence, sent two of his sons, with the Khân he had set up, offering to resign his crown to *Timûr*; and only requesting a free passage out of the citadel, in order to go in pilgrimage to *Mekka*. *Timûr* having granted this request, the Amîr sent again to acquaint him, that he would depart the next day; and requested a promise, that no person should attempt any thing against his life. *Timûr* yielded to his desire: but *Huffayn* was so accustomed to break his word, that he suspected the prince could not keep his promise; and therefore went out the same night, with two servants. After wandering for some time, not knowing where to go, he arrived at the old city of *Balk*: and, when morning came, thro' fear, got upon the minâra (Q) of the principal mosk, where he hid himself.

c THIS prince might have escaped, if the time fixed by fate for his death, says our author, ^{*taken, and slain,*} was not come: for a soldier of *Timûr*, who had lost his horse, going up, to try if he could perceive it from thence, spied *Huffayn*, whom he knew. The Amîr, who, in his prosperity, had never the least generosity to a soldier, flung down a handful of pearls; and, promising greater things, made the man swear he would not discover him. But the soldier, as soon as he got down, ran to *Timûr*, and related the whole. When the officers and soldiers heard this, they ran to the mosk; while *Huffayn*, who perceived them coming down, hid himself in a hole. But, still pursued by ill-luck, a skirt of his garment happened to be seen: so that, being taken, he was carried bound to *Timûr*; who, unwilling to break his promise, said to the Amîrs who were near him, "I renounce the right I have of taking away his life; and cancel the sentence of his death, by which I might revenge myself." But when *Huffayn* was dismissed from *Timûr*'s presence, *Kây Kofrû*, prince of *Katlân*, desired that the Amîr might be delivered to him, in order to do justice on him for taking away his brother's life. *Timûr* exhorted that prince to forego his resentment; while the remembrance of his antient friendship, as well as alliance, with *Huffayn*, melted him into tears. Upon this *Olajia Itû*, an Amîr of years, and great experience, imagining, that if *Huffayn* escaped, through *Timûr*'s affection, they might all repent of it afterwards, made signs to *Kây Kofrû* and *Muyad* to go out of the assembly: which they did, without asking *Timûr*'s leave; and, taking horse, followed *Huffayn*, and slew him.

d AT length the fortress of *Hendwân* being taken, *Konsâid* and *Norûz Soltân*, two of *Huffayn*'s sons, were burnt, and their ashes scattered in the air. His two other sons, *Jebân Mulk* and *Kalil Soltân*, fled into *India*, where they perished. The Khân whom *Huffayn* had set up, was also put to death (R). *Timûr* got all the treasure which that prince had amassed with so much avarice; and kept four ladies of his seray to himself; these were, *Saray Mulk Khânûm*, daughter of *Kâzân Soltân Khân*; *Olûs Aga*, daughter of *Boyan Seldûz*; *Islâm Aga*, daughter of *Kezer Yefûri*; and *Toji Turkhân Kâtûn*. He gave the great queen, *Sevenj Kottûk Aga*, daughter of *Turmesbîrîn Khân*, *Huffayn*'s first wife, *Dilshad Aga*, to *Zende*; and the other ladies to considerable lords. He likewise ordered, that the inhabitants of *Balk*, who had shut themselves up in the citadel, with their late prince, should return to the old city, and rebuild it. The citadel, as well as palaces of *Huffayn*, were all razed to the foundations; and every thing belonging to him destroyed, that there might remain no footsteps of a prince so hated^y.

* Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 118—125, c. 26, & seq.

y Ibid. 125, & seq.

(Q) Steeple, or turret, built near the masjeds, or mosks, from whence the muzims, or cryers, proclaim the

times of prayers. *La Croix*.(R) This was *Kabul Shâh* (or *Soltân*) *Klân*.

C H A P. II.

The exploits of Timûr, from his enthronement, to the reduction of Iran, or Persia at large.

Timûr
enthroned.

AFTER taking of *Bâlk*, all the Amîrs, princes, and generals of the army, the Khâns of *Termed*, and *Seyd Bereke*, chief of the Sharîis, who had predicted *Timûr*'s advancement to the throne, assembled in that city, and unanimously chose him to fill the imperial seat of *Jagatay*. When the lucky hour arrived to perform the ceremony of coronation, *Timûr* ascended the throne, placed the crown of gold on his head, and girded himself with the imperial belt, in presence of the princes of the blood, and the rest, who all kneeled down before him; and, having wished him prosperity, made him sumptuous presents, sprinkled handfuls of gold and precious stones upon his head, and gave him the title of *Sahab Karân*; which words signify, *the emperor of the age, and conqueror of the world*. This happened in the *Mungl* year of the *Dog*, which answers to that of the Hejrah 771, in the month of *Ramazân*. He treated the inhabitants with the utmost rigour, beheaded some, imprisoned others, enslaved their wives and children, burnt their houses, seized their riches, and ravaged the country. Thus he rooted out the rebels, and, at the same time, distributed the plunder among his lords and officers.

Hej. 771.
A. D. 1369.

A plot discovered.

FROM *Bâlk*, *Timûr* returned to *Kash*; where he appointed officers of state, both military and civil. He then repaired to *Samarkant*, which he made the seat of his empire (A). The Amîr *Mûssa*, who had deserted *Timûr* through discontent, as is before mentioned, on that prince's success, fled to *Turkestân*; but, being pursued, fled back to *Zende Hashâm*, at *Shebûrgân* in *Khorassân*, and prevailed on him to revolt. *Timûr* having ordered the *Kûrûltay*, or dyet, to be held, and *Zende Hashâm* not appearing, he sent him a threatening summons; but this young prince, instead of obeying, imprisoned the messengers. Hereupon the emperor went with an army, and besieged him in *Sefiddez*, or *the white fort*. At the sight of the imperial troops, *Zende Hashâm* lost courage; and, having sued for pardon, delivered up the Amîr *Mûssa*: whom instead of punishing, *Timûr* feasted, and loaded with favours, giving him the command of a tribe, and a province. For all this, *Hashâm* rebelled a second time; but being besieged in *Shebûrgân*, submitted a second time, was pardoned, and received among the officers of the court^a.

Invasades the
Getes.
Hej. 772.
A. D. 1370.

IN the year of the *Hog*, which answers to 772, *Timûr* crossed the *Sibûn* (or *Sîr*), to invade the country of the *Getes*; two of whose princes, *Komze* and *Orenkitmûr*, submitted to him, with their tribes and countries, the government of which he gave to *Kepek Timûr*; who soon after rebelling, he marched against him, by way of *Sayrâm*, on the borders of *Jetâb*, and, in a month, reduced the enemy. Mean time, the Amîr *Mûssa*, and *Zende Hashâm*, forgetting all their obligations, conspired, with *Abû-Is-bâc*, and others, to seize *Timûr*, while hunting: but the plot being discovered, the conspirators were tried, and convicted: yet the emperor put none of them to death. He pardoned *Mûssa*, on account of his great age, and relationship by marriage; only banished two Sheykhs, as descended from *Mohammed*; and condemned *Zende Hashâm* to a dungeon at *Samarkant*.

Attacks
Karazm.

AS soon as *Timûr* was returned to his capital, he sent ambassadors to *Hussayn Sofi* (B), king of *Karazm*, to demand restitution of the countries of *Kat* and *Kivat* (C); which he had seized five years before, during the troubles, though belonging to the empire of *Jagatay*. *Hussayn*'s answer was, *That he had conquered them by the sword; and that Timûr might recover them the same way, if he could*. Hereupon Mullah *Jalâlo'ddîn*, who was the emperor's Mufti (D), to prevent bloodshed, desired leave to try what he could do: but the *Karazmian*, instead of listening to his advice, imprisoned the Mullah. On this notice, *Timûr*, in 773, marched at the head of his army, by way of *Bokhâra*; and, at *Sepaye*, on the *Jibûn* (or *Amû*), defeated the enemy's scouts. From thence they arrived at *Kat*, which they invested. *Kûcbey Mâlek* was ordered to go down into the ditch, but being afraid to venture, the *Chaus* *Komûri* readily obeyed. He was followed by others; who advancing towards the breast-work, Sheykh *Ali Behâdr* first laid hold of it, and would have mounted. *Mobasber*, envying him this honour,

Hej. 773.
A. D. 1371.

^a Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 130—141, l. ii. cap. 1—4.

(A) This removal was contrary to his own advice given before to *Hussayn*, whom he would have dissuaded from removing from *Sari Saray* to *Bâlk*, as a thing highly imprudent, and dangerous. See p. 505.

(B) Son of *Tangbaday*, of the tribe of *Konkegrat*, called also *Kunksrat*, *Kongrat*, and by the Chinese, *Hunksits*.

(C) This seems to be the same place with *Kayul*, in *Abû'l-ghazi Khân*'s history. See the description of *Karazm* hereafter.

(D) Or chief priest, who decides affairs of the law.

a took hold of his heel, and both fell; yet *Ali* returned, and got upon the parapet. Then the soldiers, having forced a passage, on all sides, into the town, seized the governor, and put the greater part of the garrison, as well as the inhabitants, to the sword; carrying away the wives and children, whom *Timûr* next day set at liberty. As for *Kûcbey Mâlek*, he ordered him, for his cowardice, to be bastinadoed, and then led to *Samarkant*, tied to the tail of an ass.

AFTER this, he advanced, and his van-guard having defeated the enemy, at *Jiwi Kor-lan*, he ordered inroads to be made on every side; so that all the provinces of *Karazm* were ruined. *Hussayn*, being in no condition to defend himself in the city of *Karazm* (E), sent to beg pardon, and demand quarter: but, diverted by *Kay Kosrû*, who promised to go over to him, with his *Tomân*, he marched out with his troops to the river *Kawn*, six miles from the capital. However, he was repulsed; and finding himself blocked up in his fortress, soon died with grief. His brother *Isîf* (or *Yusef*) *Sofi*, who succeeded him, had recourse to submission: and as *Timûr* thought that *Sevina Bey*, commonly called *Khân Zâdeb* (F), the daughter of *Ak Sofi*, *Isîf*'s brother, who was reckoned the greatest beauty in the world (G), would be a fit match for his son *Jebân Ghîr*, he granted peace, on condition of the marriage. On his return to *Samarkant*, he ordered *Kay Kosrû Kattani* to be arrested, and prosecuted for his intrigues with *Hussayn Sofi*: of which having been convicted, he was delivered, bound, to the officers of *Amîr Hussayn*, who put him to death, to revenge the murder of that prince; and his province given to *Mehemed Mîreke*, son of *Shîr Babrâm*, his relation ^b.

c WHEN *Kay Kosrû* was apprehended, his son *Soltân Mahmûd*, with two other lords, left the court, and retired to *Karazm*; where they persuaded *Isîf Sofi* to violate the peace: and accordingly, in autumn, he laid waste the country of *Kat*. But, in *Ramazân* 774, on the news of *Timûr*'s march, he sent persons to intercede for him, and renew the treaty; promising forthwith to send the princess *Khân Zâdeb* to *Samarkant*. Next spring, *Timûr* dispatched ambassadors, with rich presents, to conduct to his court that princess; who set out with a portion of precious stones, jewels, and furniture, of great value. *Timûr* gave her a magnificent reception; and the marriage with his son was solemnized with the greatest pomp, after the happy moment had been fixed, with the exactest care, by the most learned astrologers, and profound philosophers.

d IN the month of *Shawal* 776, which was the beginning of the *Mungl* year of the *Hare*, *Timûr* set forward on his march to *Jetâb*, sending before his son, the *Mîrza Jebân Ghîr*, with the van-guard. When they had passed *Sayrâm*, and were arrived at *Jarûn*, a town of *Jetâb*, they were informed, by a prisoner, that *Kamro'ddîn* (H), prince of the tribe of *Uglat*, was encamped with an army at *Gheuk Tûpa*, or the blue hill, where he waited for *Haji Bey*, not expecting any enemy. On this advice, they hastened their march: but *Kamro'ddîn*, getting intelligence of their approach, retired to an inaccessible place, called *Birkey Gûrian*, where there are three defiles of mountains, extremely steep; and three great rapid rivers. *Jebân Ghîr* was now advanced to the third defile, where *Kamro'ddîn* had fortified himself, and having attacked his forces, with great slaughter, till night, they took to flight. Next morning, the prince pursued them; and *Timûr*, coming up at sun-rise, detached some of his chief captains, who swam along the stream of the river *Abeile* (I). When they got on the enemy's lands, they plundered all who did not submit ^c.

Timûr went on to *Baytak*; from whence he sent the *Mîrza* his son, with a great army, to fight and seize *Kamro'ddîn*. The prince, having ruined the cantons which are in *Uch-fermân*, found his enemy in the mountains, whom he pursued, and obliged to abandon his troops. He ravaged all the country, razed his palaces, and, among other ladies, seized on his wife *Buyân Aga*, with his daughter *Dilshad-aga*. After *Timûr* had waited fifty-three days at *Baytak*, he received this news; and, on his way home, married the princess *Dilshad-aga*. Then setting forward again, marched by *Tassi Daban*, and encamped at *Ozkunt*. Here *Adel Shâb*, son of *Babrâm Jalayr*, now dead, gave him a splendid entertainment, and presented him with some fine horses. Under this mask, his design was, in concert with two other lords, to have seized *Timûr*: but conceiving strong suspicions, by the motions of the conspirators, he left the assembly, and thus frustrated their plot. During the winter, when he was returned to his capital, they came and confessed their crime; while *Timûr* politically pretended to have known nothing of it, and, at the same time, highly caressed *Adel Shâb*.

^b Hist. Tim. Bek. p. 143—156, c. 7—11.

^c Ibid. p. 157—165, c. 11.—14.

(E) The same with *Urjengh*, called *Korkanj*, and *Tarjania* by the *Persians*.

(F) That is, the daughter of the *Khân*.

(G) The poets say, since *Adam*; and that she had the genius of an angel, and shape of a fairy.

(H) He usurped the kingdom of *Kâshgar* from *Ilyas Khoja Khân*, as related before, p. 468.

(I) This seems to be the river *Ili*, rising in *Little Bukhâria*, on which the *Khân* of the *Eluths* encamped. *Ab-ili* signifies the water *Ili*.

Punishes the
plotters.
Hej. 777.
A. D. 1375.

IN the beginning of the year 777, the troops were ordered to assemble, as if to invade *Karazm*. As soon as the Amîrs arrived at the imperial city, the Sheykh *Mehemed Bayan Seldûz* (one of the conspirators in the late plot) was apprehended; and his crime having been fully proved, he was delivered into the hands of *Heri Mulk Seldûz*, his relation, who put him to death, in revenge for killing his brother. *Ali Dervîsh* and *Mehemed Dervîsh*, being equally guilty, were also put to death. In spring, *Timûr* sent several Amîrs, with 30,000 horse, into *Jetâb*, with orders to search diligently for *Kamro'ddîn*, and, when found, to put him to death. After this, he marched with a great army towards *Karazm*; and being come to *Sepaya*, on the *Jibûn*, saw *Turkbân Erlût*, another of the conspirators, pass over with his troops, as willing to join him: but through some sudden fear, he immediately returned to his Orda, near *Korbwân*. *Pulâd*, who was ordered to pursue him day and night with some troops, having passed *Andkûd*, overtook him at *Farâz* (or *Otrâr*), on the *Sibûn*. The two parties fought like lions: but, at length, the enemy flying, the victors pursued, and *Pulâd* alone overtook *Turkbân*; who, finding his horse tired, got off, and brought down *Pulâd's* with an arrow. He let fly another at his enemy, before he was able to get up: but, as it went through his cap, without hurting him, *Pulâd* rushed on; and closing him, after a long struggle, flung him on the ground, and cut off his head. At the same time, an officer brought the head of *Tûrmîsh*, brother of *Turkbân*, and both were laid at the foot of the throne^a.

Amîrs revolt,

AMONG the Amîrs sent to *Jetâb*, *Sâr Buga* and *Adel Shâh*, conspiring with *Katay Babâdr*, *Elchi Buga*, and *Hamdi*, whom *Timûr* had left governor of *Andekbân*, on the frontiers of *Turkeftân*, got together their Ordas of *Jalayr* and *Kipjâk*, and marched to *Samarkant*, which they besieged. Hereupon *Ak Buga*, the governor, wrote word of this to *Timûr*; who, though he had already passed by *Kat*, and was arrived at *Khas*, immediately returned. While he encamped near *Bokbâra*, the Mîrza *Jehân Ghîr*, who advanced before, met the rebels (obliged to raise the siege) at *Karmîna*, and defeated them. After which, they retired to the deserts of *Kipjâk*, and lifted themselves in the service of *Urûs Khân*, emperor of that country. *Sâr Buga* and *Adel Shâh* had not been long in the service of that prince, before they fled from his court, after having killed his lieutenant, and went to *Jetâb*; where they persuaded *Kamro'ddîn* to join them, in making war on *Timûr*. Hereupon that prince marched to the country of *Andekbân*, where *Omar Sheykh*, *Timûr's* second son, was governor: but, being deserted by the Hezâra of *Kûdak*, he retired to the mountains, and sent his father word, that the enemy, with a great army, had ruined *Andekbân*.

Kamro'ddîn
defeated.

THIS news so incensed *Timûr*, that he immediately set out for *Jetâb*. On which advice, *Kamro'ddîn* commanded his household and Orda to leave *Atbâshi*, while he remained in ambush with 4000 horse. *Timûr* coming to the place, and suspecting no such snare, sent his Amîrs, with all the army, in pursuit of the enemy; while he followed, with no more than 200 men to accompany him. *Kamro'ddîn*, glad of this occasion, sallied out with his men upon the emperor; who, no way dismayed, spurred his horse against the enemy, and, being obliged to expose his person, performed surprising acts of valour; which were so well seconded by his soldiers, that they at length defeated that numerous host. After this, he met *Kamro'ddîn* again at *Sengbez Agâjeh*, and constrained him to fly. *Ucbkara* pursued him so closely, that, at length, he obliged him to return, with eight men only; who being surrounded by the Amîr's soldiers, *Kamro'ddîn*, after having his horse killed, had much ado to get off on foot; wounded in several places.

Death of
Jehân Ghîr,

BEFORE the last battle, *Timûr* dreamed, that in one of the forty-six visions, which were esteemed prophetic, he saw the Sheykh *Bûrhâno'ddîn Klich*; and having humbly begged of him to pray for his son *Jehân Ghîr*, then sick at *Samarkant*, the holy man only answered, *Be with God* (K). This, with another dream he had afterwards, increased his melancholy, and convinced him, that he should lose his dear son; whom he found dead, at his return to that capital. This prince, who was but twenty when he died, was buried at *Kash*; and left two sons; *Mohammed Soltân*, by *Khân Zâdeh*; and *Pîr Mohammed*, a posthumous son, by *Bâkti Mulki Aga*, daughter of *Elias Yefûri*.

and Adel
Shâh.

TIMUR about this time being informed, that *Adel Shâh Jalayr* was in the mountains of *Karabuk*, beyond *Otrâr*, sent thither two Amîrs, with fifteen horse; who having found him at *Aksîma*, a spy-tower on the top of mount *Karajik*, put him to death, according to law. Soon after, Mîrza *Omar Sheykh*, with several Amîrs, were sent against *Kamro'ddîn*; whom they met, and defeated, on the borders of *Kûratû*, a country of the *Getes*^c.

^a Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 165—170, c. 14.—16.

^c Ibid. p. 170—178, c. 16—18.

(K) We insert such particulars, as proper to shew the character of this prince; who, tho' a great, and, in other respects, a wise, judicious man, was yet a dupe

to the superstitious folly of dreams and fortune-telling; owing to the force of bad instruction when young.

^a THE troops were no sooner returned, than *Timûr* resolved to march in person into *Jetâb*; ^{War in} and his van-guard were so lucky as to come up with *Kamro'ddin*, at *Bugam Afî Gheul*: where, ^{Kipjâk.} after a furious battle, they put him to flight, ravaged his country, and reduced his subjects to obedience. After pursuing him as far as *Kûchar*, *Timûr* returned to his capital, by way of *Oynagû* and *Uzkunt*. That prince, when at *Kûcbâr*, being informed, that *Tokatmîsh* (or *Toktamîsh*) *Aglen* had withdrawn from the court of *Urûs*, Khân of *Kipjâk*, in order to come over to him, sent *Tumen Timûr Uzbek* to meet and conduct him to *Samarkant*; where he was received with great honour. *Timûr* heaped favours on him, and gave him the government of several places for his subsistence. He likewise assisted him against *Urûs Khân*, who soon after attacked him; entered his dominions with a great army, and placed *Toktamîsh* on the throne ^b of *Kipjâk*. This prince being driven out, he restored him again, in 778. But as these wars A. D. 1376. have been already related more at large, in the history of that empire^c, we shall say no more about them here.

THE sovereignty of *Timûr* seemed now to be arrived at the summit of felicity, many of *Timûr's* his officers bearing the titles of Khân and Soltân; when, to increase his happiness, in the ^{greatness,} year of the *Serpent*, and that of the Hejrah 779, in the month of *Rabiyo'laker*, the Mîrza *Shâh Rukh* was born. Soon after this, *Timûr* made a fourth expedition into *Karazm*. Whilst ^{Hej. 779.} he was at *Otrâr*, to observe *Urûs Khân*, *Isûf Sofi*, king of that country, sent an army to *Bokhâra*, which ravaged the province, and carried off whatever they could meet with. *Timûr*, on this, sent an ambassador, to complain of these hostilities: but *Isûf*, instead of shewing any ^c reason, threw the ambassador in prison. He did the like to a second envoy; and sent *Tui Bogay*, surnamed *the robber*, with his followers, to carry away the cattle of the *Turkmâns*, which were about *Bokhâra*. However, *Timûr* let him alone for this year, the remainder of which he spent at *Zenjir Saray*, after he had married *Tuman Aga*, daughter of *Amîr Mûssa*; for whose sake he adorned *Samarkant* with several beautiful monuments, and, among the rest, a pleasure-house, to the west of that city, called *Bâgbi Behîst*, or, *the garden of paradise*^d.

IN *Shawal* 780 *Timûr* set forward with his army; and, entering *Karazm*, invested the ^{Karazm} town of *Eski Skuz* (L), while several parties ravaged the country. On this, *Isûf* or *Yusef* ^{c. conquers.} *Sofi* sent a challenge to *Timûr*; who, putting on his armour, contrary to the prayers of his commanders, went to the edge of the ditch, and called on *Yusef* to come out: but that prince ^d thought it safest to keep within the walls. However, *Timûr*, having received some melons from *Termed*, judged it might be thought uncourteous if he did not send *Yusef* some, when he was so near him; this was done in a gold basin, delivered at the wall. But *Yusef* had so little courtesy, that he ordered the fruit to be thrown into the ditch, and gave the basin to the town-porter. After this, the besieged sallied; and frequent skirmishes drew on a general battle; in which the enemy were defeated, and retired into the city. After this, *Timûr* order- ^{Hej. 781.} ed the Amîrs to begin the siege of the capital; which having continued near four months, in ^{A. D. 1379.} which time the castle was ruined, the Khân *Yusef Sofi* died with grief, as the emperor had predicted (M). At the same time the batteries being renewed, and breaches made, the town was ^e attacked, and at length taken, after a very brave resistance. The city was pillaged, many of the inhabitants killed; and all the learned men, as well as tradesmen, sent to *Kash*.

THIS city, which had long before this been a seminary of learning, hence was surnamed *Kash walled*. *Kûbbet Elilmi Veledeb*, that is, *The dome of science and virtue*: it was also called *Shâbr Sebz*, or *The green city*, from the verdure of its gardens and meadows. At the end of the year 781 the emperor declared it his ordinary residence in summer, and the second seat of the empire. He therefore inclosed it with new walls; and built a new palace, called *Ak-saray*, from the exceeding whiteness and height of its walls. After this, he divided the city among his Amîrs, and the troops of his household.

IN winter *Timûr* sent to summon *Mâlek Kayâzo'ddin Pîr Ali* (son of *Mâlek Hussây*n, prince *Mâlek Kaya-* of *Herât*, who died in 1369) to the *Kûrultay*, or assembly of the states, which was to be held ^{zo'ddin sum-} the next spring. *Pîr Ali* pretended submission to the summons: but delayed the messengers ^{maned.} with excuses, in order to finish the fortifications of *Herât*; which he had encompassed the year before with a wall two leagues in circuit, inclosing the suburbs, and gardens without the wall of the old city. These things were reported to *Timûr* at the time when *Ali Bey*, son of *Argûn Shâh Jûn Garbani*, returned to his obedience, and was pardoned. The emperor even consented that his daughter should marry his grandson *Mebemed Soltân*, son of *Jebân Ghîr*; and conferred with him about his design upon *Herât*, whither *Ali Bey* promised to go in spring^h.

^f See before, p. 447.
c. 26—29.

^g Hist. Tim. Bek, l. ii. p. 178—193, c. 19—26.

^h Ibid. p. 194—201,

(L) This, possibly, was the old city of *Karazm*, *Kor-kanj*, or *Urjengh*, or some part of it; for by what follows, it was this city which was besieged.

(M) The author, on several occasions, intimates as if *Timûr* had the spirit of prophecy. *La Croix*.

Timûr's
ambition,

IT was *Timûr's* ambition of universal monarchy which made him undertake such glorious things: he used to say, *that it was neither fit nor decent that the world should be governed by two kings*. About this time many rebels had seized the provinces of *Irân*, and set up for independent monarchs. This exceedingly displeased *Timûr*; who, having conquered the kingdom of *Turân*, which *Jenghîz Khân* formerly divided between his sons *Tushtî* and *Jagatay*, he resolved to subdue the emperor of *Irân*, or *Persia* at large. Preparatory to this, he made his son, the *Mîrza Mirân Shâh*, then but fourteen years of age, governor of *Khorassân*; and sent him thither, accompanied with several Amîrs, and fifty companies of horse. The *Tatar* troops, having crossed the *Jibûn*, passed the autumn, and most of the winter, at *Bâlk* and *Shêbûrgân*; but, towards the end of that season, took from *Mâlek* the town of *Badghîz*.

He invades
Mâlek.
Hej. 782.
A. D. 1380.

TOWARDS the end of the year 782, *Timûr*, having raised a great army of *Turks* and *Tatars*, crossed the *Jibûn*, and advanced within the country of *Khorassân*. When he arrived at *Andekûd*, his devotion prompted him to visit the illustrious *Santan Baba Senkû*, one of those *Darwish* who make profession of folly (N). This person, in an enthusiastic fit, flung a breast of mutton at the emperor's head; who, believing this to be a good augury, said: "I am persuaded that God will grant me the conquest of *Khorassân*, because this kingdom has always been called the breast, or middle, of the inhabitable world." This prediction, says our author, had its effect. *Timûr* left *Andekûd*; and, as soon as *Mâlek Mehemed*, brother of *Mâlek Kayazo'ddin*, who was then in the fortrefs of *Saraks*, had notice of his march, he came before the throne, and had the honour to kiss the imperial carpet, as well as to receive many caresses and presents. When, after a long march, the army had passed by *Maru Arrûd*, commonly called *Morgâb*, they at length encamped at *Chekedalek*, eleven leagues from *Herât*.

Fâshenj
besieged,

HERE the emperor sent to desire *Ali Bey* to raise troops forthwith, and join him, according to the league between: but he not only refused to obey, but imprisoned the envoy. As *Mâlek Kayazo'ddin* had that day taken *Nishâbûr* from the *Sarbedals*, *Timûr* marched to *Jam* (O) and *Kûsîpa*, that the enemy's troops, who were in those ports, might not join *Mâlek*. The governor of *Kûsîpa* went to meet the emperor; who, after paying a visit, at *Taybâd*, to the learned and virtuous doctor *Zayno'ddin Abubekr*, marched to *Fûshenj*, about twenty-five miles short of *Herât*, and besieged it. This town was surrounded with high walls, a good rampart, and deep ditch, full of water. Its other fortifications were so strong, that no citadel could compare with it: yet the soldiers, crossing the ditch on planks, advanced to the wall, and made a great slaughter of the enemy with their arrows. *Timûr*, who often rode round the place without armour, to encourage his men, was wounded with two arrows. Mean time some Amîrs mounted the wall, while others forced the gate; and entering also by the breaches, put to the sword all who escaped their hands before. Thus *Fûshenj* was taken at the first assault; after which, the army marched to *Herât*, and laid siege to that city¹.

Herât surren-
dered.

THE troop of *Gûris* (or *Gowris*), reckoned the most valiant men of *Irân*, made a sally: but, being forced to retire, after a bloody conflict, the citizens, to save their lives, and fine houses from destruction, refused to make resistance: so that *Mâlek*, finding he could not bring them to a second sally, was obliged to submit; and, coming out to beg pardon, kissed the imperial carpet on his knees. *Timûr* gave him a vest of honour, caressed, and then dismissed him. This was in *Mubarram*, the first month of the year 783. Then the conqueror ordered the treasures, and other riches, which the *Gowri*, or *Gawri*, kings had amassed for several years (consisting of silver coin, brute precious stones, the richest thrones, crowns of gold, vessels of plate, gold and silver brocades, with other curiosities), to be carried away: he likewise commanded the walls, both old and new, to be razed. A tax likewise was levied on the inhabitants, for their ransom; and the gates of the city, covered with iron plates, and adorned with sculptures and inscriptions, were carried to *Kash*. After this, *Mâlek Kayazo'ddin* was ordered to deliver up to the fortrefs of *Eskilj*, called also *Amân-kûb*; then governed by the Amîr *Gowri*, his youngest son, reckoned the most brave and experienced lord in the kingdom, whom *Mâlek* prevailed on to deliver up the place, accounted by him impregnable.

Hej. 783.
A. D. 1381.

Others places
submit.

TIMUR, highly pleased with his success at *Herât*, sent troops to conquer *Nishâbûr* and *Sebz-wâr*: but, as the affair of *Ali Bey* disturbed him, he marched in person to *Kellât* and *Tûsh* (or *Mashhâd*), making a visit to the tomb of *Abû Moslem Merûzi* (P), in the way. *Ali Bey*, on advice of the emperor's march, came out and submitted; so did the governor of *Sebz-wâr*;

¹ Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 201—208. c. 30—32.

(N) These are natural fools, or blockheads, at least they pretend to be so, of whom the east is full. The *Mohammedans* have an extraordinary veneration for them; and say, that God loved them before their creation, and, on that account, did not endue them with reason; so that they are incapable of offending. *La Croix*.

(O) *Jam* is about seventy miles to the east of *Nishâbûr*.
(P) General of *Abûl Abbâs Saffâr*, first of *Khalifahs* of the house of *Abbâs*, to whom these princes owed their advancement. *La Croix*.

a and both were received with favours. He then proceeded for *Esferayîn* (Q.), belonging to the Amīr *Veli*, (or *Wali*), prince of *Mazānderān*. The soldiers immediately rushed on the walls, in which they made considerable breaches; and, entering the place, put to the sword a great number of people, and demolished all the houses of that great city. After this, *Timūr* sent an ambassador to the Amīr *Veli*; who submitted, and promised shortly to repair to his master. While the emperor diverted himself at the pleasure-house called *Ogāl Natā Taylak*, they put to death the robbers of *Kūrashe*; who had killed the Amīr *Haji Berlās* and his brother, *Timūr's* near relations, as before-mentioned.

b *TIMUR*, having made several regulations in the political state of *Khorassān*, confirmed *Mālek Ali Bey Kayūzo'ddīn*, prince of *Herāt*, and the other Amīrs, in their respective governments; after ^{revolts.} which, he returned to his own dominions, and passed the winter at *Bokhāra*. But, while he diverted himself in that proud city, his pleasure was embittered with the loss of his daughter *Taji Khān*, called also *Akia Beghi*, married to *Mehemed Bey*, son of Amīr *Mūsā*; a princess who had scarce her equal in beauty and virtue. He was so deeply afflicted at her death, that, when advice was brought that *Ali Bey*, in conjunction with the Amīr *Veli*, had besieged *Ali Muayd*, whom he had left governor of *Sebzawār*, he was no-way moved; nor would have resented the insult, but for the remonstrances of his sister *Kotluk Turkhān Aga*, who urged the bad consequences which would attend his neglect of affairs. Roused by the words of this princess, he assembled his forces; and tho' it was in the midst of winter, set forward from *Bokhāra*. He crossed the *Jibūn* with his army, over a bridge of boats; and, having passed by *Makhān*, c encamped in the neighbourhood of *Kelāt*, where *Ali Bey* shut himself up; nor could be prevailed on to submit, either by threats or promises: relying on the mountain whereon that fortress was built, which he imagined to be inaccessible^k.

TIMUR, to deceive the Bey, went down to *Korān*, dependent on *Abswerd* (R); where he ^{Kelat} gave out, that he intended to invade *Mazānderān*. On this report, *Ali Bey* took heart; and ^{besieged.} sent the horses, sheep, and other animals, which had been shut up in the fortress, to graze again in the meadows: when on a sudden the emperor changed his route, and returned to *Kelāt*, which he invested on all sides. *Ali*, seeing himself thus unexpectedly beset, had recourse once more to *Timūr's* clemency; and promised, in case his majesty would come to the gate of the town, with only a few persons, that he would repair to the gate, and ask pardon for his faults. To which the emperor agreed. The walls of *Kelāt* were built on the brink of a high d mountain; and along them was a narrow passage among the rocks, which was shut in by a gate, and joined to that of the town. Here the treacherous *Ali Bey* placed men in ambush, with orders to kill *Timūr*, who went to the place appointed, with only five horsemen: but the assassins, by some mistake, staid in their concealment beyond the time, and even forgot to leave open the door by which the emperor was to have entered; so that, after waiting a long time for *Ali Bey*, he returned to his camp.

As soon as he arrived there, in *Rabiyo'lawel* 784, he ordered the troops of *Mekrit* and *Ba- Tenshiz* *dāgshān*, the fittest in the world to clamber mountains, to scale the walls. They were follow- ^{reduced.} ed by *Timūr* with a troop of brave officers; and made such a slaughter, that *Ali Bey* promised ^{Hej. 727.} by oath to make his submission next day to *Timūr*, at the gate of the town; which he did. ^{A. D. 1382.} But as he was indulged in his request, not to repair to court till next day, he in the night barricaded the passages by which the imperial troops had ascended the mountain, and again violated his engagement. Fourteen days after, the emperor went to the fortress of *Kabkaba*, in the road to *Bawerd*, which he rebuilt: but sent *Siorgotmīsh Khān*, with the *Mirza Ali*, and the brave *Sheykh Ali Behadr*, to block up the passages to *Kelāt*; while he went to reduce *Ter-shīz*. This is a famous fortress, almost inaccessible, as being situated in the mountains; and reckoned impregnable, for its high walls, and ditches wide and deep: it was garrisoned with *Gowri's*, as well as provided with arms and provisions. The enemy were so obstinate, that they would not evacuate the place at the command of *Mālek Kayāzo'ddīn* himself; but, the f walls and breastworks being battered down, they begged for quarter; and were inrolled, for their bravery, in *Timūr's* troops^l.

ABOUT this time *Jalalo'ddīn Shāh Shūja*, king of *Pārs* (or *Proper Persia*), sent one of his ^{The Amīr Veli} principal officers, with a letter, to assure the emperor of his services and sincere friendship, ^{and} accompanied by rich presents. In return for which, *Timūr* sent others, with an envoy, to demand the daughter of that prince for the *Mirza Pīr Mehemed*, son of the late *Mirza Jebān Gbīr*. After this, he marched towards *Mazānderān*: at which news the Amīr *Veli* had recourse to submission; and promising soon to repair to court, *Timūr* withdrew again with his army.

^k Hist. Tim. Bek, p 208—219. c. 32—37.

^l Ibid. p. 219—227. c. 37—39.

(Q) A city between *Nishāpūr* and *Jarjān*, dependent on the former; called also *Al Michrejān*. *La Croix*.

(R) A town to the north of *Tūs*, in the desert of

Kizak, formerly called *Bayerd*. *La Croix*. — Also *Bawerd* and *ibard*, as in *At ū'ghāzi Khān's* history.

Ali Bey
submit.

Mean time Sheykh *Ali Babâdr* mounted the walls of *Kelât* in the night, with only a few domestics : but, mistaking his way in the dark, was perceived by the enemy, who began a bloody fight : yet, when their quivers were emptied on both sides, some persons, through a religious motive, brought about an accommodation. *Ali Bey* met and embraced the Sheykh *Ali Babâdr*; and, after entertaining him for several days, went with him to the imperial camp at *Radekbân*; where he was received into favour, at the intercession of the Sheykh, with whose behaviour on this occasion *Timûr* was highly pleased.

Put to death.

THE emperor, having now entirely reduced the kingdom of *Khorassân* under the obedience of the *Mirza Mirân Shâh*, dismissed his troops, and halted to his capital. *Ali Bey*, with the *Amîr Gowri*, and his brother *Mâlek Mehemed*, sons of *Mâlek Kayazo'ddîn*, were sent bound to the *Mirza Omar Sbeykh* at *Andekbân*: but *Mâlek* himself, and his eldest son *Pîr Mehemed*, were kept at *Samarkant*. These were all put to death, except *Pîr Mehemed*, on the following occasion. During the winter, *Mâlek Mehemed*, son of *Mâlek Fakro'ddîn* (S), to whom *Timûr*, in pity of his poverty, had given the government of *Gowr*; being joined by *Abûsaid Espâbed*, whom that monarch had also released out of prison, marched to *Herât* with a troop of *Gowri's*, and, assisted by other rebels, committed all sorts of disorders. The governor, and other officers, having retired to the fortress of *Ektiâro'ddîn*, the rebels burnt the gate, and put all the Turkish garrison to the sword, who had jumped off the walls to save their lives. On this advice, the *Mirza Mirân Shâh* marched from the river *Morgâb*, where he was then encamped, to *Herât*; and slew so many of the rebels, that his soldiers built a high tower of their heads^m.

Jetah
invaded.
Hej. 785.
A. D. 1383.

IN 785 died the princess *Dilshadaga*, wife of *Timûr*; and a few days after, *Kotluk Tûrkân Aga*, his eldest sister: famous for building hospitals, mosques, colleges, and other public works. These losses deeply affected him for a long time: but at length, reflecting that *an hour only, employed by a prince in executing justice, is of more importance than the worship given to God, and all the prayers made during one's whole life*, he applied himself by degrees to public affairs. Having learned that there were some commotions in the country of the *Getes*, the greater part of whom were not *Mohammedans*, he ordered the *Mirza Ali* to march thither with an army, and destroy those seditious people; then to pursue *Kamro'ddîn*, the author of those troubles. He sent after them Sheykh *Ali Babâdr*, and other *Amîrs*, with 10,000 horse; who, at *Atakom*, met the first party on their return, they being defeated and plundered by the people of *Babrîn*; but afterwards took revenge on them with great slaughter. They all went back together, in pursuit of *Kamro'ddîn*, to *Iffigbeul*, and thence as far as *Gbeuk-topa* (or the *Blue Hills*); but, not finding him, returned in autumn.

Cruel punishment.

MEAN time Sheykh *Dawd*, whom *Timûr* had made chief commander in *Sebzawâr*, having slain the governor *Taban Babâdr*; the *Mirza Mirân Shâh* laid siege to the place, and slew abundance of the rebels: but the Sheykh *Dawd* escaped to the fortress of *Bâdrabâd*, which the prince sent troops to invest. On this advice, the emperor detached the Sheykh *Ali Babâdr* and *Uchkara Babâdr*, at the head of a great army, against the *Amîr Veli*, prince of *Mazânderân*; and marched himself towards the country of *Sistân* (or *Sejestân*), which was in rebellion also. At the beginning of *Ramadân* 785, his army sat down before *Herât*, whose inhabitants, as was mentioned, were joined with the *Gowri* rebels: from thence he marched to *Sebzawâr*, which was attacked and forced. Near 2000 slaves, taken, were piled alive, one upon another, with mortar and bricks; as a monument to deter others from revolting, and punish the inhabitants of that city. After this he sent his van-guard to *Sistân*; and followed with the rest of his army, which consisted of 100,000 warriors. In his way, prince *Shâh Jalalo'ddîn*, of *Fârah* (or *Pârrab*), came and submitted to him. The army likewise took the fortress of *Zâreb* (T), with the slaughter of near 5000 soldiers, of whose bodies they made a mountain, and with their heads erected a tower.

Sistân
besieged;

WHEN the emperor arrived at *Sistân* (U), he ranged his army round it in form of a crown. Presently there appeared some lords deputed from *Shâh Kotbbo'ddîn*, to offer tribute to *Timûr*, and the usual customs: but, during this conference, the besieged sallied out in multitudes with good troops. *Timûr*, who knew of their design, placed 2000 men in ambush; while an *Amîr* advanced with a few horse to begin the fight, and then turned to the right, pretending to fly. The enemy, who were only foot, encouraged by this feint, pursued them vigorously to the place of ambuscade; where the horse, rushing out, after a bloody fight, drove them to the gates of the town. Next night 2000 of the enemy sallied out to surprise the besiegers, and advanced

^m Ibid. p. 227—233, c. 39—41.

(S) This *Mâlek Mehemed* and his brother were cousins-germans to *Mâlek Husayn*, father of *Mâlek Kayazo'ddîn*.

(T) In *Sistân* or *Nimruz* province, near a lake of the same name.

(U) It is also called *Sejestân*, or *Sajestân*, and *Zaranj*. It stands on the river *Senarûs*, a branch of the

Hermand, which falls into the lake of *Zereh* (or *Zareh*). The province, which has the same name, is otherwise called *Nimruz* (that is, the southern country). *La Croix*. This author says, it is a part of *Khorassân*; but it is indeed a distinct province, of considerable extent.

a as far as the tents, and even to the middle of the camp: but they met with so warm a reception, that those, who escaped being killed, with great difficulty got back to the town^a.

NEXT day the army assaulted the place on all sides, and at the same time the besieged ^{taken, and de-} made a sally; but were repulsed by the Mîrza *Ali*, with 500 horse, who entered the town ^{destroyed.} with the enemy. However, they were opposed by a strong party, who shut them in, and began a furious engagement: but *Akitmur Babâdr*, being informed of what had happened, halted with 1000 horse, and, cutting the gate to pieces, delivered Mîrza *Ali* and his men out of the hands of the enemy. The king, *Shâh Kotbô'ddîn*, despairing to defend himself, came out of the town to ask pardon of the emperor; who granted it, and distinguished him
b from the other princes by his favours. Mean time between 20 and 30,000 of the populace, sliding down by the walls, advanced to attack the besiegers, who repulsed them with great slaughter. Then, pursuing their victory, they gave a second assault; and, having made several breaches in the walls, entered the city, which they left desolate: they not only demolished the walls and houses, but slew all the inhabitants, men, women, and children. Thus was this fine city destroyed, and all the treasures of the *Sîstân* kings carried away, in the month of *Shawal*. The king *Kotbô'ddîn*, generals of the army, and governors of provinces, were sent to *Samarkant*.

FROM *Sîstân* the army marched to *Bost* (W). In their passage they took the fortrefs of *Other cities* *Tak*: and, when they came to the river *Hirmen* (or *Hendmend*), destroyed an antient monu- ^{reduced.} ment there, called *the bank of Rûstem*. Being informed at *Kuke Kala*, that *Tûmen Nikûdari*, revolting, had besieged *Kij* in *Mekrân*, the emperor sent the Mîrza *Mîrân Shâh* with troops to reduce him; and although the Amîr *Sayfo'ddîn*, his old friend, strove to reclaim him, he continued obstinate, and was killed in the first onset. As the army marched by the upper part of the *Hirmen*, the prince of *Mam Katû* waited on *Timûr* with presents: but, as *Timûr* knew him to be the person, who, when he returned from *Sîstân* with the Amîr *Hussayn*, had wounded him in the hand, he ordered him to be seized, as soon as he was gone out from his presence, and shot to death. After this, the troops, on their march, took the city of *Mam Katû* and *Kala Surk*, that is, *red castle*. Then arriving at *Hezarpezh*, where 3000 of *Tûmen*'s subjects had fortified themselves in the mountain, they took it by assault, though
d deemed impregnable; and put them to the sword, to punish them for the disorders they committed. The like was done at *Debne*, another citadel, which the tribe of *Tagâchi* had seized, and towers built of their heads, as usual.

THE army proceeded next to attack the *Ougani* (X) of *Kûb Soleyman*, a fortrefs on a moun- ^{Kandahâr} tain of that name, who had lately submitted, and were now revolted. A bloody battle was ^{taken.} fought, in which several brave men were killed: but, the place being at length taken, the *Ougani* were all put to death, according to the laws of *Jenghîz Khân*. From thence *Jebân Shâh Yakû Babâdr* was sent to *Kandahâr*, which he carried by assault; and, seizing the governor of the province, sent him to court, where he was hanged. *Timûr*, on his arrival there, rewarded *Jebân Shâh*, and then dispatched him with forces to *Kelât* (Y); which, after several assaults,
e he took and demolished. *Sîstân*, *Zablestân*, and their dependencies, being thus brought into subjection, the emperor disbanded the Amîrs, officers, and troops; then setting out for *Samarkant*, he arrived there in fourteen days. Soon after, a son was born to him, named *Ibrahim Soltân*; but this prince did not live long, dying very young.

AFTER *Timûr* had staid three months in his capital, to pass the delightful season, he resolved ^{Invades Irân} to march to *Mazânderân*. He staid some days at *Bâlk*, for the arrival of several bodies of ^{afresh.} troops; which, amounting to 100,000 men, considerably increased his army. Being come ^{Hej 786.} to the river *Morgâb* he took the road of *Burkey Tâsh*; and, coming down from *Saraks*, went ^{A. D. 1384.} to *Bâverd* (or *Abiverd*), and thence to *Nesâ* (Z), where he learned that the Amîr *Veli* had shut himself up in the citadel of *Dûrân* (A). On the way thither his van-guard met that of
f the Amîr, and came to a battle. *Mobasher*, who began the attack, was shot in the face with an arrow, which, entering near his teeth, went out at his neck: but, notwithstanding his wound, he rushed on his adversary, and cut off his head. The enemy, scared at this action, fled; and *Timûr* rewarded *Mobasher*'s courage. The army, on their arrival at *Dûrân*, besieged it; and, after several assaults, took it, putting the governor and garrison to the sword^o.

^a Hist. TIM. BEK, p. 223 . 241. c. 41—44.

^o Ibid. p. 241—253. c. 44—48.

(W) A town of *Sîstân*, on the borders of *Zabulestân*, or *Zabîstân*. *La Croix*. Others, with *De l'Isle*, place it in *Zabulestân*, on the borders of the province of *Kandahâr*.

(X) These are the *Augâns*, *Augvâns*, or *Afgâns*, who lately caused such troubles in *Persia*.

(Y) A town in the kingdom of *Koran*, near *Kandahâr*; different from *Kelât*, in *Khorassân*.

(Z) *Nisay*, or *Nesay*, as in *Abûlghâzi Khân*'s history: it is called also *Little Damascus*. *La Croix* says, it is a city in the desert of *Kiwak*, between *Khorassân* and *Karazm*.

(A) A city of *Khorassân*, now belonging to *Karazm*, to the north of *Nesâ*, towards the river *Amû*.

Astarabad destroyed.

FROM *Dûrûn* they marched by *Chilawn*, a country full of villages; and, passing the river at *Jorjân*, encamped at *Shasumân*: there, the two armies meeting, a bloody fight ensued. These skirmishes continued twenty days; at the end whereof the Amîr *Veli* advanced, and fought with heroic valour; but was at length obliged to fly, and many of his best officers fell in the pursuit. Toward evening, *Timûr* ordered thirty companies to lie in ambuscade; and, in the night, the Amîr *Veli* sallied out of the fortress upon the right wing commanded by prince *Mirân Shâh*, who marched against him: and, at the same time, those in ambuscade fell on: so that, being put to flight, many of his troops fell into the pits which they had dug to entrap the enemy. After this, the army, marching forward, arrived in the morning at *Astâr abâd* (B), capital of *Mazânderân*, where they burnt and destroyed every-thing, without sparing even sucking infants. This war happened in the month of *Shawal* 786.

Lokmân restored.

THE Amîr *Veli* fled the same night, with his wives and children, by the way of *Langaru*, to *Damgân*; and, leaving them in the fortress of *Shîrdekûb*, marched to *Ray*, or *Rey* (C). The troops sent in pursuit almost overtook him at that city; which made him fly into the woods of the country of *Rusteyndâr*, and thus escaped. This Amîr was son of Sheykh *Ali Bisûd*, one of *Taghitmûr Khân*'s commanders, who was slain, at the same time with his master, by the *Sarbedâls*. *Veli*, who was present, escaped to *Nesa*; where at length becoming powerful, he marched to *Astâr abâd*, which he reduced: while *Lokmân Pâdi Shâh*, son of *Teghitmûr*, fled, and wandered from place to place; till, lifting into the service of *Timûr*, this monarch, after taking that city, restored to him the government of it.

Soltân Ahmed flies.

THE emperor, leaving above two-thirds of his army to winter at *Astâr abâd*, marched with the rest towards the kingdom of *Ray*. Soltân *Ahmed Sheykh Avîs Jalâyr*, who was then at *Soltânîya* in *Irâk*, alarmed at this unexpected approach, left a strong garrison there, under the command of his son *Akbûga*, and retired to *Tauris*. Mean time *Omar Abbâs*, at the head of three-score horse, set out towards *Soltânîya*, in the terrible snows, to gain intelligence. The enemy, on the news of his march, departed in great haste, with their young prince, for *Tauris*; but, as they were not all gone out when *Omar Abbâs* arrived, that commander entered the place sword in hand, and made himself master of it. *Timûr*, who, in spring, came to *Soltânîya*, having sent to *Shîrâz* for *Sarek Adel* (one of the greatest lords belonging to Sheykh *Avîs*, then in the service of Soltân *Zeyn al Abo'ddîn*, son of *Shâh Shuja*, lately dead), conferred on him the government of that province, and the territories dependent on it; leaving with him also with an army, to subdue the neighbouring countries.

Hej. 787.
A. D. 1385.

Soltânîya taken.

AFTER this expedition, *Timûr* returning from *Soltânîya*, entered the mountains of *Rusteyndâr*; and, as the princes of the country fled, he easily became master of it. The Amîr *Veli*, on this news, fled also from *Yalûs*; while the army turned towards the cities of *Amol* and *Sarye* (or *Sari*); but the princes, who possessed those places, prevented the danger, by offering to pay tribute, and obey *Lokmân Pâdishâh*, prince of *Astâr abâd*. *Timûr*, having thus reduced *Irân*, as far westward as *Soltânîya*, returned to the seat of his empire.

Kipjâks take Tauris.

DURING the winter, *Tokatmîsh* (or *Toktamîsh*), Khân of *Kipjâk*, sent an army of near 90,000 men, by way of *Dârbend*, to attack *Tauris*. In this army, who were for the most part infidels, of a merciless nature, there were twelve *Aglens* (D), princes of the royal blood of *Tushti*, with several Amîrs. The inhabitants of *Tauris* having, by advice of the Amîr *Veli*, who had retired thither, fortified their city, repulsed the enemy for eight days; but at length the army of *Toktamîsh Khân*, being more numerous than that of the besieged, became masters of the place, where they exercised all manner of cruelties and abominations. Then having, in six days, pillaged all the treasures, which had taken up many years to amass, they carried them off, with numerous slaves, to their own country ^P.

Lorestân reduced.

A. D. 1386.

TIMUR, when he heard of this devastation, was greatly incensed at it, and confirmed in his resolution to conquer *Irân*: which, being in confusion for want of a sovereign, was subject to such invasions, and liable otherwise to fall into the hands of some other power; which might prove detrimental to himself. In the year 788, therefore, he crossed the *Jibûn* with a formidable army; and, after a long march, arrived at *Firûzkûb* (E). Here being informed of the outrages committed by the people of *Lûrestân*, or the country of *Lûr* (*Lor*, or *Lawr*), who had lately attacked and plundered a Karawân of pilgrims, passing through their country to *Mekka*; he thought himself obliged to chastise such villains. Therefore, taking with him every fifth man, he marched thither with all expedition; ordered *Urujerd*, with the neigh-

^P Hist. TIM. BEK, p. 253—260. c. 48—51.

(B) Situated at the south-east corner of the *Caspian* sea.

(C) In all probability the antient *Ragau*, or *Rages*.

(D) All the princes of the blood of *Tushti*, or *Jaji*, are surnamed *Aglæ*. *La Croix*.

(E) A fortress in *Kâbeştân*, or *Persian Irak*, a few leagues to the north-east of *Ray*.

a boursing places, to be plundered ; and at length reduced *Korram abâd*, an almost impregnable fortress, whither the robbers of *Lûrestân* were retired ; the greater part of whom, being taken, were thrown headlong from the tops of the mountains. Having thus subdued this little principality (F), he rejoined his army at *Nabawend*, a city not far off, to the south-west.

THIS monarch, having received advice that Soltân *Abmed Jalayr* had raised troops at *Bagh-dâd*, and returned to *Tauris*, hastened towards this last city, at the head of his army : but the Soltân, not willing to wait his coming, fled. Troops being sent to pursue him, overtook and plundered his baggage. Hereupon he abandoned his army, accompanied with some troops : but, at the salt-pits of *Nemekzar*, beyond *Nakchivân*, was overtaken again by *Elias Koja*, son of *Sheykh Ali Babâdr*, with a small number of horse. The Soltân made a brave resistance ; and *Elias*, having been disabled by a wound, gave him an opportunity of escaping. On this occasion there happened many disorders at *Nakchivân* ; where, among other damages, the great dome of the palace of *Ziao'l Mulk* was burnt. Mean time several great lords and Sharifs of *Azerbejân* came to submit to the emperor : and a sum of money was imposed on the inhabitants of *Tauris*, by way of ransom for their lives.

THE whole kingdom of *Azerbejân* being now reduced, the court remained at that capital during the summer. Here *Sarek Adel* (G) was put to death by a sling from the walls ; and the most skilful masters in every art and science were sent to *Samarkant*. At the same time the Amîr *Veli* was seized wandering in the province of *Kalkal* (*), and put to death. In autumn the army marched to *Merend* (or *Marand*) ; and then to the river *Urûs* (H), which it passed, over the bridge of *Ziao'l Mulk*, one of the most magnificent in the world, built all of stone, of a vast length, and flat at top. It is in the territory of *Nakchivân*, near the town of *Zulaba* (I) : one of its arches, which joins to a mountain, at whose foot the river runs, is sixty cubits wide : there is another of fifty-five cubits. There is also a great gate at each end, made out of the rock : the whole not to be equalled for beauty.

THE army, after reducing the citadel of *Korni*, and town of *Surmalu*, on the river, which they found in their road, came to *Kârs* ; a town with a citadel so strongly built of stone, and difficult of access, that those of the country deemed it impregnable : for all this, the governor *Pirûz Bâkht*, a *Turkmân*, after a very brave defence, was obliged to surrender the place ; which was plundered, and then razed to the ground. As *Timûr*'s aim, from the first, was to make war on the infidels ; because it is recommended by God to *Mohammed*, as the most excellent of all actions ; so, being at this time so near *Georgia*, he resolved to make war on that country, which he had long before meditated. With this view he decamped from *Kârs*, though in very frosty weather ; and, by way of *Kitû*, arrived at *Teflis*, capital of that country, which was well fortified with strong walls, besides a citadel : but, by the valour of *Timûr*'s troops, the city was taken, and prince *Mâlek Ipokrates* brought in chains to the camp. After this, the emperor took the diversion of hunting : the soldiers first made the circle called the *Nerk* ; and then performed the *Jerk*, by approaching towards the centre, so to inclose the game⁹.

THE army being encamped at *Sheki*, near the mountains, several bodies were sent into different parts of the country, which reduced many cities and provinces. The *Lekeziens* were pillaged, and most of them slain : the provinces of *Tenk-gûl* and *Akjev* were subdued. The camp removing to *Kabala*, or *Kambala*, the Amîrs razed *Kala Surk*, or the red castle ; and from thence, by *Karabâgh-surgâb*, came to the *Kûr* (or *Cyrus*), which they crossed, over a bridge of rafts. Then, marching to *Berdaa* (in the province of *Arân*), that city submitted without any opposition. When they came to *Karabâgh* (or the black garden), *Timûr* sent for *Ipokrates* ; and used such convincing arguments, that he turned *Mohammedan*. He presented the emperor with a coat of mail, reported to have been that which the prophet *Dawd*, or *David*, forged in a smith's shop ; and made proof, by soaking and drying it several times. *Timûr*, in return, made him several presents, and permitted him to return home : which good treatment of their princes induced most of his subjects to embrace the *Muslimân* faith.

AT this time the Amîr *Sheykh Ibrâhîm*, prince of *Shîrwân*, distinguished for his power, honesty, and noble descent, came and submitted to *Timûr*. Among other parcels of presents, there was one of eight captives, whom he had bought ; and, as some person said that the

⁹ Hist. TIM. BEK, p. 260—269. cap. 51—54.

(F) Its prince was *Mâlek Azzo'ddin* ; but it is not said what became of him.

(G) He had fled from the court of the *Ilkhânian* kings, or of Soltân *Abmed*, to that of *Timûr*.

(*) Part of *Khilân*, or *Ghilân*.

(H) Or *Aras*, of old *Araxes*.

(I) Possibly, a mistake for *Julafa*, or rather *Julfa*. The bridge is mentioned by *Tavernier*, c. 4. p. 19. who tells us, it was destroyed, with the city, by *Shâh Abbâs*, to prevent the *Turks* from settling there.

ninth piece was wanting (K), he presented *himself*, to make up the number : which action a so highly pleased the emperor, that, besides other bounties, he bestowed on him the kingdom of *Shîrwân*, and its dependencies, with the title of king ; under which he became famous. Other sovereigns followed this prince's example ; particularly those of *Ghilân*, or *Kilân*, who, confiding in their mountains and woods, marshes and sloughs, which rendered access difficult, as well as in the strength of their walled places, had not obeyed any king for many ages.

Defeats the
Kipjaks.
Hej. 789.
A. D. 1387.

TIMUR, having passed the winter at *Karabâgh*, on the banks of the *Urûs* (or *Aras*), in the beginning of the year 789 marched to *Bardaa*. Here he received advice that *Toktamîsh*, Khân of *Kipjâk*, had revolted ; and sent an army to make an irruption into *Azerbejdân*, by the way of *Dârbend*, contrary to the counsel of his principal lords : but *Ali Bey*, and *Kazanîshi*, who had killed his own father, having found access to him, persuaded him to break off friendship with the emperor, and become his enemy. As soon as they were arrived near the *Kûr*, troops were sent over to observe their motions ; who were defeated : but, a strong body being detached to support them, under the command of the *Mîrza Mirân Shâh*, *Haji Sayfo'ddîn*, and other princes, the enemy were soon put to a shameful flight. They were pursued as far as *Dârbend*, and a great number taken prisoners, whom *Timûr* generously released ; after mildly reflecting on their Khân's breach of treaty without any provocation.

Destroys Alen-
jik.

FROM the *Kûr* he marched to *Gheukche Tenghîz*, that is, *the blue sea*, where the empress *Saray Mulk Khanûm* arrived, with her two sons, from *Samarkant*. At length he proceeded to *Alenjîk*, where there was a fortress belonging to *Soltân Ahmed*. Three days after, his soldiers, in the night, ascended the mountain adjoining to this place ; and, at day-break, attacking it, made themselves masters of the lower citadel, which they destroyed. Those who guarded it fled to the upper fortress ; where, for want of water, they at length capitulated, promising on oath to depart. But, just as the besieged were going to perform their agreement, so great a rain fell, that, in twenty-four hours, all their cisterns were filled with water ; and the people, having quenched their thirst, put the enemy to defiance : who, suspecting no such contravention, had descended the mountain, and returned to the camp. Hereupon the siege being renewed, the walls were at length battered down, and the water turned off ; so that in a short time the fortress was taken, and razed to the ground^r.

Chastises the
Turkmâns.

AT this time advice arriving, that the *Turkmâns* were continually molesting the *Mohammedans* ; that they robbed the *Karawâns*, not sparing even those of *Mekka* ; and that nobody could pass in safety by the places where they dwelt, *Timûr* left the province of *Nakchivân*, and marched towards them. In the way, he ordered the baggage to repair to *Alatak* ; and, when he arrived at the castle of *Bayezîd*, formerly called *Aydîn*, his troops pillaged it, and carried off all which the inhabitants had left in the adjacent country. Passing farther to the castle of *Avanik* (L), where *Mefer*, son of *Kara Mehemed*, resided, they ravaged all the country likewise. From hence they marched to *Arzerûm*, which they took the same day they arrived. *Timûr*, who encamped on the river *Shia-shûr*, sent an ambassador to persuade *Tabarten*, sovereign of *Arzenjân*, to submit ; which he did, and consented to pay the *karaj*, or tribute (M). After this, he sent three of his best squadrons, under command of the *Mîrza Mirân Shâh*, in search of *Kara Mehemed* (N), father of *Kara Yusef*, the *Turkmân* ; whose lands they ravaged, carrying away their wives and children ; but found him not. However, another squadron, detached on the same errand, at length discovered him on the top of a mountain, and attacked him there ; but, the place being rendered inaccessible by the steep rocks, they returned to the camp.

Reduces Ar-
menia,

FROM thence *Timûr* marched to *Mûsh* (O), which was plundered ; and at length arrived at the city of *Aklât* (P), which submitted to him. Then, proceeding to *Adeljawz*, the prince thereof came out to meet him with presents, and was confirmed in the possession of his principality. The emperor continued his march by the lake of *Vân* ; and, having passed *Bend Mahi* (Q), at length arrived at *Alatak*, where the baggage and body of the army waited for him. After this, the forces advanced to *Vân* and *Vastân*. *Mâlek Azzo'ddîn*, who commanded in the former, shut himself up in the citadel, which is very strong, situated on the

^r Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 269—278. c. 54—58.

(K) It is the custom also to present nine pieces of a fort.

(L) *Wân*, or *Vân*, situated in the *Upper Armenia*. *La Croix*.—On the eastern side of a lake called that of *Vân*, also *Aktamir*.

(M) Which the *Mohammedan* princes exact from the *Christians* and *Jews*.

(N) Chief, or founder, of the monarchy of the *Kara Kuyonlu*, or *black sheep* ; whose history is given hereafter.

(O) A village in the *Lower Armenia*, at the foot of a mountain, from whence springs a little river : it is two days journey from *Mayafakîn*, and three from *Aklât*. *La Croix*.

(P) Or *Eklât* ; called also *Kellât*, and *Kalât*, the capital of *Lower Armenia*.

(Q) A place where a little river falls into the lake of *Vân* ; and where are caught a great many little fish called *tarrik*. *La Croix*.

a ridge of a mountain, and bounded on one side by the lake. The army used all their efforts to take both the castle and the town. Two days after, the prince came out, and submitted; but, the inhabitants refusing to surrender, the siege was renewed; and the fortress, which had never been conquered before, was entered on the twentieth day by the soldiers; who slew a great number of those robbers, and cast down many from the mountain top, tied neck and heels.

TIMUR, having ordered the castle of *Vân* to be demolished, went to *Sâlmâz* (a city of *and Kûrde-Azerbejdân*), where he left *Mâlek Azzo'ddin* in possession of all *Kûrdestân*. At the same time *flân*. the prince of *Armitzek* came to submit himself, and was confirmed in the principality of *Armit*.

b After this, the emperor marched to *Marâgha*, and from thence to *Ghilân*: from whence, in *Hej. 785. A. D. 1387.* autumn 789, he set out to conquer the kingdoms of *Fârs* (or *Pârs*) and *Irâk*. He had some time before sent to summon to his court *Zayno'labeddin*, prince of *Shîrâz* (R), whose father, *Shâh Shûjah*, before he died, had recommended him to *Timûr's* protection: but this prince, instead of obeying the summons, seized on and imprisoned the envoy. The army, taking its route through the country of *Hamadân*, arrived at *Jerbadekbân* (S); from whence the emperor marched, and encamped before *Ispâhân*. Immediately the governor *Seyd Muzaffer Kâshî*, maternal uncle of *Soltân Zayno'labeddin*, with other chief men, came out to implore the mercy of *Timûr*; who entered the city, and lodged in the fortress of *Tabarrûk*: then placing a garrison there, and a governor, returned to his camp.

c THE quarters of the city were shared among the Amîrs; each of whom sent a commissary *Ispâhân sub-* into his quarter, to collect the money granted by the inhabitants to redeem their lives. But, *mits.* while every thing seemed in a quiet state, a rash young fellow, of the suburbs, named *Ali Kuchapa*, a smith, in the night, caused the drum to be beaten in the city. On this, a rabble gathered, who cut the throats of all the commissaries, and more than 3000 *Turks*: so that none were saved, in this massacre, excepting such as the wiser inhabitants of each quarter defended from those villains; who also slew the guards, and seized the gates. Next morning, when *Timûr* was informed of this sedition, he ordered his army to take the city by force; and, when they had carried it by assault, sent men to guard the quarter of the Sharîfs, and doctors of the law: but ordered all the rest of the inhabitants to be put to the sword, except- *The inhabit-* ing those who had preserved any of his soldiers. To make sure work, every company of *ants slaugh-* d men was obliged to furnish a certain number of heads: but many soldiers, who were unwilling to kill the *Musulmâns*, bought heads of the executioners, to make up their respective quotas. At first a head was sold for twenty dinârs *Kupeghi*: but, when every one had the number he was taxed at, it yielded only half a dinâr; and at last no person bought any. On the other hand, the soldiers, who were less scrupulous or humane, killed all they met; and, by the tracks of feet in the snow which fell, traced those who fled to their hiding places, where they put them to death. According to the registers of the Divân, the number of heads amounted to 70,000; which were laid in heaps on the walls, and afterwards piled up in towers, as usual. This terrible slaughter happened on *Monday* the sixth of *Zu'l Kaadeh*, in the year before-mentioned.

e AFTER the reduction of *Ispâhân*, *Timûr* marched towards *Shîrâz*: on which advice, *Zayno'labeddin*, prince of *Pârs*, or *Proper Persia*, fled with his troops to join *Shâh Mansûr*, *Pârs and Ker-* governor of *Toštâr* (T), his cousin-german: but his soldiers, being bribed, went over to *Mansûr*; who, seizing the imprudent prince, first imprisoned him, and afterwards his treacherous troops, confiscating all their effects. Mean time the emperor arriving at *Shîrâz*, on the first of *Zulhajeh*, that metropolis, with the whole kingdom, submitted to him. The governors, assembling, agreed to pay 1000 tomans (U) *Kapeghi*; and the Kotbah was read in *Timûr's* name. Here *Shâh Yabîa*, prince of *Yazd*, a city of *Pârs*, nephew of the late *Shâh Shuja*; *Soltân Ahmed*, prince of *Kermân*, brother of the same *Shuja*; and *Abu Ishâk*, his grandson, from *Sirjîan*; all the neighbouring sovereigns; also the Atabeks of *Lor* (W) and *Gurghîan Lar* (X), came and made their submission; while the troops went to pillage the countries which refused to obey the summons.

* Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 278—290. c. 58—60.

† Ibid. p. 290—299. c. 60—62.

(R) At present capital of *Pârs*, as the *Arabs* write *Fars*, or *Proper Persia*: but at that time *Esfakar*, or *Asiakar*, supposed to be the ancient *Persepolis*, is said by our author to have been the metropolis.

(S) A city of *Khuzestân*, a part of *Persian Irâk*, called also *Ghilpayghan*, or *Gulpaykhân*.

(T) Formerly called *Kushter*, or *Shushter*, in the province of *Abuâz*, which is part of *Khuzestân*. *Abû Isfeda*

says, this town is the most antient in the world. *La Croix*.

(U) A toman is worth twenty *French* crowns. *La Croix*.

(W) A nation in *Khuzestân*. *La Croix*. Some place it in *Persian Irâk*.

(X) A city and province of *Pârs*.

C H A P. III.

Wars with the Kipjâks and Getes. Conquest of the countries to the Euphrates.

Tokatmîsh
Khân repulsed. **I**N the interim advice came, that *Tokatmîsh*, Khân of *Kipjâk*, defeated by *Timûr* in the west, had gone round, and attacked his dominions in the east. His army, having passed by *Saganâk*, sat down before *Sabrân*; but were obliged to raise the siege. However, as they continued to ravage the country, the *Mîrza Omar Shейkh* marched from *Andekbân*; and, being joined by the troops left at *Samarkant*, crossed the *Sibûn* (or *Sîr*) in autumn. They met the enemy's army in the field of *Juklik*, five leagues to the east of *Otrâr*; and fought till night: when *Omar Shейkh*, carried by his intrepid valour, breaking through the enemy's army, was missed by his own; who thereupon fled. However, the *Mîrza* escaped to *Andekbân*; and, having rallied his troops, set out a second time: but, when he got to *Kojend*, news came that *Ankatûra*, nephew of the Amîr *Haji Bey*, of the tribe of *Irkanût*, forgetting the emperor's favours, with an army from *Mogulestân*, was already arrived at *Sayrâm* and *Tâshkunt*. *Omar Shейkh* immediately returned to cut off their retreat; and came up with them before *Aksiket*. The armies, for some days, marched along the banks of the *Sibûn*, in view of each other, waiting for an opportunity of engaging to advantage ^a.

The Getes defeated. **A**T length, one night, *Anketura*, leaving 1000 men in his camp, with orders to light fires, that the *Mîrza* might think all the army was still there, marched with the rest of his troops, and crossed the *Sibûn* in a convenient place. At the same time *Omar Shейkh* advanced against and fought him: but, as the enemy far surpassed him in number of forces, he desisted, and entered *Andekbân*. *Anketûra* pursued him, and aimed to seize all the avenues: but the *Mîrza*, to prevent him, sallied out, and fell upon the *Getes*, rushing into the midst of his enemies; till *Tukel Babâdr* made after him, and led his horse back by the bridle: after which, *Anketûra*, weary of the expedition, returned homewards. Mean time the troops of *Kipjâk* pillaged the towns of *Great Bukbâria*; and, being met at *Bokbâra* by another body of their army, besieged that city. But, as they were always worsted in their attacks, they raised the siege, and made incursions through the country; in one of which, they burnt *Zenjîr Saray* (A), (one of the emperor's palaces) whither they were conducted by Soltân *Mahmûd*, son of *Kay Kofrû Katlâni*.

New conquests settled. **W**HEN *Timûr* received advice of this invasion, he gave the government of *Shîrâz* to Shâh *Yahîa*, nephew of Shâh *Shuja*; that of *Ispâhân* to Soltân *Mehemed*, son of Shâh *Yahîa*; that of *Kirmân* to Soltân *Ahmed*, brother of Shâh *Shuja*; and invested the Soltân *Abu Is-bâk*, Shâh *Shuja*'s grandson, in the government of the province, as well as city and castle, of *Sirjiân*, which he bestowed on him and his heirs for ever; signing all their patents with the imperial signet called *Altomga*, that is, the mark of the red hand. Then the emperor sent all the great Amîrs belonging to the court of the late Shâh *Shuja*, with all the handicraftsmen of *Shîrâz*, to *Samarkant*: after which, he set out for that city, at the end of *Moharram* 790. As soon as the enemy heard that he had crossed the *Jibûn* with his army, they thought fit to fly back to *Kipjâk*, and were pursued as far as *Bilen*.

Cowardice punished. **A**s it appeared strange to this monarch, that, in the battle of *Juklik*, the army of *Tokatmîsh Khan* should get the better of his troops; he ordered the Amîrs, who were in that battle, to be examined in council, and the transgressors prosecuted. Among the rest, *Berat Kojâ* had his beard shaved (B); and, after being severely reproached for his cowardice, they painted his face with ceruse and vermillion; put a coiffe on his head, as if he had been a woman; and made him run barefoot through the city. On the other hand, *Kuche Mâlek*, who, with thirteen men only, had attacked, in the night, 300 infidels of *Ankatûra*'s troop, and delivered several prisoners out of their hands; received as a reward, among other favours, a principality, for him and his descendants, with the privilege of *Terkân* ^b.

^a Hist. TIM. BEK, p. 290—299. c. 60—62.

^b Ibid. p. 299—305. c. 62—63.

(A) Two leagues from *Kârshî*. Which insult was revenged afterwards by the burning of *Saray*, capital of *Kipjâk*. See *La Croix*, hist. Tim. Bek, l. iii. cap. 60. p. 514.

(B) There is no greater reproach among the eastern nations, than to have the beard shaved, after it is once grown; especially if done by the common executioner. *La Croix*.

a In the beginning of the year before-mentioned, *Timûr* departed for *Karazm*; and, when he came to the river *Shedris* (C), learned by a deserter, that *Ilitmiş Aglen* (king of that country), and *Soleymân Sofi*, had quitted that kingdom, and retreated to *Kipjâk*. Hereupon he sent some troops in pursuit of them, by way of *Komkint* and *Kîz*; who, overtaking them, made a great slaughter, and plundered their baggage. When he came to the capital of *Karazm*, he ordered the inhabitants to remove, with their goods, to *Samarkant*; and razed that great city to the very foundations, sowing the ground with barley, to punish his enemies making war upon him. However, three years after, in 793, *Mîsfk* being sent by *Timûr* to *Karazm*, he re-peopled the country, and brought it up to its antient splendor. He surrounded with walls not only the cities of *Kât* and *Kivâk*, but likewise all the demesnes of the *Khân*; that is, the part of *Karazm* which *Jenghîz Khân* gave to *Jagatay Khân*. Affairs of Karazm. Hej. 790.

b DURING *Timûr*'s expedition into *Karazm*, *Mehemed Mireke*, son of *Shîr Babrâm*, whom he had made governor of *Katlân*, and honoured in marriage with his daughter *Soltân Bâkt Begum*, revolted, and marched to *Termed*, but could not take that city. On the first news of this rebellion, the *Mîrza Omar Shейkh* pursued the rebels, who thereupon dispersed; which broke all *Mireke*'s measures, who fled to the kingdom of *Katlân*. Being followed by the *Mîrza*, he hastened to the narrow pass called *Darey Darvâz*, to seek protection of *Shâh Jalâl'eddîn* (D), who refused him entrance into the castle: to add to his affliction, most of his domestics abandoned him. Mean time *Omar Shейkh* could get no tidings of him: but, while he staid in *Katlân*, waiting the event, one of his officers, in his way to *Samarkant* with some domestics, arrived at a fountain in *Katlân*: where observing the tracks of horses which had gone out of the common road, he had the curiosity to follow them; and had no sooner passed some hills, than he perceived *Mehemed* sitting with four servants, while their horses fed on the grass. He immediately surrounded, seized, and bound them: then sent notice to the *Mîrza*, who ordered him to put *Mireke* to death. Revolt of Mireke.

c AT the same time that *Mireke* rebelled, the *Amîr Jêhân Shâh* departed from *Kondoz* with the *Tomâns* of *Bûrûlday*, *Taykhân*, and *Aperdi*. In their march, that of *Bûrûlday* revolted, and returned back: the *Amîr*, with some troops, pursued them to *Bakalân*, and pillaged their houses. After which, hearing of *Mireke*'s rebellion, he prepared to march against him; and hastened to the *Jibûn* with part of the forces: where he was to be joined by two other commanders with the rest. But, as soon as night came, *Junayd Bûrûlday*, and his brother *Bayezîd*, revolting with the squadrons they commanded, consisting of 3000 horse, fell on *Jêhân Shâh*, who had no more than sixty men: yet this valiant general, having the river on his back, advanced with his soldiers against the rebels; and, when they had emptied their quivers, had recourse to their lances and swords. Mean time *Koja Yusef*, son of *Olajîa Itû*, sent *Jêhân Shâh* word, that he was hastening to his assistance. This news giving the men new heart, they held firm till night; when *Yusef* arrived with 100 men, and fell so vigorously on the enemy, that they fled, while many were slain in the pursuit. and Bûrûlday suppressed.

d WHEN *Timûr* was on the way to *Karazm*, *Siorgatmiş Khân* fell sick at *Bokbâra*, and died *Mahmûd* there; and, at his return, *Soltân Mahmûd* (E), son of the deceased, was established in his place. After this, he married the *Mîrzas Mehemed Soltân*, his brother *Pîr Mehemed*, and the *Mîrza Shâh Rukh*. electd Khân.

e AT the end of the same year, *Toktamîsh Khân*, of *Kipjâk*, brought a numerous army into the field, composed of the troops of *Russia*, *Chirkassia*, *Bulgaria*, *Kipjâk*, *Krîm*, *Kassa*, *Allan*, and *Azâk*. *Timûr*, on this news, departed, with the troops of *Samarkant* and *Kash*, to the place of rendezvous, six leagues from his capital; from whence he sent orders through the empire for his troops to repair thither: but, before any could arrive, advice came that *Ilitmiş Khân*, with a vast number of horse, had crossed the *Jibûn* at *Kojend*, and encamped not far distant. The emperor, without waiting for any other troops, contrary to the intreaties of his lords, set forward, through the snow, which was already so deep that it touched the bellies of the horses. For all this, he marched night and day; and, shortly after, was joined by the *Mîrza Omar Shейkh*, with the troops of *Andekbân*. The Kipjaks defeated, Hej. 791. A. D. 1389.

f TIMUR then sent a body of horse to fall on the enemy's rear; and block up the passages, to hinder their retreat. Next morning they came in sight of the enemy; and immediately made the great cry *Sûrûn*, to begin the fight. After a bloody battle, the enemy were obliged to fly; and, being pursued, many flung themselves into the *Jibûn*, to avoid the sword;

* Hist. TIM. BEK, p. 305—315. l. iii. c. 1, & seq.

(C) Which runs into the *Jibûn*; and divides the kingdoms of *Jagatay* and *Karazm*. *La Croix*.

(D) Prince of the frontiers of *Tibet*, inhabiting the mountains between that country and *Katlân*. *La Croix*.

—This must be understood of the country of *Little Tibet*, to the north of *Kashmîr*, in *Hindûstân*.

(E) By mistake, called in the history *Mehemed*.

sword ; while the rest, meeting with the troops sent to cut off their retreat, were hemmed in, and the greater part cut to pieces. *Timúr* then returned to his capital ; and, in the month of *Safar* 791, encamped near that city ; waiting for the troops from all parts of the empire, which arrived in the beginning of spring. In the month of *Rabîyo'lawel* he departed for *Kipjâk* ; and passed the *Sibûn* at *Kojend*, over a bridge of boats, at the head of a formidable army. The van-guard surprised the enemy's scouts, and cut most of them to pieces : the rest fled to *Toktamîsh Khân*, who had laid siege to *Sabrân*, but was obliged to raise it ; and, as soon as he heard that *Timúr* had passed the river, fled with precipitation through the desert. He was pursued for some time as far as *Sarek Uzân*, on the river *Arch*, by a body of troops ; who killed several of the enemy's rear, and then returned to *Aksûma* (F), where the emperor was encamped.

Sarbedâl
kingdom ru-
ined.

TIMÚR then advanced forward ; and, having passed the town of *Bilân* and *Sarek Uzân*, at length came to *Alkûsûn*, a village of *Kipjâk*. Here being informed that the *Sardebâl* princes (G), and *Haji Bey Yun Garbânî*, were revolted, with the garrisons of *Kelât* and *Tûs*, he sent the *Mîrza Mirân Shâh* to *Khorassân*, with the main body of the army. In his way, he caused *Mâlek Pîr Mehemed*, son of *Mâlek Kayazo'ddin*, prince of *Herât*, and his son *Mahmûd*, to be put to death at *Samarkant* ; so to remove the cause of the disorders in *Khorassân*. He did the same by *Zayn al Abeddin*, prince of *Shîrâz* ; so that there remained not one of those *Kûrd* (H) princes. At *Babrabûd*, near *Tûs*, he met the *Sardebâl* kings, who fought with great resolution : but, being surrounded by the *Mîrza's* troops, were all cut to pieces, excepting prince *Malûk*, and two or three of his guards. Mean time the *Amîr Akbûga*, from *Herât*, who had besieged *Tûs*, took it ; and, though *Haji Bey* fled, he was seized at *Semnân* in *Kûmes* ; and, being sent to the *Mîrza*, was put to death.

Timúr
marches
Hej. 791.
A. D. 1389.

MEAN time *Timúr* was prevailed on by his lords to quit the farther pursuit of *Toktamîsh Khân* for the present, and turn his arms against *Kezra Kojâ Aglen* (king of *Jetab*) and *Ankatûra*. He parted from *Alkûsûn* in 791, and took the road of mount *Urnak* (I) ; beyond which, being in great want of water, they found in the desert a vast meadow covered with ice and snow, though in the midst of summer, which relieved both men and cattle. Having hunted at *Aygber Yali* (on the river *Tik*), they at length came to the town of *Shipar Aygber* : where they defeated 1000 horse belonging to *Ankatûra*, who, they learned, was at *Uronk*, or *Uronkyar*, another town of *Jetab*. The army halted thither : but, the guide having lost his way in the night, *Timúr* next day divided it into two bodies ; one he kept himself ; and gave the other to the *Mîrza Omar Sheykh*, to seek the enemy. After passing through many towns and villages, he encamped at *Karaguchûr*, a temple of the *Mungls* ; while the *Mîrza*, taking another road, at length came up with *Ankatûra*, at the town of *Kûbâk* : where he defeated and made him fly to *Kalkamaburji* (K) ; leaving to the victor his cattle and daughters, who were exceeding beautiful ^a.

into Jetab ;

ON his return, he was ordered to go in quest of part of the army sent out before on another occasion. He was accompanied only with fifty persons, but they were all princes, *Amîrs*, and generals. When he arrived at the plain of *Ichmas Alagheul* (L), they met with 800 of the enemy's horse ; whom, though six to one more numerous, they defeated, after a bloody fight, and returned with their cattle to the camp at *Karaguchûr*. As *Timúr* staid here to fatten his horses, he detached 30,000 men toward *Artish* (M), in quest of the enemy. When they arrived at the *Irtish* (N), they marched along that river ; and many passed into the isles, and other places, where they slew and took a great number of prisoners, with their effects. At their return, the enemy decamped ; and, passing the great desert, after many days journey, arrived at *Aymal Gîjû* (capital of *Jetab*) (O) ; where he lodged in the palace of *Saray Urdam*, with great magnificence.

^a Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 315—328. c. 2—5.

(F) A spy tower in *Kipjâk*, mentioned before.

(G) *Sarbedâl*, or *Serbedâl*, signifies *Head on the branch*, because the factious among them hung their turbâns on branches of trees, in token of resolution. Twelve of them reigned forty-five years, from 737 to 788, in *Sebz-avâr* : the last of these kings was *Koja Ali Muayd*, who died in the camp of *Timúr*. *La Croix*.

(H) Perhaps, rather *Gowri* princes,

(I) The residence of *Ogûz Khân*, founder of the *Mungl* empire ; called also *Urnak Lornak*. *La Croix*.

(K) An antient castle on the frontiers of *Jetab*, and north of *Turkestan*. *La Croix*.—By *Turkestan* the author must mean here the country of *Kâshgar* in *Little Bukhâria*, which is so called at one time by the oriental writers, because *Kâshgar* was the residence of the *Khâns* of the *Turks*.

(L) A plain in *Jetab*, near the river *Irtish*, where there is a salt lake. *La Croix*.

(M) *Artish*, or *Irtish*, a town of *Mogulestan*. *La Croix*.—The same, perhaps, with *Ardish*, often mentioned in the reign of *Jenghîz Khân*.

(N) Formerly called *Artish* ; a river which runs thro' all the country of *Jetab* and *Mogulestan*, and falls into the *Obi*. *La Croix*.—By *Mogulestan*, is not to be understood the antient country of the *Mungls*, to the east of mount *Altay* ; but that part of *Tartary*, on the west side, possessed by the *Elûths* or *Kalmûks*.

(O) Capital of *Jetab*, and frontier of *Mogulestan*. *La Croix*.—It is difficult to fix the situation or bounds of these countries, according to this author, who seems often to vary in his description of places.

a AFTER this, *Timûr*, in order effectually to root out the *Getes*, divided his army into several bodies, under so many generals, who were to take different routes; being provided both with guides, and memoirs of the roads. The *Mirza Omar Sheykh*, crossing the mountain *Dûbeshin Andûr* (near the lake *Artak gheul*), went as far as *Karakoja* (P), three months journey of the *Karawân* from *Samarkant*: another party went to the town of *Kara Arf*, and valley of *Shûrûjluk*, in *Mogulestân*: *Kodâdad Hussayni*, with a body of 20,000 men, arriving at *Bikût*, by way of *Urichû*, towns in the same country, met with the tribes of *Bulgaji* and *Ilker*; whom they defeated, after a bloody battle, which continued for twenty-four hours. Those who escaped, fell into the hands of *Timûr*; who, with his guards and household troops, having taken the road of *Oluk Kâl* (Q), met them at the hill of *Sichkhân Daban* (R), and cut them to pieces. A fifth body went as far as *Ligh* and *Gheveyar*, towns in *Mogulestân*.

SEVERAL Amîrs, who had been ordered to follow *Timûr* in this expedition, after many days journey, came to *Urdaban*, a mountain of *Jetab*, near *Great Bukhâria*: then crossed the river *Abeile* (S), and arrived at *Sutgheul* (T). At length they advanced to *Chicheklik* and *Balaykhân*, towns of *Mogulestân*, which they plundered. When they came to that of *Molzûdû*, they met with *Kezra Kojâ Aglen*, king of *Mogulestân*, at the head of a great army: as they were much inferior to the enemy in number, they dismounted; and, tying the bridles of their horses to their girdles, let fly their arrows: they fought back to back, turning on all sides, without stirring out of the place for forty-eight hours; at the end of which, they made a treaty with the enemy, and retired to *Yulduz*, the place of rendezvous.

c WHEN *Timûr*, who was then at *Keytû* (U), heard this news, he joined the *Tomân* of *Mahmûd Khân*; and, passing by *Konghez* (V), arrived at *Yulduz*; where, chusing out the bravest men of his army, he crossed the river at *Ulakianawr* (X), and followed the track of *Kezra Kojâ Aglen*. After passing the great desert, he arrived at *Karabûlak* (Y); from thence he went to *Tabertâsh* (Z); and, coming to *Kûshon Key* (A), discovered the enemy's army, who fled under cover of the night; and, as they took different routes, many fell into the hands of *Timûr's* troops, and were slain. The emperor, having passed the mountain *Nayrin Keutel*, pursued the enemy as far as *Karatâsh*, another mountain: and thus constrained the king of *Jetab* to abandon his kingdom, after suffering infinite fatigues, and seeing all his warriors either slain or taken prisoners, as well as his wives and children, together with the inhabitants of this country: which besides was intirely ruined, as far as *Kûlan Keutel* (B), and the cattle all carried away.

d AFTER this, *Timûr* began his march homewards; and, when he came to *Jalish*, a town near *Bikût*, he divided the immense booty among his soldiers. From thence, passing by the town of *Kajirtû*, and mountain *Bilajîr*, he arrived at *Yulduz* (C), that is, *the morning star*; so called from the beauty of its fountains and pastures: a most delightful place. The grass there is so nourishing, that it fattens the leanest horses in a week's time. From thence the *Mîrza Omar Sheykh* was sent home, by the way of the *iron gate*, named *Koluga*; beyond which he met the prince *Kublik*, one of the great Amîrs of the *Getes*, whom he defeated with great slaughter; and, being taken, his head was cut off, according to the laws of *Jenghîz Khân*. The *Mîrza*, having seized his effects, and exterminated his subjects, continued his route by *Kûzân* (D), *Ucheferman* (E) and the great city of *Kâshgâr* (F); from whence at length he arrived at *Andekbân*.

e TIMUR, having finished his expedition against the *Getes*, left *Kechik Yulduz*, or the *Lesser Yulduz*, in order to return, after a march of above 1000 leagues. When he came to markant.

* Hist. TIM. BEK. p. 328—338. c. 5, & seq.

(P) A town in *Mogulestân*, called also *Aramuth*. *La Croix*.—*Aramuth* is in *Little Bukhâria*, near *Turfân*.

(Q) The great stream of the river *Irtish*. *La Croix*.

(R) *Daban* signifies a mountain. *La Croix*.

(S) It runs into the *Sibûn*. *La Croix*.—We rather conjecture it to be the river *Ili*, on which the *Khân* of the *Elûbs* used to encamp, as we have observed before, p. 509, note (I).

(T) A town on the bank of the great lake of sweet water. *La Croix*.

(U) A town of *Mogulestân*, near the *Irtish*. *La Croix*.

(V) A town of *Mogulestân*, on the shore of the great lake *Atrak Gheul*. *La Croix*.—It signifies *the lake of the Turks*. Perhaps the same called above *Artak Gheul*.

(X) A passage over the river *Ankora*, in *Mogulestân*. *La Croix*.

(Y) A famous fountain at the foot of the mountain *Benghiar*. *La Croix*.

(Z) A village dependent on *Karakorum*. *La Croix*.

(A) A village in *Mogulestân*, frontier of *Kalmâk*. *La Croix*.—This author places *Kalmâk* to the north of the river *Amûr* or *Saghalian*.

(B) A mountain at the extremity of *Mogulestân*, towards *China*. *La Croix*.

(C) Distant from *Samarkant* two months journey of the *karawân*, or 480 leagues, at the rate of eight leagues per day. It is called *Cyais*, in the travels of *Benedict Gots* the Jesuit to *Katay*; and is in the road from *Russia* to *China*. *La Croix*. This is called the *Greater Yulduz*.

(D) A town of *Tchet*, or *Tibet*. *La Croix*.—His route could not, in our opinion, lie near that country.

(E) A town of *Turkestan*. *La Croix*.—That is, of *Kâshgâr*.

(F) Capital of *Turkestan*. *La Croix*.—Properly capital of the country of the same name: but the *Khâns* of the *Turks* having resided there for some time before the reign of *Jenghîz Khân*, it has been called the capital of *Turkestan*, of which it made a part.

Oluk Yulduz, or the *Greater Yulduz* (G), he made a magnificent entertainment for the generals and officers of his army; on whom he bestowed robes of honour, and belts adorned with precious stones. Then setting forward the sixteenth of *Sbaabân*, he arrived at *Samarkant* the seventh of *Ramazân*, that is, in twenty-two days, though reckoned two months journey by *karawân*. In winter he went to *Bokbâra*; and passed the season at *Gbeul-ferketi*, near that city, where he took the diversion of fowling; the ponds being stocked with an incredible number of swans, and other kinds of birds. Here he gave the princess *Soltân Bakt Begüm*, widow of *Mireke*, to the Amîr *Soleymân Shâb*; and married the young *Mîrza Abûbekr* to the daughter of the Amîr *Haji Sayfo'ddîn*: but the joy on these occasions was allayed by the death of *Kudak Khûtân*, his father's widow.

Political regulation.
Hej. 792.
A. D. 1390.

WHEN the winter was over, *Timûr* went to encamp at *Akiar*, in the meadow of *Kash*, on the bank of the river *Koshka* (H). As the officers were become very rich by the spoil they had gotten in the wars, he thought it advisable to augment the regiments; that, by increasing the expences of the commanders, he might diminish their wealth, which might seduce them from their obedience. For this purpose, he assembled the *Kûrûltay* in 792: which being over, he gave the grandees another magnificent feast; and, on this occasion, married his grandson, the *Mîrza Omar Sheykh*, to the princess *Sevinj Kotluk Aga*, daughter of *Sheyrin Bey Aga*, who was very handsome. After this, he dismissed the assembly, and returned to *Samarkant*: but, in a few days, came down to the meadow of *Ilgazigaj*, without that city.

Kamro'ddîn pursued.

AT the beginning of the same year, the emperor sent an army into the country of the *Getes*, under the command of the Amîrs *Soleymân Shâb*, *Kodadad Hussayn*, *Shams'o'ddîn Abbâs*, and his brother *Ozmân*. Having crossed the *Sibûn* (or *Sir*) at *Tâshkunt*, they marched to *Iffigbeul* (I), and from thence to *Gbeuktopa* (a hill mentioned before); from thence they took the road of the mountain *Arjakû* (K), destroying the country, slaying or enslaving the people, and carrying away their effects. Thus they went thro' all the provinces of the *Getes*, and advanced as far as *Al Mâlegb*; where, having swam over the river *Abeile* (L), they arrived at *Karatâl*, a hord belonging to *Ankatûra*. There being informed that 400 men, detached before to get intelligence, had met with *Kamro'ddîn*; that most of the soldiers on each side were slain, and that the said prince had marched towards *Ichna Buchna* (M), they departed in search of him; and, having passed thro' that town, arrived at *Uker Kaptaji*, another; where they left their baggage, and rode post towards the *Irtish*. When they came to that river, they learned that *Kamro'ddîn* had crossed it, and was gone towards *Tawlas* (N), into the woods, where fables and ermins are found. The Amîrs passed the *Irtish* in the rafts and boats which the enemy had left behind; and marked the pine-trees with the fire of their arms, as an evidence to succeeding ages of their conquests beyond that river. After they had been absent six months, they returned by *Altûn Kawrke*, a town on the great lake of *Atrak Gbeul* (O), where there is a great road made along its banks.

Timûr invades Kipjâk.

Hej. 793.
A.D. 1391.

IN autumn *Timûr* got ready his troops to make war in *Kipjâk*. Having visited the tomb of *Sheykh Maflabet*, where many miracles are said to be wrought, he crossed the *Sibûn* at *Kojend*; and went to *Tâshkunt*, between *Barsin* and *Chinas*, with design to pass the winter in that city, where he lay dangerously sick for forty days. On his recovery, the *Mîrza Mirân Shâb* arrived with the troops of *Khorassân*; and, on the twelfth of *Safar* 793, *Timûr* began his march, conducted by *Timûr Kotluk Aglen*, son of *Timûr Mâlek*, Khân of *Kipjâk*; *Konje Aglen*, another prince of that country; and *Aydekû Uzbek*. He left the *Mîrzas Pîr Mehemed* and *Shâb Rukh* to govern the empire of *Jagatay* in his absence; and sent away all the ladies, excepting his favourite *Soltâna Chulpan Mulk Aga*, daughter of *Haji Bey*, of *Jetab*.

Refuses to withdraw.

WHEN they arrived at *Kara Suman* (a town of *Kipjâk*), ambassadors arrived from *Toktamîsh Khân*, with a letter; and presented him with a *shonkar* (P), and nine very fleet horses. Altho' *Timûr* took the bird in his hand, he shewed the ambassadors no marks of a good reception. In answer to their master's letter, which begged pardon for what was passed, and promised submission for the future; after reproaching his ingratitude, and breach of oath, he said, *Toktamîsh* was not to be trusted: however, that, if he sincerely desired peace, he should send

^c Hist. TIM. BEK, p. 338—347. c. 7—9.

(G) That mentioned before.

(H) It runs into the *Tûm*, which falls into the *Jikûn*.
La Croix

(I) A lake near *Berket*, in *Jetab*.

(K) In *Jetab*, near *Al Mâleg*. *La Croix*.

(L) Which discharges itself into the *Sibûn*. *La Croix*.
—But *Al Mâleg* is at a great distance from that river: which circumstance seems to confirm what we have said in a former note, concerning the river *Abeile*.

(M) A town of *Turkestan*. *La Croix*. This is *Turkestan* in the large sense before-mentioned.

(N) A town of *Tartary*. *La Croix*.—Frier *William de Rubruquis*, mentions a town, in his journey thro' *Tartary*, called *Talas*; but whether the same with this, we cannot determine.

(O) In *Turkestan*, on the borders of *Mogulistan*. *La Croix*.

(P) A bird of prey, described, p. 249.

a *Ali Bey*, his first minister, to treat with his great Amîrs. He then regaled them, and gave them vests of gold brocade. They were ordered to follow the army; which, *March* the fifth, set forward to conquer the empire of *Tusbi*. They passed by *Tassi*, *Karachob* (Q), and *Sabrân*: but, in three weeks, for want of water, the horses were reduced to extremity. At length, on the twenty-sixth, they arrived at *Sarek Uzan*, where, the river being high, their want was supplied. Having swam over the stream, they continued their march in the great desert; and encamped in places where there were wells, to avoid the like inconvenience. Here two servants fled to the enemy.

ON the ninth of *April* they came to a mountain called *Kuchek Tâk*; and, in two nights and one day, to *Ulûk Tâk* (K); from whence he viewed the vast desert of *Kipjâk*, which, for its extent and verdure, looked like the sea. There he ordered a stone obelisk to be erected, with the date of his expedition cut thereon. From thence they hunted to the river *Ilanjûk* (*), which they crossed; and, in eight days, arrived at *Anakargû* (a tribe in *Kipjâk*). In all this six or seven months march from *Tâshkunt*, they had not met with a single man, or any cultivated land. Victuals were now extremely scarce: and a pound of bread sold for sixty-seven dinârs *Kopeghi*; so that they were forced to hunt for their food. Among other game, they found a sort of stags, larger than buffalos, called *Kandagay* by the *Mungls*, and *Buken* by the *Kipjâks*. After this hunting, *Timûr* reviewed his army: on which occasion the custom is, for every commander to pray for the emperor on his knees, and speak an elogium in his presence. Among the rest, we are told, that having advanced towards the regiment of *Mahmûd Khân*, this general (S) spoke as usual, and gave presents to the emperor; who, in his turn, caressed and praised him for the good order of his troop.

WHEN the review was over, *Timûr* resolving to send a general to command the mangalay, or van-guard, the young *Mîrza Mehemed Soltân* fell on his knees, and besought his father to honour him with that post. The emperor, much pleased with his resolution at so tender an age, granted his request; letting him, at the same time, know: "That he had need of great presence of mind, a strong constitution, and perfect activity, to acquit himself of an employ which was the principal part of war, and on which the security of the army intirely depended." On the twenty-fourth of *April*, the hour being fixed by the astrologers, the *Mîrza* put himself at the head of the scouts, to go in quest of the enemy. They found a beaten road, and fires in many places: then passed the river *Tûpal* (T); but no signs of an enemy. At length they met with ten troopers in a wood, who gave them tidings of *Tokatmîsh Khân*. After passing several lakes and rivers, *May* the eleventh they arrived at the river *Tîk* (U); which the army were two days in swimming over, because *Timûr* suspected ambuscades at the three passages. Six days after, coming to the river *Semmûr* (W), the scouts heard the cries of the enemy; and one of them, being taken, declared that many of the ordas had encamped there, but had returned as soon as sensible of *Timûr's* approach.

THE emperor, on this advice, advanced in order; and, *May* the seventeenth, arrived at the river *Ayik* (X), (or *Jaik*), which the army crossed partly over a bridge, and partly by swimming. Three of the enemy, who were taken, related, that the two fugitive servants above-mentioned first informed *Tokatmîsh Khân* of *Timûr's* invasion: that the *Khân*, enraged at this news, said, he would raise two armies; and sent to assemble troops from his camp, then at *Kerk Gheul* (Y): that, expecting *Timûr* would cross the *Tîk* at the ordinary passages, he lay there in ambuscade to surprise him. After receiving this account, the emperor marched with great precaution, and had lines drawn round the camp every night. The army was greatly fatigued with passing the sloughs and marshes they met with in this country. At length three regiments of the enemy came in view, but soon disappeared: however, the scouts found a troop of horse in a wood; who making resistance, many were killed, and forty taken. They had repaired to *Kerk Gheul*, according to proclamation; but, to their surprise, finding no troops assembled at the place of rendezvous, they wandered in the woods: after making this discovery, they were all put to death. At length they brought the son of the prince of *Memak* (Z), who had been wounded. He said, he was on the road to *Saray* (capital of *Kipjâk*), to meet the *Khân*; but did not find him at the rendezvous, nor could give any account of him^f.

^f Hist. TIM. BEK, p. 347 - 366. c. 9—12.

(Q) A town of *Kipjâk*, between *Yenghikunt* and *Sabrân*. *La Croix*.

(R) (That is, the little and the great mountain). They are in *Kipjâk*, between the rivers *Arch* and *Ilân-juk*. *La Croix*.

(*) Which runs into the river *Tîk*. *La Croix*. — This seems to be the *Yem*.

(S) So that the *Khân* was one of *Timûr's* generals, and behaved as a subject.

(T) Which falls into the *Tîk*. *La Croix*.

(U) A river of *Kapshâk*, or *Kipjâk*, which falls into the *Caspian* sea. *La Croix*.

(W) It falls into the *Tîk*. *La Croix*.

(X) Or *Jaik*, a river which falls into the *Caspian* sea. *La Croix*.

(Y) A lake in the country of *Nagaya* in *Kipjâk*, between the *Volga* and the *Jaik*. *La Croix*.

(Z) A province bordering on that of *Saray* in *Kipjâk*. *La Croix*.

Meet the
scouts.

MEAN time the scouts, ascending a hill, discovered thirty companies of horse in armour, watching to surprise the invaders; and then retired without noise: while *Aykutmûr* staid behind with some horse, farther to view the enemy; who, observing what had passed, fell upon him full-speed. The valiant Amîr made a brave resistance: but, having two horses shot under him, he was surrounded on foot, and cut in pieces by the *Kipjâks*, who did not know him. His death was followed by that of *Heri Mulk*, son of *Yadghiar Berlûs*; the famous *Ramazân Kojâ*; and the celebrated *Mehemed Erlât*; who were the greatest captains *Timûr* had: but their death was soon revenged; for the army, advancing, attacked, and put them to flight, with great slaughter. After this, the scouts of the enemy appeared, and skirmished every day with *Timûr*'s soldiers. At length the two armies coming in sight, on the fifth of July, that monarch ranged his army with great care, dividing it into seven bodies: and, as this was never practised before among his troops, 'twas believed to be done by special inspiration.

Order of
battle.

THE emperor gave the command of the first body, which served for the van-guard, to *Soltân Mahmûd Khân*; and the Amîr *Soleymân Shâh* was his lieutenant-general. He placed the *Mîrza Mehemed Soltân* at the head of the second division, which passed for the main body. The third, which served as the rear, or body of reserve, consisting of the regiment of guards, and twenty companies of select veterans, was conducted by *Timûr* himself; and posted behind the second body, to reinforce the other divisions, in case of need. At the head of the fourth, which served for a right wing, was the *Mîrza Mirân Shâh*; whose lieutenant-general was the prince *Mehemed Soltân Shâh*. The fifth body, designed as a van-guard to the said right wing, was led by the Amîr *Haji Sayfo'ddîn*, who usually engaged in the most dangerous enterprises. The sixth, consisting of the troops of *Andekhân*, composed the left wing, and had for its leader *Mîrza Omar Sheykh*. Lastly, the seventh body served for a van-guard to the left wing, and was commanded by *Birdi Bey*, son of *Sâr Buga*, and by *Kodadad Hussayn*, Amîrs of undaunted bravery, and approved conduct. The army of *Tokatmîsh Khân*, which exceeded that of *Timûr*'s by some companies, was divided into three bodies, as usual. His officers were all princes of the blood of *Tusbi*, and his soldiers completely armed. The battle began at the sound of the great trumpet *Kerrenay* (*). *Timûr* prayed to God devoutly for success, and *Seyd Bereke* promised him victory.

The fight be-
gins.

THE Amîr *Haji Sayfo'ddîn* was the first who rushed on the enemy's left wing, and overthrew it. A party of *Kipjâks* advanced, to attack his rear; but were forced to return, by *Jebân Shâh Babâdr*, who marched against them with his regiment, out of the body of reserve. Mean time, the *Mîrza Mirân Shâh*, with the right wing, put their cavalry into confusion, and overthrew their left wing; while *Mehemed Soltân*, with the main body, broke through that of the enemy. *Omar Sheykh*, with the left wing, did great execution; and *Birdi Bey*, with *Kodadad Hussayn*, put their right wing to flight. The other generals had no less success. *Tokatmîsh Khân* observing how his troops diminished; and finding he could not withstand the squadrons which *Timûr* commanded in person, attacked the *Mîrza Omar Sheykh*: but though to no purpose, yet he after fell on the Orda of *Seldûz*, with such fury, that, for all *Sheykh Timûr Babâdr*'s brave resistance, the *Kipjâks* had nearly defeated him, rushing into the middle of the squadrons; and were about to post themselves behind the imperial army, with a resolution to keep their ground, and gain the victory.

Tokatmîsh
Khân de-
feated.

TIMUR, who was in pursuit of the enemy's main body, being informed of this, turned his troops on that side: but as soon as *Tokatmîsh Khân*, whom *Omar Sheykh* had already engaged, perceived the imperial standard moving towards him, he lost courage, and fled. The other generals following his example, the *Mungl* army was intirely routed; while the victors pursuing, made a dreadful slaughter of them, for forty leagues together. The emperor, having returned the Deity thanks for this great victory, and received the compliments of his generals, detached two thirds of his cavalry, to destroy the remainder of the enemy; whose flight being obstructed by the river *Wolga*, very few of them escaped the swords of their pursuers; who carried away their women, children, baggage, and other effects. After this, *Konje Aglen*, *Timûr Kotluk Aglen*, and *Aydekû*, three princes of the blood of *Tûsbi*, who bore an antient hatred to *Tokatmîsh*, from whom they had fled, obtained leave of *Timûr* to go in quest of the tribes which they formerly commanded, promising to bring them over to his service: but *Konje* only, who was very familiar with the emperor, returned with part of his subjects whom he found: the other two, aspiring to the crown of *Kipjâk*, fled, with their clans, into the desert.

Great re-
joicings.

MEAN while, *Timûr*, following the troops which he had sent in pursuit of the enemy, arrived at the *Wolga*, and incamped in the plain of *Urtûpa*; which, for its verdure and pure air, surpasses all others. Here he gave a magnificent feast to his Amîrs, at which was sung and played a piece of music, called *the triumph of Kipjâk*. This plain was the seat of *Tûsbi Khân*, and his successors. All the army had a share in the diversions; and the twenty-six days spent in pleasure, made the soldiers forget all their past fatigues. As, after this victory, there remained no more enemies in the deserts, or the isles of *Wolga*, *Timûr* set forward on his return, followed by a great

^a Hist. TIM. BÈK. p. 366—379, c. xii—xiv.

(*) Of a monstrous size, very deep sound, and heard several miles off,

a train of captives. All the poor men in the service of the army, who before could scarce find sustenance, were now in possession of so many horses and sheep, that, not able to carry all away with them, they were obliged to leave part behind. However, they carried off the tents of *Kipjâk*; which are fixed with very little trouble, and need not be taken to pieces at decamping, being made portable, so as to be carried by dromedaries from place to place.

WHEN the army arrived at the *Tik*, *Konje Aglen*, who but a little while before had returned, Timûr re- with his subjects, to the camp, now fled with them into the desert. Some days after the army turns. had crossed that river, *Timûr*, leaving the Amîr *Haji Sayfo'ddîn*, with other commanders, to conduct the body of the army, and baggage, went before, through the rest of the desert, to *Sabrân* and *Otrâr*; then, crossing the *Sibân*, arrived at *Samarkant*; where he was received b with the usual solemnity. After this, he began his journey for *Tashkunt*, and repassing the river, encamped in the great plain of *Barsin*, near that city; where, in the beginning of the year 794, the Amîr *Haji Sayfo'ddîn* arrived, with the troops: so that this important campaign Hej. 794. continued eleven months. Towards spring, the emperor returned to *Samarkant*, by way of A. D. 1332. *Kojend*; where he entertained the court with a general hunting; and appointed the Mîrza *Pir Mehemed*, son of *Jebân Ghîr*, governor of the kingdom which formerly belonged to the Great Soltân *Mahmûd*; that is, all the country from *Gâzna* and *Kâbûl* as far as *Hindûstân*; and from *Kandabar* to the river *Indus* (A), called in *Persian*, *Ab Send*.

As many princes and great lords begged leave of him to marry their children, he not only con- Marriages ce- fented, but, to let them see he shared in their joy, would also be present himself at their feasts. lebrated. c A royal banquet was prepared for this purpose, in the meadow of *Kanigheul*; where the tables were ranged like an army in order of battle, *Timûr* being placed at the head of them, on a throne of gold. The bridegrooms were on one side, and the brides on the other. To honour the occasion, the Mîrzas *Pir Mehemed*, and his brother *Rustem*, married the daughters of *Kayâzo'ddîn Terkhân*; and the Mîrza *Abû Bekr*, son of *Mirân Shâh*, espoused the daughter of the Amîr *Haji Sayfo'ddîn*¹.

WHILE *Timûr* was on his return from *Kipjâk*, he resolved to make an expedition into *Irân* Expedition (or *Persia* at large), to suppress the disorders which, during his absence, had gotten footing i into Irân. there. With this view, he sent into all the provinces, to assemble the troops, for a campaign of five years. When he was near *Bokhâra*, May 25th, he was seized with a distemper, which d held him till June 10th. The 6th of *Ramazân* (July 2) he departed, at the head of his troops, having sent the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân* before, with the van-guard. He crossed the *Jihûn* (or *Amû*), at *Amîya*, and, by way of *Makhân* and *Abiverd*, arrived at *Yaffi Daban*; where, on the appearance of the new moon, he read the prayers of *Bayrâm*, which is the grand feast of the *Musulmans*. At *Ilgazigaj Kabûshân* (B), he joined the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân*, who commanded the body of scouts; and, at length, arriving in the territory of *Astarabâd*, encamped on the river of *Jorjân* (C); where *Piri Pashâ*, son of *Lokmân Pashâ*, paid his devoirs to his majesty.

THE army, after three days march from *Astarabâd*, came to a very thick wood, through Affairs of which they opened three passages, and insensibly arrived at *Sâri* (D); whence *Seyd Kamâlo'd- Mazânderân. dîn*, lord thereof, had fled to *Seyd Râzio'ddîn*, at *Mahanasar*. These are three towns, situated four leagues from *Amol*, on the shore of the *Caspian* sea: where they had built a fort on an adjacent hill, which joined the sea on one side; and, instead of ditches, was surrounded with precipices, washed for the space of a mile by the sea, which, in turbulent weather, flowed within the rocks. Round the wall, they had fixed great trees, so close together, that they served instead of a second wall. Hither the princes of *Amol* and *Sâri*, the rich inhabitants, and foreign merchants, retired, with their families and effects, confiding in the strength and inaccessibleness of the place. *Timûr*, informed of these particulars, passing the lakes and marshes, arrived, in three days, at *Amol*; where he ordered the *Seyd Kayâzo'ddîn* to go and advise his father to come to him.

f TIMUR, after ordering all the water in the cisterns of *Amol* to be spilt, followed with his army; which could march no more than three miles a day, because obliged to cut down trees, Mahanasar besieged, to render the marshes and sloughs passable. September 21, the scouts on both sides met, and fought. Three days after, the *Seyd Kamâlo'ddîn Derâz*, and *Mûlâna Amâdo'ddîn*, came, and implored pardon; which *Timûr* granted, on condition, that the Sharîfs, who commanded in all those quarters, should send him part of the goods of the inhabitants, and one of their children in hostage. The Sharîfs not liking these conditions, *Timûr* sent some officers, with the

¹ Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 379—386, c. 14—16.

(A) Otherwise called *Ab-send* (that is, river *Send*), and *Mebrân*. It springs from the lake of *Behre*, near *Lâhor*, in *Hindûstân*. *La Croix*.

(B) A village between *Asiwerd* and *Astarabâd*. *La Croix*.

(C) It passes by a city of the same name, and falls into the *Caspian* sea (at *Astarabâd*). *La Croix*.

(D) A city of *Ghilân*. *La Croix*.—Rather of *Mazân-derân*.

masters of the barks of the *Jibûn*, to seize the enemy's vessels; which they did; and carrying a the soldiers, by squadrons, to the foot of the walls, they besieged *Mabanasar* in form. Those who defended the out-works being soon obliged to fly into the place for safety, the soldiers at the same time scaled the walls.

and surren-
dered.

Cruel maj-
sacres.

Irâk invaded.
Hej. 795.
A. D. 1393.

ON the 25th of *November*, the enemy observing *Timûr* to approach the place on horseback, through fear, came out in companies, and implored his protection; which appeased his wrath. After this, he made them presents, and exhorted them to embrace the orthodox sect of the *Sunni*, in whose maxims he instructed them, and to renounce the errors of the *Shiay*, which they followed. *Timûr* staid some days at *Mabanasar*, to dispose of the great riches, which were lodged there, amog his soldiers; and then ordered the place to be reduced to a heap of rub- bish. After this, he commanded all the *Fedais* (E), who were very numerous in this coun- b try, to be put to the sword; which was accordingly done. Thus the province was freed from the disorders which those assassins caused there: for, if they found a man who had a paper or book in his possession, no matter whether a lawyer, philosopher, or man of letters, they held it lawful to put him to death. *Eskânder Sheyki*, to revenge the death of his father, and other relations, slain by the *Darvîshes*, disciples of *Seyd Kawâmo'ddîn*, invested *Amol*, that no man might escape his wrath; and made the most terrible massacre in that city ever mentioned in history. *Seyd Kamâlo'ddîn*, and his son, were sent in a vessel to *Karazm*; the *Seyds Mûr- tâza* and *Abdallah*, with their sons, and several others, were carried to *Tâshkunt* ^k.

THE province of *Mazânderan* being intirely brought under subjection; *Timûr*, in the begin- c ning of the year 795, caused a fine palace to be built at *Shasman*, in the neighbourhood of *Jorjân*, and lodged there. At the end of winter, he prepared to continue his conquests; and fixed the campaign of that year for the kingdoms of *Pars* and *Irâk*. He departed from *Mazânderân* the 20th of *January*: having sent the *Mîrza Mehemed Soltân*, at the head of the van-guard, accom- panied by his brother *Pîr Mehemed*, the *Sheykh Ali Babâdr*, and other *Amîrs*. He gave the command of another van-guard to the *Mîrza Shâb Rukh*; and went himself to *Yilâk Veli* (F). The *Mîrza Mehemed Soltân*, and his brother, on their arrival at *Kazvîn*, defeated, and took prisoner, the governor *Shâb Souar*. On their approach, the governor of *Soltâniya* fled. They garrisoned the place, and marched towards *Bâghdâd*. In the way, a courier brought an order for them to reduce all the inhabitants of *Kurdestân*, and free the country from those robbers. Hereupon the *Sheykh Ali Babâdr* was sent with a body of troops upon that expedition, accom- d panied by one of the chief men of the country, who offered to be his guide.

IBRAHIM SHAH, prince of those places, received *Sheykh Ali* very friendly, and sent his son *Soltân Shâb* with presents to the princes; who, content with this submission, ordered *Sheykh Ali* to return. He accordingly began his march: but, on the road, his guide, frustrated of his hopes, by his peace with *Ibrahim Shâb*, treacherously slew him with a knife, as he was eating. The assassin was immediately seized by *Sheykh Ali's* men, who put him to death, with the most cruel torments, and afterwards burnt his body to ashes.

Khûzestân
reduced.

MEAN time, *Timûr*, having proceeded from *Yilâk Veli*, by *Damgân* and *Semnân*, cities of *Kîmes*, to *Ray Shûbriar*, in *Persian Irâk*, there took a select body of men, and marched to *Urûdjerd* (G). He arrived there the 26th of *February*, and was joined by the *Mîrza Omar* e *Sheykh*, who had taken the road of *Ava*, the fortress of *Kiow*, *Marvân*, and *Kerberûdh*; all towns of *Kûbestân*, which submitted, excepting *Kiow*, but it was easily reduced. *Timûr* left a governor for *Nahawend* (H); and, three days after, arrived at *Korramabâd* (I), whose governor had fled. Then leaving troops to besiege the place, he sent parties of horse into all quarters of *Lorestân*, to root out the robbers; and departed for *Toftar* (K). In eleven days, he came to the bridge of the river *Abzâl* (L); and, when *Mîrûn Shâb* returned from *Kashân* (M), which submitted, sent *Omar Sheykh* to *Havîza* (N), which made no resistance, its gover- nor, for *Mansûr*, king of *Fârs*, being fled. The bridge over the *Abzâl*, which is built of stone and brick, with great beauty and strength, has twenty-eight lofty magnificent arches, each of which has a lesser. At the foot of it is a town, called *Dezfûl*, whose governor presented *Timûr* f

^k Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 386—396. c. 16—19.

(E) The same whom *Europeans* call assassins. *La Croix*.—They are called *Ismaelians*, *Batani*, and by other names, in the oriental historians. They seem to have been the reliques of those whom *Hûlakû* had extirpated about 100 years before.

(F) A town on a mountain, where the *Amîr Veli* used to pass the summer. *La Croix*.

(G) A city of *Kûbestân*, in *Irâk*, eighteen leagues from *Hamadân*. *La Croix*.

(H) Otherwise called *Nûhâwend*, a town of *Kûbestân*: built by *Nûh*, or *Noah*, on a mountain, fourteen leagues south from *Hamadân*, near *Urûdjerd*. Here *Yazdegerd*, the last king of *Persia*, was vanquished, in A. D. 638. *La Croix*.

(I) A fortress of *Lorestân*, near the town of *Lor*, and residence of the prince of *Lorestân*. *La Croix*.

(K) Capital of *Kûzestân* (a mistake for *Khûzestân*), between *Fârs* and *Irâk Arabi*. *La Croix*.

(L) A river which runs through *Khûzestân*, by *Toftar*; and falls into the *Persian* gulf at *Hejn Mâbdi*. 'Tis famous for an aqueduct a mile long, built by *Shâbûr* (or *Sapores*) king of *Persia*. *La Croix*.

(M) A town of *Kûbestân*, three days journey from *Is- pâbân*; where porcelain is dug, with which the walls and houses of the *Persians* are covered. *La Croix*.

(N) Corruptly so called, from *Abwâz* (which is the true name), a city of *Khûzestân*, on the river *Abzâl*. *La Croix*.

with

We have already mentioned, that, on *Timûr's* march to *Fârs*, in 1390, Soltân *Zayn Alabo'd-Shâh Mansûr dîn*, king of that country, retired to Shâh *Mansûr*, governor of *Toftâr*, who seized, and imprisoned him in the castle of *Kerikerd*, four leagues from that city: but at length escaping, by the assistance of friends, to *Alek Azzo'ddîn Kerit*, at *Urûdjerd*, this latter conducted him to *Ispihân*; of which he possessed himself, by means of the officers, who were in his interest; while Soltân *Mehemed* retired to the fortress, and, a month after, withdrew by consent. Then Shâh *Mansûr* marched with an army to *Shîrâz*; and, being let in by the Sharîfs, Shâh *Yabîa* retired to *Tâzd*. Soltân *Zayn Alabo'ddîn*, imagining that the Amîrs of Shâh *Mansûr* would come over to him, because most of them had raised themselves in his father's court, marched with a small army towards *Shîrâz*: but, being met near the fortress of *Astakar* (O) by Shâh *Mansûr*, was obliged to fly back to *Ispâhân*.

IN the following spring, this prince marched again to *Ispâhân*; and, as soon as he arrived, *The city be-*
sent for one whom, 'twas presumed, he kept there to carry on his intrigues; for, the moment *trayed.*
he was gone, the inhabitants delivered up the city. The Soltân fled; but, being taken between
Veramin and *Shabriar*, Shâh *Mansûr* ordered his eyes to be put out with a hot iron. After
d this, he marched twice to *Yazd*: but, by the persuasions of his mother, left it in possession of
Yabîa his elder brother. When *Timûr* encamped without *Tostâr*, this was the condition of the
kingdom of *Fârs* (or *Persia*), to which there were no fewer than ten pretenders, all of the house
of *Muzaffer*; who naturally delighting to make war upon one another, put the empire of *Irân*
into great disorder: for which reason, *Timûr* resolved to subdue those turbulent princes, and
restore peace.

HOWEVER, *Timâr* ascended the mountain; with his officers, to the gate of the fortress, followed by several troops. The two wings encamped on another mountain, which joined the place. Orders being given for a general assault, the army attacked the citadel on all sides. Next day, the attack was renewed; and the soldiers broke the rock with pickaxes, to clear the way. At length, *Akbûga*, an officer, mounting a steep rock, the enemy were so surprised to see themselves attacked in a place which they thought none dared to ascend, that they gave over fighting: so that the soldiers advancing on all sides, the fortress was taken, and the garrison precipitated from the top of the mountain. The governor *Sadet* was put to death; but

he

he honoured the blind Soltân Zayn Alabeddin, who was kept here, and promised to avenge him on the cruel *Mansûr*. As for *Akbûga*, who first mounted the rock, and had but one horse before, he gave him so much silver, women, slaves, goods, horses, and other cattle, that, to his great surprise, he became a rich man at once.

Mansûr attacked.

THE 3d of May, *Timûr* set forward, in quest of Shâh *Mansûr*; and coming to *Shîrâz*, perceived, in the fields without the city, 3 or 4000 horse, armed with coats of mail, helmets, and breast-plates of leather, lined with iron; their horses covered with a kind of cuirasses made of thick silk, and their ensigns displayed. At the head of these men, inured to war, and expert archers, *Mansûr* advanced like a furious lion; and attacked *Timûr*'s main body, composed of 30,000 *Turks* (T), the most dextrous men of their time: yet he overthrew their squadrons, broke their ranks, made way into the midst, and gained posts behind the army, posts of the utmost consequence. Then returning, furious as a dragon, to the fight, he ran directly up to *Timûr*, who had stopp'd, with fourteen or fifteen persons, to consider the extreme vigour of this prince; and, though he had not his lance at hand to oppose him, yet the emperor stood till *Mansûr* came up, and struck him twice with his simitar on the helmet, which warded off the blows. Then *Adel Aktasbi* held a buckler over *Timûr*'s head, and *Komari Yesaïl* advanced before him: he did several great actions, and was wounded in his hand with a sword.

Killed by Shâh Rûkh.

SHAH *Mansûr*, having been repulsed from before the emperor, fell upon the infantry of the main body; while the *Mîrza Mehemed Soltân* so briskly attacked the right wing of the *Persians*, that it gave way, and being pursued, a terrible slaughter was made. The *Mîrza Pîr Mehemed* bravely defeated their left wing. Several regiments which were in the main body, having been routed by Shâh *Mansûr*, rallied, of their own accord; and the *Mîrza Shâh Rûkh*, who fought near *Timûr* like a lion, re-assembled a whole battalion of soldiers who fled. In short, this young prince, although but seventeen years old, behaved with so much valour and conduct, that he hemmed in the Shâh, cut off his head, and cast it at the feet of the emperor his father. This lucky accident so discouraged the *Persian* troops, who, till then had fought well, that they fled. But while *Timûr*, after returning God thanks for the victory, and embracing his sons, was presented, by the Amîrs, with the gold cup, according to the custom of the *Mungls*, they, on a sudden, saw a body of the enemy advancing behind to attack them: however, they were quickly repulsed, and cut to pieces in their flight^m.

Muzafferian princes slain.

AFTER this victory, *Timûr* made his triumphal entry into *Shîrâz*, and lodged in the gate of *Sâlm*, which alone of nine was left open. The treasures of Shâh *Mansûr* were then distributed among his Amîrs, and a ransom levied on the inhabitants. The like was done at *Ispâhân*. The princes of the family of *Muzaffer*, having no place to retire to, resolved, in good earnest, to submit, and made rich presents to the emperor; but the Sheykh, Doctors, and Imâms, with the chief inhabitants, of *Fârs* and *Irâk*, having presented him petitions, (in which they set forth the disorders brought in by the *Muzafferian* princes, and requested that his majesty would no longer trust the command of two kingdoms in the hands of those tyrants), he, in the middle of June, ordered those princes to be seized, loaded with chains, and their houses pillaged. He appointed governors in their room; placing over the kingdom of *Fârs*, which is the most full of cities, towns, and villages, of any country in *Asia*, his son the *Mîrza Omar Shbeykb*; and restored *Pîr Ahmed* to the government of the little kingdom of *Lorestân*, or *Malamîr*, of which Shâh *Mansûr* had deprived him. In fine, towards the end of June, being arrived at the village *Kûmsba*, near *Ispâhân*, he issued out that famous order, so remarkable in history, and much desired by the people, that the princes of the house of *Muzaffer* should be put to death (U); which was rigorously executed, according to the laws of *Jenghîz Khân*.

Yezidi destroyed.

TIMUR, after five days stay, left *Ispâhân*, and came, in two days, to *Jerbâdekhân*. Next night he arrived at *Ankûan*, whose inhabitants being atheists, had fortified themselves in caverns and rocks: but the army drowned them, by forming rivulets along the mountains, and then breaking down the banks, let the water descend in torrents into their lurking places. In July 10, he hunted in the plain of *Parakan*. The 13th, he decamped, and came to the meadow of *Fûl Karkara*. The 16th, took horse. And the 18th, encamped in the plain of *Hamâdan*; where, to divert the court, he gave a magnificent feast. After this, to recompense the services of the *Mîrza Mirân Shâh*, he invested him in the kingdom of *Hûlâkû*, giving him

^m Hist. TIM. BEK, p. 409—419. cap. 23—25.

(T) *Turks, Moguls, and Tartars*, are, by the author *Sharifo'ddin Ali*, used synonymously, as hath been already observed.

(U) These were Shâh *Yabia*, who reigned at *Yazd*; Soltân *Ahmed*, at *Kermân*; Soltân *Mehdi*, son of Shâh *Shuja*, and Soltân *Gadanfer*, who were at *Shîrâz*; Soltân *Abu Is-hâk*, who reigned at *Kermân*. In short, all the

princes of that house were put to death, who could be found, excepting Prince *Shah li*, whose eyes had been put out by his father Shâh *Shuja*; and *Zayn Alabo'ddin*, blinded by Shâh *Mansûr*: these two were sent to *Samer-kant*, and had some of the best ground of that city assigned them for their maintenance.

- a the sovereignty of *Azerbijân*, *Kûbestân* (X), *Shîrwân*, and *Ghilân*; with their dependencies, and the adjacent countries, as far as *Rûm*, or *Anatolia*, subject to the *Otmâns*; on which occasion, the *Mîrza* gave his father a magnificent entertainment at *Hamadân*.

TIMUR departed from *Hamadân* the 3d of *August*; and being arrived at *Kûlâghî*, a town ^{Ghebrs mas-} of *Kûrdestân*, he led his troops against the robber *Sarek Mehemed*, the *Turkmân*; who had for-^{sacred.} tified himself in the mountains, where he had a citadel, called *Habâshî*. The soldiers got up

- b to the top of the mountain *Aurmân*, and fought so resolutely, that, in the night, the *Turkmâns* retired to other mountains: but were pursued, and numbers of them killed; their baggage likewise, and cattle, were seized. As there was another place in those parts, in which a great number of *Ghebrs* (Y) were gotten together, *Timûr* ordered it to be subdued. The siege lasted for some time: but, being at length taken, it was reduced to rubbish, and the people put to the sword. After this, the *Mîrza Mirân Shâh* took, and ruined, the castles of *Kûrgan* and *Karûtû*, in *Kûrdestân*. The court being arrived at *Ak Bulâk* (Z), spent the *Ramazân* there. When it was over, the great *Mufti Nûro'ddîn Abdarâhmân*, famous for his learning, came as ambassador from *Soltân Ahmed Jalayr*, of *Bâghdâd*, with offers of submission, and presents: which the emperor did not receive after his usual kind manner; because he suspected *Ahmed's* sincerity, in regard the prayers were not read, nor money coined, at *Bâghdâd*, in his name.

- HOWEVER, *Timûr* honoured the *Mufti* for his merit: but dismissed him, without any posi-^{Timûr} tive answer; because he resolved to besiege *Bâghdâd*: towards which city, he began his march ^{marches} *October* 3d. He marched day and night, to encamp at *Yan Bulak* (A). Thence he went to *Kûra Kurgan* (B); and, next morning, met *Mehemed*, prince of the *Turkmâns*, whom he routed, at the head of 100 horse. At *Shâbrzûr* (C), he marched in a litter, conducted by choice men, through narrow passages, between steep mountains. When he got to *Ibrakîm Lîk* (D), he inquired of the inhabitants, whether they had sent pigeons to *Bâghdâd*, to give notice of the approach of his army? and, on their answering in the affirmative, made them write another billet, importing; that the dust, which they had perceived at a distance, was caused by the *Turkmâns*, who fled to avoid *Timûr*. This letter was tied under the wing of a pigeon, which immediately fled to its house at *Bâghdâd*. But although this advice gave *Soltân Ahmed* fresh courage, yet he did not intirely confide in it; having, on the receipt of the first, ordered

- d his furniture to be carried over the *Tigris* ⁿ.
THE 10th of *October*, when *Timûr* arrived at *Bâghdâd*, the *Soltân* had already crossed the ^{to Bâghdâd} river, broken the bridge, and sunk the boats, flying by the way of *Hilleb* (E). The *Tatar* troops, who covered near two leagues of ground, cast themselves into the water, with a great cry, and passed the *Tigris*, notwithstanding its rapidity. *Timûr* went ten leagues in pursuit of the *Soltân*, and then returned to *Bâghdâd*, at the intreaty of the *Amîrs*, who continued their route. Observing, when they arrived at the *Euphrates*, that the *Soltân* had broken the bridge, and sunk the boats, they marched along the shore, till they found four boats, and then crossed it, with the army: but the horses of the soldiers being fatigued, the *Amîrs* were obliged to pursue the *Soltân* themselves. They first came up with his baggage, and at length overtook

- e him, in the plain of *Kerbela*, with near 2000 horse, 200 of whom turned on the *Amîrs*; who, getting off their horses, shot their arrows, and thus repulsed them twice. The third time they returned to the charge, with great vigour: many were killed on both sides; and the *Amîrs* pursued them no longer.
THAT day being extremely hot, and the plain of *Kerbela* (F) affording no water, the soldiers ^{Soltân Ahmed} expected to perish for want of drink. On this occasion, *Aybaje Aglen* and *Jalâl Hamid* sent ^{flies.} men to seek for water, who could get no more than two pots full; and as *Aybaje* drank one without quenching his thirst, he told *Jalâl*, that, unless he gave him his pot also, he should certainly die with drought: hereupon the *Amîr* generously yielded him the water, yet escaped death himself; which action, when told to *Timûr* by *Aybaje*, at their return, greatly pleased

- f him. They then departed, and came to *Mashbâd*, where *Hussayn*, son of *Ali*, was slain: every one kissed the place of the holy gate, and paid his devotion. After this, they returned,

^a Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 419—472, c. 25.—30.

(X) Instead of *Ray*, *Derbend*, and *Bakû*, as in the original, we have inserted *Kûbestân*; which signifies the mountain country, and answers to *Jebûl* of the *Arabs*; being the same with *Persian Irâk*: or, in a more limited sense, the north-eastern part, of which *Ray* was the capital.

(Y) Adorers of fire, professing the antient religion of the *Persians*.

(Z) (Or the white fountain), a town near *Erbel*, or *Arbela*, in *Kûrdestân*. *La Croix*.

(A) A village near the same place. *La Croix*.

(B) A town of *Kûrdestân*, near the *Shâbrzûr*. *La Croix*;

(C) A city of *Kûbestân*, frontier of *Kûrdestân*. *La Croix*.—It at present belongs to *Kûrdestân*.

(D) A place of devotion (on the *Tigris*), twenty-seven leagues north of *Bâghdâd*. *La Croix*.

(E) Or *Hellab*, and *Hellab Bani Mazid*: a city of *Irâk Arabi* (on the east side of the *Euphrates*), between *Bâghdâd* and *Kûfa*. *La Croix*.

(F) A plain on the || (west side of) *Euphrates*, where *Imâm Hussayn*, son of *Ali*, was slain by *Moawwîya*, first *Khalifah* of the house of *Ommîyah*. *La Croix*. *Hussayn's* tomb is in the plain, a place of pilgrimage with the *Persians*.

having taken prisoner *Alao'ddawlet*, son of Soltân *Abmed*, who fled towards *Syria*, and some other of his children; besides his wives and domestics, slaves and spoil.

The Kûrds
suppressed.

ABOUT the same time the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân* returned from his expedition against the Kûrd robbers; whom he so effectually reduced to obedience, or exterminated, that one or two men might travel safely thro' their country: whereas, before, large Karawâns, guarded by 100 archers, were obliged to take by-roads. Soon after, he was sent governor to *Wâset* (G), and the Mîrza *Mirân Shâh* to *Bafrab*. The Soltân's wives and children, with all the learned men of *Bâghdâd*, and masters of arts, were conveyed to *Samarkant*. After *Timûr* had sent ambassadors to invite *Mâlek Azzaher* (H) *Barkok*, Soltân of *Egypt* and *Syria*, to a treaty of amity; he set out, November 11th, for *Takrit*, a place on the *Tigris*, esteemed impregnable, to destroy the robbers who were harboured there: for, the delivering of the countries from such pests, was one chiefend of his expedition. He got thither, by the way of *Annab* (I), on the 20th. The town was built on a high rock near the river: the passages were closed up with stones laid in mortar; and it was so well fortified, that it could never be taken by force^o.

Hej. 796.
A. D. 1393.

Takrit
attacked,

THE Amîr *Hassan*, who commanded there, sent several times to offer submission; but still feared to come out. Mean while the soldiers, having advanced to the foot of the wall, fell to fapping; the whole army, consisting of 72,000 men, being employed in the work. At length part of the walls fell down; but the besieged repaired this great breach, and fought desperately. December the sixth, fire being set to the wooden props, most part of the walls fell on a sudden, with a great tower. Yet still the robbers, armed with planks, and great bucklers, continued to defend themselves against the soldiers; who advanced to the very middle of the place, where there was a most bloody battle. Hereupon *Timûr* ordered the rest of the walls to be undermined, which bringing down a considerable bastion, *Hassan* was terrified, and retired with his soldiers to the edge of the mountain. Some of the besieged, seeing this, came out, beseeching the Amîrs to intercede for their lives: but *Timûr* answered, Let him come, or not; no quarter shall now be given. The soldiers, animated by these words of the emperor, at length got to the top of the rock; and, seizing the Amîr *Hassan*, and those about him, brought them bound neck and heels to *Timûr*: who ordered the soldiers to be separated from the inhabitants, and put to death. He likewise ordered part of the walls to be left standing, for posterity to wonder at his performance; while towers were built with the heads of those robbers, for a terror to others.

and taken.

Marches to
Koha.

AFTER this, *Timûr* returned, December 17, to *Harbi*, a town between *Annab* and *Takrit*, which was the rendezvous of all the troops; and, when all those had joined who were out on other expeditions, he departed for *Diyârbekr*. At crossing the *Tigris*, he caused a report to be spread, as if he was on his return home, that the enemy might be less on their guard. He marched to *Tûk*, and then to *Karkûk* (K), where the princes in all those parts came and submitted to him, especially he of *Altûn Kûpruk*. The 20th, he arrived at *Erbel* (or *Arbela*), and from thence marched to *Mûssel* (or *Muzol*). There he visited the tombs of the prophets *Jonas* and *Georges*, giving 20,000 dinârs *Kapeji* for raising domes over them, with much alms to the poor. Then taking *Yar-ali*, prince of that place, for his guide, departed. He passed by *Mardîn*; and, at *Râs al Ayn* (L), sent to pillage the lands, subject to *Hussayn*, called the *Black Sheep*, and other princes. On his approach to *Roba* (M), its prince, named *Gbûzel*, fled with some inhabitants to a high mountain; but they were pursued and taken. *Timûr* entered the city said to be built by *Nimrod*; and, with his court, bathed in the fountain, which (as the *Mohammedans* believe) sprang up in the place of a furnace wherein *Abraham* had been cast, and quenched the fire.

A. D. 1394.

Omar Sheykh
slain.

THE emperor spent nineteen days at *Roba* in plays and entertainments, while several princes came and submitted; among the rest, the prince of *Hesn Keyfa* (N). But Soltân *Aysa*, prince of *Mardîn*, refusing to come as he had promised, *Timûr* marched back to reduce him; as he did. In his way, the princes of *Arzîna*, *Batmân*, and *Al Jazîreb* (O). On his approach, *Aysa* came out, and begged pardon; which was granted him. While the army lay before *Mardîn*,

^o Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 432—443. c. 30—33.

(G) A city of *Irâk Arabi*, on the *Tigris*, half-way between *Bâghdâd* and *Bafrab*; commonly called *Bafsora* and *Balsora*, near the mouth of that river, and the *Persian* gulph.

(H) This is the *Persian* pronunciation; *Al Dbaber*, or *Addhaber*, the *Arabian*; the *Db* being sounded like the *English* *Th* in *the*, *this*, &c.

(I) The capital of *Desart Arabia*, situate on both sides of the *Euphrates*. *Timûr* arrived there on the sixteenth.

(K) Towns of *Mesopotamia*. *La Croix*.—Rather of *Kûrdestân*.

(L) That is, *the head of the fountain*. Here are several springs, from whence the river *Al Khabûr* has its rise.

(M) Otherwise called *Orfa*, the ancient *Edessa*.

(N) A city on the *Tigris*, in *Mesopotamia*. *La Croix*. It was a very strong place; the castle built on a rock.

(O) The two first of these cities are in *Kûrdestân*; the last in an island of the *Tigris*, and ascribed to *Diyârbekr*; 'tis called *Jazirat sbn Omar*.

- a news arrived of the death of the Mîrza *Omar Shейkh*. This prince, who was the head general under his father when in *Pârs*, had reduced all that province, and then went to besiege *Sirjîn* in *Nirmân*: but, being sent for to court, left his troops before that city, and hastened to *Shirâz*. In his way through the country of the *Kîrds*, he stopped at *Kormatûl*, a little fort inhabited by a few people; and, getting on an eminence to view the place, was shot with an arrow in the *vena cava*, which killed him on the spot, in *February* 1394, when he was forty years old. The soldiers, to revenge his death, destroyed all who were in the place, and razed it to the ground. The corpse was carried to *Shirâz*; and afterwards to *Kasb*, where it was interred. The kingdom of *Pârs* (or *Proper Persia*), was given by *Timûr* to the Mîrza *Pîr Mehemed*, son of the deceased, although but sixteen years old.
- b ALTHOUGH Soltân *Aysa* came out of *Mardin*, yet his brother and the inhabitants refused to deliver up the place; which being found to be the effect of *Aysa's* orders, he was put in fetters: ^{Al Jazireh ravaged.} and there not being grass enough for the cavalry, *Timûr* deferred the siege for this time. In his way to *Aspenj*, such a terrible tempest of lightning and rain fell, that the horses were in water up to their ears; and the army were forced to remove their quarters, leaving all their baggage behind, for fear of being drowned themselves. This time *Mâlek Azzo'ddîn*, prince of *Jazîreh*, who had before submitted, refusing to deliver up an Amîr, who had stolen certain curiosities which *Timûr* was sending to his sons at *Soltâniya*; the emperor set out hastily with his troops, and, next day, coming on the enemy by surprise, took two or three fortresses, with a great booty. In the confusion, *Mâlek* fell into the hands of a soldier; who took from him many
- c valuable things, and, not knowing who he was, let him escape. Being thus driven out of *Jazîreh*, and that city, with his country, ravaged, the emperor returned to *Mardin*: and, investing it next day, assaulted and took the city, while the besieged fled into the fortress named *Mardin Kûb*, situated on the ridge of a mountain. The soldiers followed to the foot of the wall; ^{submit.} and, next day, getting on the mountain, which was level with the top of the wall, the besieged, finding themselves distressed thereby, came out with rich presents, and offered to pay a yearly tribute; which was the more readily accepted, as news arrived just then of the birth of a son, on *April* 9, to the heir of the crown, Mîrza *Shâh Rukh*, who was called *Oluk Bey* (P).
- d *TIMUR* gave *Mardin* to Soltân *Saleb*, brother of *Aysa*; and then set forwards, the army marching in several bodies, by different roads. The emperor took that of *Sawr*, accompanied by Mîrza *Shâh Rukh*; and, on his arrival at the *Tigris*, near that place, staid three days, with design to return to *Alatâk* (in *Armenia*): but receiving advice, from the Mîrzas *Mehemed* ^{Amid, or} *Soltân* and *Mirân Shâh*, that the inhabitants of *Karâche Kôja* (Q), commonly called *Hamed*, ^{Diyarbekr} refused to submit, he marched thither in two days and one night; the *Tigris* being so shallow, that the troops passed it on foot. The strength of this city consists in the height of its walls, which are built of free-stone; and in their thickness, which is such, that two horses may pass abreast on them. On the top of this wall, there is built another, the height of a man; and on both there is a terrace, on the outside of which there is another stone wall with battlements. Thus, as there are two storeys in this great wall, so, when it rains, or is either exceeding hot, or cold, the soldiers may fight in the lower storey. Besides, there are high towers fifteen cubits asunder; and, in the middle of the town, two fountains of rock water, with many fine gardens. These walls are said to have been built 4300 years; and that the place was never taken by force of arms: indeed the Khalîfah *Kaled*, son of *Walid*, after besieging it a long time, entered it, with some troops, by a common sewer, and made himself master of it.
- As soon as *Timûr* was encamped without the city, he ordered the assault to be given next ^{besieged and} day. The soldiers advanced, covered with their bucklers, and discharged a shower of arrows ^{taken.} into the place; while the besieged cast down abundance of stones on them. Mean time the miners carried on the sap; and, breaches being made in several places, the walls were scaled in different parts; so that the city was carried in less than three days, in the beginning of *May*. The soldiers, entering the place, pillaged it, and set fire to the houses; while most part of the garrison were killed in the breaches. The officers began to pull down the walls with axes, and other instruments: but, as they found it would be a tedious work to demolish any considerable part, they only beat down the tops. *Timûr*, the ninth of *May*, took the road to *Alatâk*: and, three days after, *Yâik Sîfî*, the greatest Amîr in the left wing of the army, next the princes of the blood, being accused by an *Uzbek* soldier with fomenting a rebellion, and designing to fly in the night, confessed his crime, and discovered his accomplices. As he had been often pardoned before for the like offences, and yet promoted by the emperor, his judges ordered him and his son to be laid in irons, and all his accomplices to be put to death.

P Hist. TIM. BEK, p. 443—457, c. 33—37.

(P) Some write *Olug* and *Ulugh* for *Oluk*; and *Beg*, *Bek*, or *Buygh*, for *Bey*. He reigned after his father, and was a great encourager of learning.

(Q) *Hamed*, or *Amed*, is called also *Kara Amid*, or *Karâmid*, 2nd *Diyârbekr*. *La Croix*. Hence *Santon*, in his maps, makes three cities of it.

Alenjik
besieged.

AFTER he had passed by *Miyafarkîn*, *Batmân*, *Astima*, and *Sivâffer*, he arrived, the nineteenth, at *Sabra Mûfhi* (R); and, passing some high mountains deep with snow, came to *Betlis* (S): whose prince, *Haji Sharîf*, the most courteous of all those in *Kûrdestân*, came to salute him, and make a present of fine horses. *Timûr* confirmed him in his possessions, honoured him with a vest, belt, and sword; and left *Taîk Sûfi* to be kept prisoner in his castle. Then, ordering the roads to be set down in writing, he sent a detachment to besiege *Alenjik*; at whose approach *Kara Yûsef*, with the *Turkmâns*, fled. Being come to *Aklât* (T), he gave *Kakhân*, prince of *Adeliaws* (U), the lordship of *Aklât*, with its dependencies, for ever. Then parting from the army, to meet the young princes and empresses coming from *Soltânîyah*, he passed by *Alisgherd* (W); and encamped the same evening at *Uch Kiliffa*, that is, the three churches of *Alatâk* (X), where he found them. On the twenty-fourth of *June*, he set out for *Aydîn* (or *Bayezîd*), whose inhabitants, presenting him with all their effects, begged quarter; which he granted, after blaming them for their remissness, and restored them all their goods. After this, he returned in one night to *Uch Kiliffa*; where *Tabârten*, governor of *Arzenjân*, came to pay his respects to him, and was honourably received^a.

Avenik, or
Vân invested.

THE second of *July*, *Timûr*, resolving to make himself master of *Avenik* (or *Vân*), whose prince, *Messer*, son of *Kara Mehemed* (Y), refused to come to court, departed from *Uch Kiliffa*, and came to *Alisgherd* (or *Malazjerd*); from whence, passing by *Kiosatak*, in two days he arrived at *Avenik*. The soldiers immediately took the town, and razed the walls: hereupon *Messer* retired, with his *Turkmâns*, into the fortress, situated on a steep and craggy mountain, all the passages of which were blocked up and fortified; a wall being also built on one side, on the very edge of the mountain. The Amîrs, and bravest soldiers, alighted to attack the gate; while the horsemen, mounted as high as the walls, shot arrows on those who appeared on the breastwork. On the fifth, *Messer* sent his son and lieutenant, with considerable presents, to demand pardon; which *Timûr* granted: but, on their return, he renewed hostilities. After *Tabârten* had argued the case with him, he sent his son, and a near relation, with more presents, to ask pardon: but *Timûr*, perceiving he had no design to quit the place, caused the messengers to be arrested.

Timûr's
clemency.

HOWEVER, next morning, the emperor ordering *Messer's* son, who was but six years old, to be brought before him; he was so moved with the supplications of this young prince, that he said, "Go, my child; I will give your father his life, on condition that he appears before me." Then he gave the child a vest, and fixed a collar of gold about his neck; sending him back to *Messer* with a very obliging letter. When the besieged saw the young prince in this condition, they applauded the emperor; and murmured against *Messer*, who still would not resolve upon going out. However, the battering engines having beaten down several houses, *Messer's* mother came to beg quarter for her son; alledging his fears as the only cause of his opposition. Altho' *Timûr* promised to spare him, in case he left the place immediately, yet the *Turkmân* continued obstinate. At length a *Meljûr*, or hill made of earth and trees, being raised higher than the walls of the fortress, the place lay quite exposed to the engines. These poured in heaps of huge stones, which ruined the houses apace, and beat down the arches upon the soldiers heads. They were also reduced to such extremity for want of water, that, *July* the thirtieth, they turned out all the inhabitants who did not fight. *Messer*, therefore, in despair, sent his lieutenant once more to beg quarter; which was granted, provided he would repair to the camp: yet still that prince continued stubborn, or irresolute.

Messer
submits.

MEAN time *Koja Shabin*, and seven other brave soldiers, mounting one of the arches in the night, got to the foot of the walls of the place; and there lighting fires, to give notice, two Amîrs ascended the mountain in the same place, and came to a very narrow arch; where the besieged attacked them, tho' in the dark. *Amânshâb Kazâneji*, being dangerously wounded, returned to the camp: but *Argûnshâb*, and the rest, getting on another arch, above 300 cubits wide, arrived at the foot of the walls, which they began to sap. The officers and garrison seeing themselves thus hard pressed, some flung themselves off the mountain: while others exclaimed against *Messer*, flung down their arms, and begged leave to depart. *Messer*, to

^a Hist. TIM. BEK, P. 457—470. C. 37—43.

(R) A little town, with a fine meadow, two days journey in length; the same distance from *Miyafarkîn*, and three from *Aklât* (or *Kelât*). *La Croix*.

(S) A city near the lake of *Vân*. *La Croix*.

(T) Capital of *Lower Armenia*, or *Kûrdestân*, near the lake of *Vân*. *La Croix*.

(U) A town on the lake of *Vân*, between *Arjish* and *Aklât*. *La Croix*.

(W) Or *Malazjard*, a town of *Kûrdestân* (or *Lower Armenia*). *La Croix*.

(X) A town of *Kûrdestân* (or *Armenia*), where are the three churches of *Achmiadzin*, the seat of the patriarch of *Armenia*, near *Nakshivân*. *La Croix*.—Rather near *Erîvân*, from which it is distant three leagues to the south-west.

(Y) The *Turkmân*, founder of the dynasty of the *Kara Kuyonlu*, or *Black Sheep*, whose history will be given hereafter.

a appease them, sent his mother once more to beg his life. *Timûr*, touched with her affliction, said, that, for her sake, he would spare him, provided he came himself to ask pardon: yet *Messer* did not go out that day; and would have continued to defend himself, if his domestics had not quitted him, and leaped off the walls. Then, tying a handkerchief about his neck; and with a sword in his hand, he came out of the fortress; and, applying himself to the *Mîrza Mehemed Soltân*, by his means obtained mercy. He was sent to *Sâmârkant*; and his treasures distributed among those who had behaved well in the siege. *Timûr* also conferred the principality of *Arzerjân* on *Tabârten*; presenting him, on that occasion, with a crown, and belt of gold enriched with precious stones.

b DURING these transactions, the army, which besieged *Aydin*, gave such considerable assaults, *Bayezid* that the Amir *Bayezid* (Z), prince thereof, demanded a truce; promising to depart as soon ^{surrenders.} as the forces should decamp from before the walls. The general *Zirek Yakû* consenting to the proposal, *Bayezid* went out in the night, without his knowledge; and, arriving at *Timûr*'s camp, fell at the emperor's feet: who, pleased with his conduct, confirmed him in the principality, with a power to establish a governor in the town of *Aydin*^r.

c *TIMUR*, in pursuance of *Mohammed*'s advice to his followers, to make war on those who ^{Georgia} profess a different religion from their own, set out to make war in *Gurjestân*, or *Georgia*, against ^{invaded.} *Aksîka*, prince of that country; and, having passed by the forests of *Alatâk* with a very numerous army, arrived at *Kârs*; where news was brought of the birth of prince *Ibrahim Soltân*, son of the *Mîrza Shâh Rukb*, on September the ninth. Next day *Timûr* decamped from the fine meadow of the *Kârs*, for the plain of *Minék Gbeul* (A). Shortly after, the Amîrs, whom he had sent into *Georgia*, having gained several battles, conquered great part of the country; and taken many strong places, returned with the spoils, and congratulated the emperor on the birth of his grandson.

d ON this occasion, a splendid banquet was prepared. The tents took up two leagues of ^{Splendid feast.} ground. *Timûr*'s was under a canopy sustained by forty pillars, and as spacious as a palace. When every thing was ready, his majesty came, with the crown on his head, and sceptre in his hand, and sat on the throne, which was erected in the middle of the tent, adorned with precious stones; and a great number of the most beautiful ladies of *Asia* placed on each side, with veils of rich brocade, bedecked with jewels. The music was ranged in two rows; the voices on the right, and instruments on the left. Nine *Chaus*, or stewards, with golden wands in their hands, marched before the dishes which were served up: they were followed by cup-bearers, having in their hands crystal bottles and golden cups, with red wine of *Shîrwân*, white of *Mazânderân*, grey-coloured of *Kosrwân*, and water exceeding clear. Nor did the conversation of charming women, whose hair hung in tresses to the very ground, add a small lustre to this grand assembly; at which were present many foreign lords and princes from *India* and *Greece*. After this, the *Mîrza Shâh Rukb* set out for *Sâmârkant*, of which his father conferred on him the government.

e *TIMUR*'s zeal for religion prompting him to make the war himself in *Georgia*, he entered *Tokatmîsh* the mountains, destroying all before him. The *Kara Kalkânlik* (that is, *The Black Bucklers*) *Khân* having fortified themselves in castles situate on very steep mountains, he marched into their lands, vanquished and put them all to the sword, seizing their effects. After reposing his army for some time, he marched to *Téflis*, capital of *Georgia*; and from thence to *Sheki* (B), from whence troops were detached to pillage the lands of prince *Bertâz*. A second body entered other mountains, called the *Kûbestân* of *Georgia*, governed by *Sedi Ali*, of *Sheki*, prince of the house of *Erlât*; who fled, and left his houses and effects to be destroyed by the enemy. But, while *Timûr* was harassing the Christians in this manner, news was brought, that the troops of *Tokatmîsh*, *Khân* of *Kipjâk*, had passed by *Dârbend*, and ravaged some parts of *Shîrwân*. Hereupon he immediately departed from *Sheki*, and arrived at the *Ab Kûr* (or river *Kûr*): but, on advice of his march, the enemy shamefully fled. When *Timûr* came to the plain of *Mahmûd abâd*, he encamped in that of *Kalîn Gonbed*, near the town of *Fakîr abâd* (in *Georgia*). There he sent for the empresses and princes from *Soltânîya*; and the *Mîrza Mirân Shâh* quitted the siege of *Alenjîk* to come to court; being informed, on the road, of the birth of a son, whom the emperor named *Ayjel*^r.

f WHEN winter drew towards an end, *Timûr* departed, *March* 10th, for *Kipjâk*, at the head ^{invades} of a powerful army, to make war on *Tokatmîsh* (or *Toktamîsh*) *Khân*; who, having re-established ^{Shîrwân.} himself in his kingdom, was daily making irruptions into the emperor's dominions, to repair the loss of his last defeat. *Timûr*, before this, had sent that prince a letter, to know his resolution, and reason for invading his territories; which, with the arguments of the embassador,

^r Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 470—478. c. 43—45.

^s Ibid. p. 478—487, c. 45—50.

(Z) Perhaps, from him the city took the name of *Bayezid*, which it at present bears.

(B) A city between *Téflis* and the river *Cyrus* (now *Kûr*). *La Croix*.

(A) A village near the mountain *Jûli*, in *Georgia*.

Shâmso'ddîn Almâlegbi, so wrought upon him, that he would have concluded a treaty, if his courtiers and generals, whose interest it was to make war, had not persuaded him against it. *Shâmso'ddîn*, at his return, found *Timûr* on the river *Samnûr*, which runs at the foot of mount *Albûrz* (C), reviewing his army; which extended from thence to the sea, five leagues distant, and was the greatest that had been since the time of *Jenghîz Khân*. *Timûr*, who was enraged at the rudeness of the answer, and impertinent reasons alleged by the *Khân*, marched in order of battle; and when the army had passed *Dârbend*, they surprised and cut to pieces the Orda of *Kaytâg*, which encamped at the foot of mount *Albûrz*.

Timûr meets
him.

HERE an ambassador from *Tokatmîsh* was coming to the camp; but, on sight of the army, he returned through fear. At *Terki* (D) word being brought, that the scouts of the enemy were encamped on the *Koy* (E), *Timûr*, with choice men, hastened in the night; and, surprising them in the morning, cut most of them off. Thence he continued his road to the *Savenj* (F), where he encamped; at the same time that the *Khân*, with a formidable army, encamped on the banks of the *Terk* (G), surrounded with waggons: but, on *Timûr*'s approach, he returned back, either through fear, or to gain a more advantageous ground. While *Tokatmîsh* arrived at the *Kûra* (H), the emperor crossed the *Terk*, and marched towards the country of *Kûlat* (I), in quest of provisions. The scouts having brought advice, that the *Khân* had rallied his troops, and was marching by the lower part of the river, *Timûr* ranged his army in order; and, always preserving the rising ground, wheeled about to face the enemy.

Famous battle.

NEXT morning the two armies began to move. *Timûr* divided his into seven bodies, placing at the head of them those who had the title of *Babâdr* (or courageous); and the infantry before the cavalry, covered with their bucklers. The *Mîrza Mehemed Soltân* commanded the main body, strengthened with the bravest men of the army; while *Timûr* placed himself at the head of twenty-seven chosen companies, who composed the body of reserve. The battle began with showers of arrows, accompanied with the cries, *Give and slay, Hold and take*. After this, a great detachment from the enemy's right wing attacked the left wing of *Timûr*'s; who, upon notice thereof, marched with his reserve, and forced them to fly: but, one of the companies pursuing them to their main body, they rallied, and made them retreat, in their turn, upon the other companies, who, by this means, were broken, and began to fly. The *Kipjâks*, willing to make their advantage of this disorder, advanced upon the others as far as where *Timûr* was posted, whom they boldly attacked; and, notwithstanding his vigorous resistance, in which he discharged all his arrows, and broke his half-pike to shivers, had hemmed him in, if the *Amîr Shейkh Nûro'ddîn* had not dismounted by him, with fifty others, and kept off the enemy with their arrows.

Timûr in
danger.

THE emperor's danger brought more to his assistance: *Mehemed Azâd*, his brother *Ali-shâh*, and *Tuzel Bawrshî*, took three of the enemy's waggons, and joined them just before *Timûr*, to embarrass the enemy, and try to break the ranks. *Allabdâd* came with his faithful company; and, dismounting, placed himself near the *Sheykh Nûro'ddîn*. *Hussayn Mâlek Kûchin* and *Zirek Yâkû* arrived with their clubmen. The regiments of guards came also, with the horse-tail erected; and *Ustoni*, with his company, posted himself behind the guards. All these soldiers having dismounted, opposed the enemy; who made continual attacks on them, and performed actions of the utmost vigour. *Kodâdâd Hussayn*, who conducted the van-guard of *Timûr*'s left wing, advanced between *Konje Aglen*, who commanded the enemy's right, and planted himself behind *Aktâo*, who boldly faced the emperor. Mean time the *Mîrza Mehemed Soltân* marched to the left of his father, with his recruits: who bravely rushed on the enemy, and, with their simetars and lances, routed their right wing, and constrained *Aktâo* to fly.

Bravely supported.

THE *Amîr Haji Sayfo'ddîn*, who commanded the van-guard of the right wing, found himself more pressed than the others: for he was inclosed by the enemy's left; so that, despairing of his life, he dismounted with his *Tomân*. But although the *Kipjâks* continually increased, and fell on with their lances and swords, yet *Sayfo'ddîn*'s soldiers, holding their bucklers before them, did not cease repulsing them with their arrows; till *Jehân Shâh Babâdr*, coming to their assistance from another part of the field, fell impetuously with his *Tomân* on the enemy. Hereupon an obstinate fight began, and a horrible slaughter was made: but at length the van-

^t Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 487—495. c. 50—53.

(C) Or *Albûrz Kûb*; by which is to be understood the ridge of mountains called by Europeans *Caucasus*; some call it *Albrûz* and *Brûz*.

(D) A town of *Dârbend*, *La Croix*—It is the capital of *Dâghestân*, or *Tâghestân*, that is, the mountain country, on the shore of the *Caspian* sea, above 100 miles north of *Dârbend*.

(E) A river of *Dârbend*, near *Terki* [rather *Daghestân*], which falls into the *Caspian* sea. *La Croix*.

(F) A river between the *Terk* and the *Koy*, which falls into the *Caspian*. *La Croix*.

(G) The same as the *Timenki*, rising on mount *Albûrz*, and falling into the *Caspian*. *La Croix*.

(H) A river in *Kipjâk*, between the *Kayfû* and the *Terk*; it rises in mount *Albûrz*, and falls into the *Caspian*. *La Croix*.

(I) A fortress in *Georgia*, near *Taûs*, on the *Terk*. *La Croix*.

a guard of the *Kipjâks* left wing gave way. Mean time the *Mîrza Rustem*, son of *Omâr Shейkh*, tho' very young, rushed impetuously on the main body, and put them to flight.

THINGS being in this situation, *Yâghlibi Babrin*, a favourite and relation of *Tokatmîsh*, advanced with a *Tomân* of brave men, and called out to *Ozmân Babâdr* to meet him. *Ozmân* ^{Gains the victory.} advanced at the head of his *Tomân*, and attacked him: after they had broken their sabres, they seized on their war-clubs and poignards; then grappled like two enraged lions. The soldiers of their *Tomâns* imitated their chiefs, and fought hand to hand with great fury. At length *Ozmân Babâdr* overthrew his antagonist; and then fell on his troops with such vigour, that he intirely defeated them. All the other generals performed their duty so well, that, after a long and obstinate battle, they put the enemy into disorder; yet they were not certain of the defeat, till *Tokatmîsh Khân* shamefully turned his back, followed by the princes, and generals of his troops. On this, *Timûr*'s soldiers rallied; and, joining together, fell upon the enemy, crying *Victory!* They slew a vast number, and afterwards hung up many of those whom they took alive.

TIMUR, finding himself sure of the victory, gave God thanks on his knees; received the congratulations of his officers; and, getting an exact information of all who had served well on this occasion, distributed his treasures liberally. Particularly, on the *Amîr Shейkh Nûro'd-dîn*, who had so signally exposed his life to save his prince, he conferred a higher post; presented him with a horse of great price, a vest of gold brocade, a belt set with precious stones, and 100,000 dinârs *Kopeghî*. Besides this, he made a general promotion of officers. Being come to the *Koray* (K), he left the baggage and booty; then marched, at the head of his best troops, in pursuit of *Tokatmîsh*: but, when he arrived at the *Wolga*, the *Khân* having crossed it, he staid at a passage called *Tûratû*. There he crowned *Koyrichak Aglen*, son of *Urûs Khân*, ^{Makes Koyrichak Khân.} who was an officer of his court, emperor of *Kipjâk*; and sent him, with the squadron of *Uzbeks*, over the *Wolga*, to gather the troops of his nation, and govern his new subjects. Mean time the *Jagatayans* pursued the fugitives as far as *Ukek* (L), slaying and taking captives a great number; while others crossed the *Wolga* on floats: and *Tokatmîsh*, seeing himself closely pressed, fled into the impenetrable forests of *Bûlâr* (M). The army advanced on the west side of the river, till they came opposite to the place where they had been in the first campaign, which is near the dark ocean, or *Icy sea*; and, in their return, ravaged the country, bringing away an immense booty of gold, silver, precious stones, and furs, with boys and girls of great beauty.

WHILE *Timûr* was on this expedition, *Kara Yûsef* assembled a troop of *Turkmâns* about *Alatûk* (or *Uch Kilissa*), with design to attack *Koy*: but the emperor, after the late battle, ^{Kara Yûsef flies.} having sent troops into *Irân* and *Great Bukhâria*, to prevent disorders, the *Mîrza Pir Mehemmed*, who commanded the former, marched to *Koy*; and from thence, by the defile of *Kara Derra* (N), to *Bend Mâhi* (O), where *Kara Yûsef* lay encamped: but, on his approach, that robber fled, and was pursued as far as *Avenik* (or *Vân*).

MEAN time *Timûr*, resolving to conquer the rest of *Asia*, on the side of *Kipjâk*, entered the great desert, which leads into *Europe*, at the great river *Uzi*, or *Boristhenes*. Here, at a town called *Mankirmen*, on that river, he found *Bik-yarok Aglen*, with other *Uzbek Tatars*; most of whom were cut to pieces, and their effects pillaged. *Bâsh-Temûr Aglen* and *Aktao* crossed the *Uzi*, and fled into the country of *Hermeday* (P); whose inhabitants, being their enemies, so harassed them, that the *Tomân* of *Aktao* fled to *Isra Yaka* in *Rûm*, or *Anatolia*, and there settled.

TIMUR then, changing his route, marched towards *Muscovy*; and *Great Russia*. At the *Tanais* (or *Don*) the army again overtook *Bik Yarok*, and pursued him as far as *Kara Su* (Q), ^{and ravages Russia.} a town of *Great Russia*, which they pillaged. His wives and children, who fell into their hands, were kindly treated by the emperor. This prince went in person to *Moskow*, which was pillaged; while parties were sent to ravage all the provinces of *Great Muscovy*, and *Urûsjik*, or *Little Russia*; who returned with prodigious droves of cattle, and beautiful captives, besides immense riches of all kinds. *Timûr*, after this, departed towards *Balchimkin* (or the

(K) A river in the *Khûbestân* of *Georgia*, which falls into the *Caspian*, to the north of *Terki*. *La Croix*.

(L) *Ozekk*, or *Okak*. The last town dependent on *Saray*, on the *Wolga*, between *Bulgâr* and *Jebây*, fifteen leagues from each. *La Croix*. Elsewhere he says, near *Isigâr* and *Samera*.

(M) *Bûlâr* is *Bulgâr* (or *Bulgâria*), reaching as far as *Siberia*, along the river *Kamâl* (or *Kama*), to the *Icy sea*. *La Croix*.

(N) A defile of mountains, at present the bounds be-

tween *Persia* and *Turky*: the *French* translator had passed them. *La Croix*.

(O) A little river, where they shut up the fish of the lake of *Vân* by a kind of sluice. *La Croix* had crossed it.

(P) A country between the *Boristhenes* and *Danubej*. *La Croix*.

(Q) Otherwise called *Karsh*; on the frontiers of *Poland*. *La Croix*.

Palus Mæotis) ; and, being arrived at *Azák* (R), ordered that the *Mohammedans* should be set at liberty, and the other inhabitants put to the sword. From hence he marched his troops to *Kubân* (S) ; but, as the *Cherkas* had destroyed all the pasture grounds between those two towns, a great number of horses died, and they suffered much for eight days. From *Kubân* the *Mîrzas Mehemed Soltân* and *Mirân Shâb* were sent to conquer *Cherkassia* ; which they effected, bringing away infinite spoil "

Returns to
Georgia.

AFTER this, *Timûr* returned towards mount *Albûrz*. On the way, some sorry fellows, who are never wanting in the courts of princes, accused *Ozmân Abbâs* of crimes which had no foundation : but, as *Timûr* had before suspected *Ozmân's* fidelity, he ordered that illustrious Amîr, who, on so many occasions, had given proofs of his courage and conduct, to be put to death. The emperor, having a design to destroy the infidels, marched towards *Bîrdaberdi*, to attack *Buraken*, prince of the nation of *As*. He ascended mount *Albûrz* ; several times attacked the *Georgians*, put a great number of them to the sword, and ruined their fortresses, which they had deemed inaccessible. On his return, he made a splendid feast, for joy of his success ; after which, he again left the body of the army, to attack the fortresses of *Kûla* and *Taws* in *Georgia*, situate on mountains inhabited by the same people as those of mount *Albûrz* ; and so steep, that one is dazzled to look at them. That, on whose ridge *Taws* stands, is so high, that no archer can hit it with his arrow.

Fortress of
Taws.

TIMUR ordered the *Tomân* of *Mekrits*, the most dexterous in the world at climbing mountains, to ascend the rock : but, after going round it, they could not find one single passage to the castle. The emperor, concerned at this, at length caused a great number of ladders to be made, which might be joined together. Being gotten, by these helps, to the top of the first ridge of the mountain, a troop of the forlorn hope bound themselves with cords ; and, having fastened the ends of the cords to the ridge of the mountain, came down even with the place, where the besieged overwhelmed them with stones, and slew them in heaps. But, as the whole army were continually mounting the ladders, and descending before the places, the besieged lost courage ; so that they could not hinder the castle from being taken by the *Jagatays*, who put to the sword all the men of the nation of *Irkawn* who had retired thither : the governors of the place, and he of *Kûla*, were also put to death.

and Pulâd
taken ;

FROM thence the army marched towards the fortress of *Pulâd*, by the way of *Balakbân* ; where they were all furnished with honey, the quantity was so great. The governor, named *Pulâd* also, refusing to deliver up *Utarkû*, one of the great Amîrs of *Kipjâk*, who was retired thither, *Timûr* ordered a passage three leagues long to be cut through a thick wood, in order to come at the castle, which is situated on a very steep defile of mountains. The enemy began the attack first ; but, being quickly defeated, the *Jagatays* entered the place, and put to the sword all who were capable of bearing arms. However, three companies of *Georgians*, and *Utarkû*, fled : the companies were pursued to the top of a mountain ; and, after their defeat, were all cast into the fire : while *Timûr* followed *Utarkû* to the middle of mount *Albûrz*, in a place called *Abâsa* ; where he was at length seized, after an obstinate defence, and loaded with chains.

with other
places.

THE army, having pillaged all the inhabitants of this great and famous mountain, marched against the country of *Semsem* : whose lord, *Mehemed*, son of *Gayûr Khân*, came to offer it, with his subjects ; and was enrolled among the officers of *Timûr's* court. They then ascended the mountain, whither some of the inhabitants had fled ; who being taken, the emperor ordered them to be bound, and precipitated from the rocks. There were several places in *Georgia*, out of which neither horse nor foot could get, without gently sliding down the steep hills : yet no difficulties diverted *Timûr's* zeal, who at length cleared this country of the infidels, destroying their images and churches, as well as their houses. Thence he marched, by mount *Awbâr*, to *Bishkunt* (T) ; whose inhabitants he rewarded with largesses and lands, because they had long before offered him their service. He then proceeded, and ravaged the countries of the *Kosjâks* of *Futûr* (in *Georgia*), putting all those robbers to the sword. From thence he went to *Bogâz Kom*, a defile of mountains, where the inhabitants of *Maimkatû* and *Kazi Komûk* came to make their submissions. There now remained unconquered in *Georgia* only the isles ; whose inhabitants, called *Balekcbian*, that is, *fishermen*, confided in their fluid rampier : but, as it was winter, and the waters were frozen two cubits in thickness, the soldiers passed over ; and, having pillaged their houses, brought them away prisoners to the camp.

Kosjâk rob-
bers.

Haji Terkhân
named.

AT this time *Timûr* receiving advice from his lieutenant in *Haji Terkhân* (or *Astrakhân*), of some treasonable practices in *Mahmûdi*, the Kelonter (or governor) began his march thither, altho' the winter was extremely severe. The walls of this city are close to the *Volga*, which

" Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 495—505. c. 53—56.

(R) The same with *Asof* (as the *Europeans* call it) at the mouth of the *Don*.

(S) Capital of *Cherkassie*. La Croix.
(T) A town of *Georgia*.

- a runs round them by means of the ditches, and so serves for a rampier: but, as the river is frozen in winter, they usually build a wall of ice, as strong as one of brick, on which they fling water in the night, that the whole may congeal, and become one piece; wherein they make a gate. *Timûr*, being come near *Haji Terkbân*, approached the city with only a few men: and as *Mahmudi* was obliged to go out to meet the emperor, he was arrested, and sent towards *Sarray*, under the conduct of the *Mîrza Pîr Mehemed*; who, in his way, having passed the *Volga*, which was frozen, pursuant to the orders given him, thrust his prisoner under the ice. When he came to *Sarray*, capital of *Kipjâk* (U), he made the inhabitants go forth, and then reduced it to ashes; to revenge the burning of *Zenjîr Sarray*, the palace of *Soltân Kbazân Khân* (in 1387), when it was without a governor, and there was no king in *Great Bukhâria*.
- b After this, *Timûr* returned to the winter quarters at *Bugâz Kom*; and, as his army had been extremely weakened by the severe weather, which had killed most of the horses, and rendered provisions excessively scarce (W), he ordered the spoils of *Sarray* and *Haji Terkbân* to be divided among the soldiers^w.

ALL the countries of *Kipjâk* and *Kefer* (X), with the west and north parts of the *Caspian* Georgia farther ravaged. Hej. 798. A. D. 1396. sea, were now reduced under *Timûr*'s dominion: the towns and provinces of those climates had likewise all been plundered, as *Ukek*, *Majâr* (or *Hungary*), *Little Russia*, *Cherkassia*, *Bishgorod* (Y), *Mekes* or *Moskow*, *Azâk*, *Kûbân*, and *Alân* (Z). All the princes of those countries had, moreover, given assurances of their obedience; and the enemy scattered. At the beginning, therefore, of the year 798, *Timûr* began his march back to *Azerbejân*. When he came to *Terki*, he went to besiege *Ushenj* (A): on advice of which, *Shûkel*, tho' a *Mohammedan*, and before at war with the inhabitants, came, from *Kâzi Komûk* and *Awsher*, to their assistance with 3000 men: but, in their approach, *Timûr* surprised them, when their horses were feeding; and, with 500 chosen horse, defeated them. Most of them were slain; and *Shûkel*, flying on foot, was killed with an arrow by *Mobasher Bahâdr*, who cut off his head. As soon as *Timûr* returned to the camp, his soldiers took *Ushenj*, and put the garrison to the sword: but he not only pardoned the governors, *Kâzis*, and other great men of the country, but confirmed them in their sovereignties, and made them great presents; exhorting them, at the same time, to make war on the *Christians*, according to their antient custom.

- FROM thence *Timûr* marched to *Norghes* (*); which he took at the first assault, and put all the inhabitants to the sword: he likewise took and razed the towns of *Mika*, *Balû*, and *Derkalû*, at the foot of mount *Albûrz*. He left *Georgia*, laden with spoils and beautiful captives. The inhabitants of *Zenegherân*, the most skilful workmen in coats of mail, came to meet the emperor, with presents of curious armour; and those of the mountain *Kaytâg* submitted also. Then he marched to *Dârbend Bakû*, that is, the *Caspian gates* (B), and caused the walls of the fortrefs to be built. Here *Sheykh Ibrâhîm*, prince of *Shîrwân*, who had followed the court in this expedition, setting out before, prepared a great banquet at *Sabran* (C). At *Shamâkhi* Feasts his court. he entertained the court a second time. Then *Timûr*, having confirmed the *Sheykh* in his principality, crossed the *Kûr*, and encamped at *Aktam*. There he ordered the *Mîrza Mirân Shâb* to govern the kingdom, which he had before given to him, by himself, and to besiege *Alenjîk*. He fixed the countries of *Karabâgh* and *Nakshivân*, as far as *Avenik* (or *Vân*), for lodging the ordas of the troops of his right wing; and the ordas of his left wing were quartered in the lands between *Soltâniya* and *Hamadân*.

SIRJAN, or *Seyrjân*, in *Kermân*, which had suffered a siege of three years, was so pressed by *Shâh Shâbân*, and the troops of *Sîstân* employed therein, that all the inhabitants, as well as garrison, were slain in the assaults, excepting *Guderz* the governor, and six others; who, being at length obliged to surrender the place, was put to death for his obstinacy. After this, while *Temûk Kûchin*, governor of *Yazd*, was gone to the imperial camp, the *Soltân Mehemed*, son of *Abûsaïd Tebesî*, with some troops, formerly in the service of the princes of *Muzaffer*, slew *Temûk*'s lieutenant, with several of the great officers of that city; and, seizing the public treasure, with several loads of stuff, designed for the empress, assembled an infinite number

^w Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 505—514. c. 56—60.

(U) Where resided the *Tartarkings* of *Dasht Barka*, which is the *Arab* name of *Kapshâk* [rather *Kapchâk*, *Kajjâk*, or *Kipjâk*], situated on the *Volga*. *La Croix*.

(W) A pound of millet sold for seventy dinârs *Kopeghî*; the head of an ox for 100; and that of a sheep for 250.

(X) The province between *Khorassân* and the *Caspian* sea. *La Croix*.

(Y) A town of *Kipjâk*. *La Croix*.

(Z) A town and country between *Georgia* and the *Black Sea*. *La Croix*.

(A) A country (and town) of *Georgia*, N. E. of *Tefîs*. *La Croix*.

(*) A town of *Georgia*, in *Mingrelia*? *La Croix*.

(B) This seems to be the explanation of *La Croix*, who sometimes inserts names and explanations of his own in the text. The *Arabs* call *Dârbend*, *Bâb al Abwâb*, that is, the gate of gates. *Dârbend Bakû* seems to be made by confounding two different towns of *Shîrwân* together.

(C) A town of *Shîrwân*, between *Dârbend* and *Shamâkhi*; which last is the capital.

of profligate fellows, whom he cloathed, and gave money to. On advice of this sedition, *Pir Mehemed*, son of *Omar Sheykh*, marched from *Shîrâz* with the army of *Pârs*: and, being joined by those of the neighbouring provinces, went and besieged *Tazd*. *Timûr* also sent thither the *Mîrza Pîr Mehemed*, son of *Jebân Gbîr*, with considerable troops; who gave two assaults each day, yet could not reduce the place by force: but, after a long siege, in which 30,000 died of famine, the enemy dug their way out under the ditch. However, being pursued, their leader *Mehemed* was killed near *Mehrijerd* (*); while some of his followers were slain, and the rest burnt alive. *Timûr*, pitying the poor inhabitants, forgave the arrears of taxes; and put their city which had been ruined by the rebels, in a flourishing condition again^a.

* Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 514—524. c. 60—64.

(*) A city of *Khorassân*, otherwise called *Mehrejân* and *Esferayn*. *La Croix*.

CHAPTER IV.

Timûr invades and conquers Hindustân.

Timûr returns.

TIMUR, being arrived at *Soliâniya*, released Soltân *Aysa*, prince of *Mardin*, and restored him to his territories. He next marched to *Hamadân*, and then sent troops to *Nabawend* (in *Persîân Irâk*), against *Beblûl*, who had slain the generous Amîr *Meziâd Berlâs*, governor of that city, and revolted. Those forces, having, with abundance of fatigue, taken the place, cut in pieces all the rebels who defended it, and burnt their ringleader alive; the Amîrs, who commanded at the siege, were afterwards ordered to exterminate the robbers of *Lorestân*; and then march to the *Persian* gulf, and bring under his obedience all the maritime places, as far as the borders of *Harmûz*, or *Ormûz*; which they at length effected. *Timûr*, after hunting in the plain of *Hamadân*, disbanded his army; and, *July* the 30th, set out for *Samarkant*, marching in one day as far as others would in three or four. Having passed through *Verami* (*) and *Bestam* (†), he entered *Khorassân*, of which he made the Amîr *Allah-dâd* inspector-general. Then crossing the *Jibûn* in boats, at *Amûya*, he went to his palace of *Ak-saray*, in *Kash*; where, after receiving the compliments of all the great lords of divers provinces, who came to congratulate his return, he made a solemn feast; and then went to *Samarkant*, where he was joyfully received, and made another feast. After this, he gave the *Sharîfs*, and men of letters, part of the spoil he had brought home; punished bad governors, against whom complaints were made, putting some to death; and exempted all the subjects of his empire from taxes for three years.

Fine palace built.
Hej. 799.
A. D. 1397.

Shâh Rûkh made king.

In spring 799, *Timûr* ordered the palace of *Bâghi-shemâl* to be built, in a garden to the north (A) of *Samarkant*, by the most skilful architects of *Pârs* and *Baghdâd*. It had a pavilion at each of the four corners; and the walls were painted in fresco, with such art, as surpassed the works of *Artenk Mânî* (B), several of whose pieces *Timûr* was possessed of. The court was paved with marble; and the bottom of the walls, both within and without, were covered with porcelain. When the whole was finished, *Timûr* ordered a royal feast, with sumptuous banquets, plays, and diversions; at which he invested his fourth son, the *Mîrza Shâb Rûkh Bahâdr*, sovereign and absolute prince of the kingdoms of *Khorassân*, *Sîstân*, and *Mazânderân*, as far as *Firûzkûh*, and the city of *Ray*: deeming *Khorassân*, by its situation, fittest for the seat of his kingdom, as lying between the two empires of *Irân* and *Tûrân* (of which he was master). Then, having appointed Amîrs and generals to command under him, he tenderly embraced, and, having kissed his eyes and forehead, dismissed him. The new king crossed the *Jibûn* in *June*; and, arriving at *Herât*, chose for his residence the palace of *Bâgh-zaghân*, that is, *the Garden of Crows*; where, the 25th of *September*, he had a son born, whom the emperor, his father, named *Bayfankar*^a.

^a Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 524—534, c. 64—68.

(*) A town of *Kâhestân* (in *Irâk*), in the territory of *Reja*. *La Croix*.—By *Reva* (or *Reja*) he seems to mean *Rey*, or *Ray*. It is mentioned in the journal of the *Persian* merchant taken from *Ramusio*, by *Hakluyt*, Vol. i. p. 337. and placed six days journey from *Kashân*, in the road to *Herât*, fifteen days distant.

(†) Or *Basâm*, a town of *Kermân*, south of *Mazânderân*.

(A) *Bâghi-shemâl* signifies *the Garden of the North*.

(B) The most eminent painter of *China* and *Persia*. *La Croix*.

- a MEAN time the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân*, marching by *Darabjerd* (C) and *Taroin* (D), went *Ha mûz con-* to *Harmûz* (or *Ormûz*), where he was met by troops which had taken different routes. At the first onset, they reduced the seven fortresses, which are the bulwarks of that kingdom; whose sovereign, *Mehemed Shâb* (E), was obliged to retire to *Jerom*, where he was constrained to make peace, swearing to pay an annual tribute of 600,000 dinârs. When the Mîrza was on his return to *Shîrâz*, a person named *Jumâlo'ddîn*, a native of the mountain of *Firuzkûh*, who rode at the side of his horse, struck him with a knife, but only wounded him slightly. The villain, thinking to escape, got up to the ridge of the mountain; but, stumbling as he ran, fell into a precipice and was killed. This prince, having finished the campaign, returned to the court at *Samarkant*: where *Timûr*, at this time, made several rich presents to *Shâma* b *Jebân*, son of *Kezer Kojâ Aglen* (king of *Jetab*); and sent him to his father, accompanied by *Kayâso'adin Terkhân*, to demand his sister, *Tukel Khânûm*, in marriage.

At the same time he built a magnificent palace in the midst of the garden, called *Bagh-e Diler-sha* (F), just then finished, in the plain of *Khâni Gheul*, without *Samarkant*, and gave it the name of his new mistress (G). This palace was square; each side 1500 cubits long; and, in the middle of each, a very high gate. The edifice was three storeys high, and the rooms exceeding lofty. The ceilings were adorned with flowers in *Mosaic* work, and the walls covered with porcelain of *Kashân*. It was adorned with all the beauties that could be devised; built exceeding strong; and surrounded with a colonade of marble, which gave it a majestic aspect. The garden was most elegantly laid out in parterres, wildernesses, and allées, bordered c with sycamores, and delicious fruit-trees. At each of the four corners stood a very lofty pavilion, covered with porcelain tinged with very delicate shadowings, and ranged with admirable skill.

AFTER this, the emperor departed for *Tâshkunt*, visiting, in his way, the tomb of Sheykh *Timûr mar-* *Abmed*; and, when winter was over, hearing that the princess was on the road, all the ladies *ie:* and Amîrs of the court were sent on horseback, sixteen days journey, to meet her. Having *Hij. 800.* met her, they sprinkled gold and precious stones on her head; did her all the honour due to *A. D. 1398.* a great queen; and, making magnificent feasts at every orda they arrived at, brought her at length to *Timûr*. Then he gave orders for a grand feast; and, commanding the chief Mufti, the Kâzis, and doctors of the law, to come before him, they married him according to the d *Mohammedan* rites.

ABOUT this time ambassadors arrived from *Tamgûz Khân*, emperor of *Katay* (H), with very curious presents, and were soon dismissed. *Timûr* then appointed the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân*, *Embassy from* governor of the frontiers of *Mogulestân*, with orders to build a fortress there, at the town of *Ashira*, and 40,000 horse under his command. After this, in the beginning of spring, he left *Chinas*, and came to *Samarkant*: from thence he went to *Kash*. On the road, five leagues from the first city, there is a mountain, out of which springs a river; and, this being an agreeable place, the emperor ordered a great garden to be made there; and, on the top of a rock, in the middle of it, a pleasure-house to be built, to which he gave the name of *Tâkt Karâche*, that is, *the Black Throne* b.

c AFTER the death of *Fîrûz Shâb* (I), emperor of *India*, *Mellû Khân* and *Sarenk*, two brothers, who had been his generals, placed his grandson *Soltân Mahmûd* on the throne; but, at the same time, usurping the sovereign power themselves, *Mellû* resided at *Deli* (K), near *Mahmûd*, and *Sarenk* at *Mûltân* (L). On this occasion, *Timûr*, being persuaded by *Timûr Kojâ*, son of *Akbûga*, to invade *India*, ordered the Mîrza *Pîr Mehemed*, son of *Jebân Ghîr*, who had been established in the provinces of *Îrân* bordering thereon, to march into that country with his forces, and make conquests there. They began with plundering the *Ugâns* (or *Aug-wâns*) who inhabited the mountain of *Soleymân Kûb*. Then, passing the *Indus*, invetted *Uchâb* (*), and also laid siege to *Mûltân*; which last place they attacked without intermission, with two assaults every day. *Timûr* received this news with joy; and, as he resolved to carry

b Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 534—542. c. 64—70.

(C) A city of *Fârs*, or *Pârs*, where they find salt of all colours: in the midst of the town is a hill of freestone. *La Croix*.

(D) A city of *Fârs*, near *Seyrjân* (or *Sirjân*). *La Croix*.

(E) This prince is not mentioned among the kings of *Harmûz*, or *Ormûz*, whose history, from *Teixeira*, will be given hereafter. *Jerom*, or *Jerân*, is the island of *Ormûz*; but the fortresses were on the continent of *Persia*.

(F) That is, *the garden which rejoices the heart*.

(G) It was the custom to dedicate palaces to ladies.

(H) Or *Kitay*; by which is to be understood *China* in general: altho' *Kitay* properly included only the pro-

vinces to the north of the *Whang-lo*. The emperor designed by *Tamgûz* was *Hong-wu*, founder of the family of the *Ming*, *Ta-ming*, or *Tay-ming*, who died the year after.

(I) He was probably of the family of *Gauri*, or *Gowar*, who reigned in *Gâzua* of *Khorâsân*, and in *Hindûstân*, and succeeded that of the *Gâzvi* in the year 1155.

(K) Called also *Delli*, or, more properly, *Dehli*. It was then, as it is now, the capital of *Hindûstân*, or the *Mogol's* empire; and consisted of three towns, *Sari*, *Jebân-pena* and *Old Dehli*.

(L) A city situated on the river *Ravi*.

(*) A city to the north of *Mûltân*. *La Croix*.

his arms as far as *China*, in order to root out infidels, he determined, to merit the glory of the Gâzi (M), to march into *India* in person: for, altho' *Mohammedism* was professed in *Debli*, and many other cities of that empire, yet the greater part of the provinces was inhabited by idolaters. With this view, therefore, in *March* he set forward with his army, composed of many nations, but mostly *Tatars*; and, having passed the *Jibûn* at *Termed*, took the road of *Aznik* and *Semenkân*; then crossed the mountains of *Barkalân*, and encamped at *Anderâb*.

Attacks Ketûer,

THE inhabitants of this place having complained that the idolaters of mount *Ketûer*, and the *Siapûshes* (N), exacted excessive sums of the *Mohammedans*, under the denomination of tribute; and that, on failure of payment, they slew the men, and made slaves of the women and children, *Timûr* marched against them. Being arrived at *Perjân* (O), he sent the *Mîrza Rûstem* to be left, with 100,000 men, against the *Siapûshes*; and, following his road, came to *Kaïk* (P), where he found a demolished citadel, which he caused to be rebuilt. The Amîrs began to ascend the mountain *Ketûer*, with great fatigue; and, as the infidels dwelt in narrow passages and precipices, and the roads to them were covered with snow, when they got to the top, some of them, as well as the soldiers, descended by ropes, while others slid down the snow. They made a sort of raft for *Timûr*, and let it down by ropes 150 cubits long, fastened to rings; and, when he got so far, they dug a place in the snow for him to stand on. They let him down five times in this manner, before he reached the foot of the mountain. Some of his horses were let down by swathes; but only two got safe; the rest, for want of care, fell headlong, and perished. Then he took a staff in his hand, and walked a good way; after which, mounting his horse, the army followed on foot^c.

with great difficulty,

and the Siapûshes.

THE infidels of this country, who all go naked, are strong men, and large as giants. Their kings are named *Oda* and *Odashûb*: they have a peculiar language, which is neither *Persian*, *Turkish*, nor *Indian*; so that, but for their neighbours, who serve for interpreters, they could neither understand, nor be understood. They had a citadel, at whose foot a great river passes, with a bridge over it; and beyond the river was a high mountain: but, on *Timûr*'s approach, they fled, with their effects, to the top of this mountain, imagining it to be inaccessible: but the *Jagatays* soon got up, with the loss of fourteen, who fell from the top headlong; and attacked the enemy on all sides. The fight lasted three nights with unheard-of obstinacy: but at length the infidels, after the loss of great numbers of men, begged quarter. It was granted, on condition that they submitted, and turned *Mohammedans*; which they did on the fourth day: but, at night, having put to the sword an intire regiment, except a very few, the whole army got upon the mountain; and, following *Mohammed*'s precept to spare the women, cut to pieces all the old and young men; then raised towers of their heads, and left a marble engraved with the history of this action.

Destroys them.

MEAN time the *Siapûshes*, on the approach of the *Mîrza Rûstem* and *Burbân Aglen*, left their fortresses, and retired to the mountains; where they lay in ambuscade, in a very narrow passage. These, when the *Jagatays* passed by, issued forth; and, falling suddenly on them, *Burbân Aglen*, thro' great cowardice, threw off his coat of mail, and fled without fighting; which caused the defeat of his troops, and slaughter of many men. It happened that, at this instant, *Mehemed Azâd*, sent as a reinforcement by *Timûr*, met the *Siapûshes* on their return; and, after a sharp fight, intirely defeated them. He then went to join *Burbân Aglen* with the horse which had fled; but could not prevail on him to remain there all night: for he got to the top of the mountain, whither he was followed by his troops. *Burbân* was the only prince of the family of *Kayât* (Q), who, since *Jenghîz Khân*, had committed the like infamous action. This general had indeed done the same in the war of the *Uzbeks*: but *Timûr* had not only pardoned, but continued to honour him; and had sent him on this expedition to retrieve his credit.

Punishes cowardice.

WHEN these two generals had rejoined the imperial army at *Kaïk*, *Timûr* would not admit *Burbân Aglen* into his presence. He treated him with scorn, as he met him by chance; and, to shew his infamy, said: "The korân assures us, that twenty zealous *Mussulmâns* are able to conquer 200 infidels; and yet *Burbân*, at the head of 10,000 men, fled from a handful of unbelievers. He then declared him criminal; and, as a mark of disgrace, banished him the court. On the other hand, he gave rich presents, and the command of a regiment, to *Meke-med Azâd*; who, with only 400 men, had, on foot, stood his ground against the vanquishers

^c Hist. Tim. Bek, l. iv. c. 1—3. p. 1—10.

(M) That is, a religious war, like the crusade of the *Romanists*; or it signifies one who conquers in such wars.

(N) *Ketûer*, or *Ketover*, is a mountain in the kingdom of *Badâghshân*, in the east part of *Great Bukhâria*. The *Siapûshes* are an idolatrous nation, cloathed in black, inhabiting the mountains south of *Badâghshân*. *La Croix*.

(O) A town of *Badâghshân*, two days journey from *Anderâb*, near the *Siapûshes*. *La Croix*.

(P) Or *Kaïk*; a town at the foot of mountain *Ketûer*. *La Croix*.

(Q) *Jenghîz Khân* was himself of this stock.

a of *Burhân*, flushed with victory, and slain a great number of them. After this, the *Mîrza Shâh Rukh* departed from *Kaûk* for *Herât*; and *Timûr* marched to *Tulle* (R): then crossed the mountain *Hendû Kesb*; passed by *Penjebîr* (S), and encamped in the country of *Barân*, five leagues from *Kâbul*: where he caused a great canal, called *Mabighâr*, to be made, five leagues in length, on which afterwards were built many large villages^d.

MEAN time there arrived in the camp ambassadors from several princes, particularly *Kezzer* *Embassies from* *Koja Aglen*, king of *Jetab*, to assure *Timûr* of their obedience. *Tayzi Aglen* (*), who, for *princes* some difference between him and the Khân, at *Olug-yûrt* (T), fled from the kingdom of *Kalmûk* (U), came also hither for protection, and was received with great honour. Nor was the Amîr *Sheykh Nûro'ddîn* less welcome; who brought with him an immense treasure, the revenues of *Persia*, and presents of an inestimable value. At this time *Mâlek Mehemed*, brother to *Lesbker Shâh*, an *Ugân* (or *Augwân*), complained to *Timûr*, that *Mûssa*, prince of the *Kerkes*, had killed his brother, who was an officer of the emperor, had ruined *Irjâb* (W), pillaged his tenants, and robbed on the great roads. *Timûr* ordered *Mâlek* to conceal himself, while he sent for *Mûssa* to court; who was received with marks of honour by his majesty, and ordered to rebuild *Irjâb*. *Mûssa* went back to obey the order; and, when the work was finished, the emperor marched thither.

As he designed to put to death *Mûssa* and his accomplices, he commanded the guards not to suffer any of them to re-enter the town, after once they went out. Nor was this order given without good reason: for, *September* 16th, *Timûr* having taken horse, to view the place, accompanied by many princes and generals on foot, he was perceived by seven of *Mûssa's* labourers, from an upper window of a house behind one of the gates: who let fly at him, with design to kill him: but the whiz of the arrow only startled his horse. *Timûr*, upon this, went into the city at another gate; and immediately caused *Mûssa* and his partisans to be seized: 200 of whom, with their chief, he delivered to *Mâlek Mehemed*; who, assisted by three of his servants, cut off their heads, to revenge his brother's death, and made a tower of them. His subjects were plundered; and the women, children, and goods, of those tyrants, given to indemnify the people of *Irjâb*; which principality was bestowed on *Mâlek*.

SEPTEMBER 17th, *Timûr* marched toward *Shenuzân*, where he encamped, after passing several forests and mountains. The 20th, he arrived at the fortress of *Nagaz*, which had been newly rebuilt by his order. Here being informed, that the nation of *Pervians*, a kind of *Ugâns* (or *Augwâns*), infested the roads, he entered the mountains; and, in three days, came up with, and cut them to pieces, burnt their dwellings, and carried off their children and effects. Mean time the Amîr *Soleymân Shâh* treated the *Kelatians*, another nation of the *Ugâns*, very strong and numerous, in the same manner: but the *Ubel*, a third branch of the same people, came; and, submitting, were loaded with favours. The first day of the year 801 Hej. 801. (*September* 30), *Timûr* departed for *Banû*; then marching from thence, *October* 7th arrived at the *Indûs*, in the very place where *Soltân Jalâlo'ddîn*, king of *Karazm*, swam over that river, in sight of *Jenghîz Khân*. The emperor crossed it on a bridge of boats. At this place he dismissed the ambassadors of the foreign princes: among the rest, was one from the Sharifs of *Mekka* and *Medina*, who courted a visit from them, and desired his protection (X). Likewise the ambassador of *Eskânder Shâh*, prince of *Kashmîr* (Y), who offered obedience; and was ordered to meet the emperor at *Dipalpûr*, a town of *India*^e.

TIMUR, having passed the *Indus* with his army, encamped at the entrance of the great desert of *Jerû*, which is called *Chol Jalâli*, from *Jalâlo'ddîn's* taking shelter in it. Here the *Râjas* of the mountain *Kûb Jûd* (south-east of *Kashmîr*) came to submit themselves; and, as they had been kind to his troops some months before, they were very well received. When he arrived at the river *Jamâd* (Z), *October* 13th, he ordered *Sheykh Nûro'ddîn* to attack an island therein, fortified with a ditch and walls, belonging to prince *Shahâbo'ddîn Mobârek*; who, after submitting to the *Mîrza Pîr Mehemed Jebân Ghîr*, in his way to *Mûltân*, had revolted.

^d Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 10—19. c. 3—5.

^e Ibid. p. 19—28. c. 5—9.

(R) A little town of *Badâghân*. *La Croix*.

(S) Commonly called *Penjîr* (or *Benghîr*), at the foot of the mountains of *Kashmîr*, to the west. *Abû'l-feda* says, there are two silver mines here. *La Croix*.

(*) Called *Eichi Timûr Khân*, p. 434. This happened twenty years after the *Mungl Khân*, being driven out of *Chîng*, re-settled at *Karakorum*.

(T) That is, the *Great Orda*; it stands near *Karakorum*, capital of *Kalmûk*, and is the residence of the kings of *Kalmûk*, or rather of the *Mogul Khâns*. *La Croix*.

(U) A kingdom, formerly called *Karakitay*, in *Mogulstân*, north of the kingdom of *Gerge*, or *Lyau-tong*. *La Croix*.—This is a very confused account: yet seems

to intimate that the *Moguls*, or *Mungls*, in the east of *Tartary*, went then by the nickname of *Kalmûks*, or *Kalmûks*; given them, doubtless, by the *Mohammedan Tatars* or *Mungls*.

(W) A city four days journey distant, towards *India*. *La Croix*.

(X) They offered to declare *Timûr* *Khalifah*, altho' *Bayezid* was invested with that high dignity. *La Croix*.

(Y) A province of *India*, whose capital is *Nagar*. *La Croix*.

(Z) A river near the *Indus*; it is the continuation of the *Dendana*, which comes from *Kashmîr*. *La Croix*.

The Amîr, with his Tomân, entering the river, a most furious battle was fought. Then *Shir-bâbo'ddin* came with 10,000 men to attack the *Jagatays* in the rear, during the night; but, after several vigorous onsets, were defeated by *Sheykh Nûro'ddin*. On this, prince *Mobârrek* fled, with his domestics, in 200 flat-bottomed boats, down the *Jamâd*, to *Ucha*. Passing on from thence towards *Mûltân*, the passage was obstructed by *Soleyman Shâh*, at the head of the scouts of *Pîr Mehemed* and the *Mîrza Shâh Râkb*; who, seizing the boats, cut them to pieces, while the unfortunate prince, casting his wife and children into the river, half-dead, gained the bank; and fled, with many of his subjects, into the woods; where, being pursued, great numbers were slain, and their goods pillaged.

and other prin-
ces.

AFTER this success, the army marched five or six days along the *Jamâd*, and encamped at a fortress where that river and the *Jenave* (A) join, with waves resembling the troubled ocean: however, *Timûr* ordered a bridge to be built over it; which is the first to be met with in history, made across this river: for *Tumeshîrîn Khân* (B), who formerly passed it, was obliged to swim over. The emperor, having crossed the united stream, went to encamp over-against the town of *Tûlonba*, thirty-five gûrûh (C), or miles, from *Mûltân*: then passing the river of that town, taxed it at two millions of crowns, part of which was paid; but, the inhabitants making a difficulty of paying the rest, the soldiers, in the night, sacked the place, burnt the houses, and made slaves of the people, the *Sharîfs* and doctors only excepted. November the 5th he left *Tûlonba*; and, next day, encamped by a deep lake, situate on the side of the river *Biab* (D), within sight of *Shanawaz*, a great and populous city. He then marched against *Nûfrit*, brother of *Sheykh Kukeri*, who had surrounded the lake with a wall, and lay behind it with 2000 men: but they were soon defeated, and cut to pieces.

Mûltân taken.

AT *Shanawaz* the soldiers supplied themselves with corn: then setting fire to the granaries, November 10 went down the *Biab*, and crossed it over-against the town of *Jenjân*. Next day, the *Mîrza Pîr Mehemed* came from *Mûltân*, forty miles distant, to the imperial camp. That city having been reduced to eat dead bodies, after a six months siege, *Sarenk* the governor was obliged to fly; so that the prince quickly took it: but, having lost most of his horses by a mortality caused by an inundation, the *Rajâhs* of the country revolted, and advanced in the night to the very walls of *Mûltân*; till, on advice of *Timûr*'s approach, they withdrew. The army left *Jenjân* the 15th, for *Shûâl*; the 18th came to *Aswân* (E), and at length to *Jebawl* (F). The 21st he arrived at *Ajûdân*; and next day, crossing the *Dena*, encamped on the hill of *Kaleskuteli*, ten miles from *Ajûdân*, and fifty from *Batnîr*; at which place he arrived the 23d, after crossing the great desert. *Batnîr* is a city, with a fortress, the strongest and most noted in all *India*, situate in a desert out of the common road. The inhabitants have no water, excepting from a great lake near the gate of the town, which is never filled but in times of inundations. Hither the inhabitants of *Dipalpûr*, *Ajûdân*, and other places, fled for refuge in such numbers, that, the place not being large enough to contain all their cattle and effects, great part of both were left without the town^f.

Batnîr fortress.

Batnîr surren-
ders.

THESE the soldiers, on their arrival, seized, and immediately marched up to *Batnîr*; where *Rawdûljîn* the governor reigned as sovereign, and resolved to resist, having had a great many soldiers and domestics about him. The out-parts and suburbs were taken, at the first attack, with great slaughter of the *Indians*: they took also the counterscarp, and then assaulted the town. *Rawdûljîn* posted himself at the gate, with the bravest of his soldiers: but, being vigorously attacked several times by the *Jagatays*, when they were on the point of gaining the place, he demanded quarter, promising to repair next day to the camp. However, not keeping his word, they began to sap the walls with such resolution, that the *Indian* prince submitted, and was honourably received. Five hundred of the inhabitants of *Dipalpûr* were put to the sword, for having treacherously slain *Messafer Kâbuli*, and 1000 horsemen: part likewise of the people of *Ajûdân*, who had abandoned *Timûr*, were slain; and the rest made prisoners, after being plundered. These executions so frightened *Kemâlo'ddin*, brother of *Rawdûljîn*, that he shut the gate of the town: but soon opened it again, on the approach of the *Jagatays*.

Great slaughter
there.

HOWEVER, as among the *Râjas*, and other chiefs, disputes arose, about the tax for saving the people's lives, which could not be terminated without commotions, *Timûr*, in a passion, ordered that this rabble should be put to the sword, and the houses of the infidels razed.

^f Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 28—40. c. 9—14.

(A) *Jenave*, or *Chenave*, which falls into the *Ravi*, above *Mûltân*.

(B) Descended from *Jenghîz Khân*: he conquered *India* in 1240. *La Croix*.—This must be some mistake. *Tumeshîrîn Khân*, Khân of *Jagatay*, who seems to be the prince here meant, died in 1336.

(C) *Gûrûh*, as the *Indians* call the measure of three

miles, makes a *farseng*, *parseng*, or *Persian* league. *Sharîfo'd*. Hist. Tim. Bek. l. iv. c. 14. p. 40.

(D) Or *Biyah*, near *Lahor*; it falls into the *Ravi*. *La Croix*.

(E) Towns south of the *Biab*. *La Croix*.

(F) A town between *Lahor* and *Dipalpûr*, south of the *Biab*. *La Croix*.

a The soldiers having scaled the walls, and entered the place sword in hand, the ghebrs and idolaters set fire to their own houses, casting their wives, children, and goods into the flames; and the *Mohammedans* cut the throats of theirs. This done, the men, uniting, who were exceeding strong and courageous, fought in a most cruel and obstinate manner, slaying many of the *Jagatays*. The Amîr Sheykh *Nûro'ddîn* also, rushing into the midst of the enemy, was with difficulty rescued out of their hands. At length, victory declaring for the besiegers, they slew 10,000 *Indians*, burnt their houses, and ruined the walls of the town^s.

AFTER the ruin of *Batnîr*, *Timûr* departed November 30 for *Dehli*, capital of *India*. Hav- Comes to Je-
ing passed by the castle of *Firûz*, with the towns of *Serefti*, *Fâtabâd*, *Rejebowr*, and *Abrûni*; hân Nûmay.
on the 5th of *December* he came to the village of *Tûbene*, in a country inhabited by *Getes*,
b who robbed and murdered on the highway. At his approach, they fled; but, being pursued, 2000 of them were cut off. Next day, having passed the castle of *Munek*, he entered the deserts and woods where the *Getes* had retired, and slew 2000 more. Then, passing by the town of *Semâne*, he came to the river *Kekker*, which he crossed, over the bridge of *Fâlkubl*; where he was joined by the soldiers of the left wing, commanded by *Soltân Mahmud Khân*, who had taken another road. From thence he marched to *Kuteyl*, seventeen miles from *Semâne*; then to *Affendi*, seventeen farther; and, five more, to *Toklukpûr*: the inhabitants of which city, called *Sûlûn*, held two principles; one the author of good, the other of evil. They fled on the approach of the army; who burnt their houses, and then marched twelve miles to *Panipar*. At length, *December* 24, they arrived at *Jebân Numay* (G), a palace built by *Soltân Firûz Shâh*, on the top of a mountain, two leagues from *Dehli*, at the foot of which runs the great river *Jawn* (H).

TIMUR went then to the town of *Lûni*, situated between the two rivers of *Jawn* and *Hilen*; Most cruel
which latter *Firûz Shâh* cut from the river of *Kalini*, which unites with the *Jawn* near the city Lutchery.
of *Firûzabâd*. *Lûni* was taken in one day; and all the ghebr inhabitants put to the sword, but the *Mohammedans* were spared. Next morning the emperor went to *Jebân Numay*, to see that palace, and from thence pitch on a place for battle: after which, he encamped to the east of *Lûni*; where the *Shâh Zâde*, or emperor's children, and the Amîrs who had been making incursions, joined him. Here he harangued them upon the art of fighting battles; of breaking the enemy's ranks; and rallying one's own troops after a defeat. The army, since
d they passed the *Indus*, having made a vast number of *Indians* captives, mostly ghebrs and idolaters, it was feared, that, in any obstinate battle, they would join with the people of *Dehli*; *Timûr*, therefore, ordered, that they, who had any *Indian* slaves, should put them to death: in consequence of which, in less than one hour, more than 100,000 were put to death^h.

TIMUR set out for *Dehli*, *December* 30th: and, when the astrologers disputed about the His forces ap-
aspects of the planets, he told them, that fortune did not depend on the stars, but on the proach
Creator of them; and that, when he had once formed his designs with proper care, he would not delay the execution of them one moment, to wait for a lucky time. Yet he consulted the *Korân*, and met with a favourable answer (I); which ensured him of victory, and encouraged the whole army. *January* the first (1399) he crossed the *Jawn*, and encamped on the other
e side. The 3d he drew up his army in order of battle; giving the command of the right wing to the *Mîrza Pîr Mehemed Jebân Ghîr*: the left wing was led by the *Mîrzas Soltân Hussayn* and *Kalîl Soltân*: the rear was put under the conduct of the *Mîrza Rûstem*: and the main body was commanded by *Timûr* himself.

THE enemy marched likewise in order of battle. Their right wing was brought up by the Indian
Taji Khân, *Mîr Ali Kojâ*, and other *Indian* princes: the left had for its leaders *Mâlek Moy-* army.
noddîn, and others: and the main body was commanded by *Soltân Mahmûd Khân*, emperor of *India*; who had *Mellû Khân* for his lieutenant-general. This army consisted of 10,000 horse, well equipped; and 40,000 foot, armed to advantage. Besides several elephants of war, armed with cuirasses, having between their long teeth great poisoned daggers; and on their backs
f wooden towers, in form of bastions, filled with cross-bow-men and archers; on the side of the elephants marched those who flung fire and melted pitch, with rockets armed at the end with iron, which gave several blows one after another, where-ever they fell.

THE *Jagatays* were not much disturbed about the *Indian* army: but they had conceived Fear the ele-
strange notions of the elephants, which they had never seen before. They imagined that the phants.
arrow and sword could not pierce their bodies: that they were so strong as to overthrow trees,

^s Hist. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. p. 40—44.

^h Ibid. p. 44—54. c. 15—19.

(G) That is, *the mirror of the world*, because of its fine prospect.

(H) Or *Juengo*.

(I) If *Timûr* was free from one superstition, like many

others, he was guilty of another; nay, could flatter himself with having the favour of God, just after destroying, in cold blood, 100,000 of his creatures at once.

by only shaking the earth, as they passed along: that they could shove down the firmest buildings: and that, in battle, they would toss both man and horse to a vast height in the air. This dispirited many in the camp; so that, when the posts were fixed for the officers and lords of the court, *Timûr*, who always shewed respect to men of learning, asked those near his person, what posts they would chuse. Several of these doctors, frightened at what they had read and heard of elephants, answered immediately, "If it please your majesty, we chuse to be near the ladies."

The battle begins.

TIMUR, to guard against this panic, ordered a rampart of bucklers to be made before the ranks, with a ditch before that: he likewise caused buffaloes to be tied neck and heels, then placed close together; with bushes between and on their heads. There were, besides, stakes prepared, with three-pronged forks at the ends: so that, when the elephants advanced, they were to be planted in their way; and the brambles to be set on fire, to put those animals in disorder. When the two armies were in view, *Timûr* got upon an eminence, near the hill of *Pûshṭey Bṭhâli*, from thence to observe their motions; and as soon as the fight began, he fell on the ground, often bowing, to beg for victory. While he was at prayers, there happened, says our author, a strange accident: for the Amîrs of the rear imagined, that, if the emperor should send recruits from the main body, either to the right wing or the rear, it would be a certain token of victory. Now this the emperor actually did: which so encouraged the *Jagatays*, that the *Indians* were constrained to give ground, and the elephants suffered themselves to be driven like oxen.

The Indians defeated.

So hot a battle never was seen, nor so frightful a noise of warlike instruments heard, before. At length, *Timûr's* van-guard, perceiving that of the enemy advance, retired behind the right wing, to lie in ambush till they had passed by, and then fell on them with fury, killing in an instant four or five hundred men. The *Mîrza Pîr Mehmed*, at the head of the van-guard of the right wing, assisted by the Amîr *Soleymân Shâb*, attacked the left of the *Indians* with so much conduct, that he drove them beyond the basin of *Havîskas* (K); then, falling on the elephants, forced them to enter the ranks of the same wing, and cause a farther disorder. Mean time the left wing of the *Jagatays* repulsed the right of the enemy, with great slaughter, as far as the city-gate. Then the main body of the latter, sustained by the elephants, advanced in good order against the rear of the former, and began a most bloody battle; in which *Sheykh Mûro'ddîn*, and the other Amîrs, behaved with great valour, overthrowing the castles on the backs of the elephants, and cutting off the trunks of those animals, with great slaughter of the *Indians*, so that at length they turned their backs; and *Soltân Mahmûd*, with his head general *Mellû* (or *Mellow*) *Kbân*, fled into the city.

The city invested.

THEN *Timûr*, spurring his horse towards the gate of *Dehli*, carefully examined the fortifications. On his return, the *Mîrza Kalîl Soltân*, who commanded the left wing, though but fifteen years of age, brought him one of the elephants bound with ropes, whose guards he had overthrown, after mauling the animal with his sword. *Timûr*, on this sight, burst into tears of joy. Was it not surprising, says our author, that this great prince should at this time have so tender a heart, who, on some occasions, could exercise extraordinary severities? Mean time *Soltân Mahmûd* and his general, not thinking themselves safe in *Dehli*, left it at midnight, and retired into the deserts. Several Amîrs being sent in pursuit of them, they brought back the prince *Sayf Kbân*, surnamed *Mâlek Sharîfo'ddîn*, and the prince *Kodadâd*, son of *Mellû Kbân*. The Amîr *Alabdâd* seized the gates by which the princes fled, and guarded the others, that no one might escape.

and surrendered.

JANUARY the fourth, *Timûr* erected his standard on the walls of *Dehli*; and, going to the city-gate, sat on the *avjâb*, or throne, whereon the *Indian* emperors sit in their royal robes, on the great feast-day. This gate is in the quarter of *Jebân Penâb*, over-against the basin of *Havîskas*, where the army was then encamped. There *Fadhlallah Bâkshi*, *Mellû Kbân's* lieutenant, at the head of the whole divân of *Dehli*, the Sharîfs, Kadis, and principal inhabitants, came to make their submission, and begged for mercy. The elephants and rhinoceros's themselves came and fell down before the emperor in an humble posture; and made a great cry, as if they demanded quarter. These war-elephants, 120 in number, were, at his return, sent to *Samarkant*, and to the provinces where his sons resided. Two were carried chained to *Tauris*, one to *Shîràz*, five to *Herât*, one to *Sheykh Ibrâhîm*, prince of *Shîrwân*, and one to the lord *Tabârten* at *Arzenjân*. After this, at the request of the court-lords, *Timûr* made a great feast; at which he distributed presents to the princes, and great officers.

Dehli described.

DEHLI at this time consisted of three cities (L), *Seyri*, *Old Dehli*, and *Jebân Penâb*. *Seyri* was surrounded with a wall, in form of a circle. *Old Dehli* was the same, but much larger,

(K) It is round, and above an arrow-shot in diameter. As, in any inundation, it is filled with water, it furnishes *Dehli* with water for a whole year: on its bank is the tomb of *Soltân Firûz Shâb*, who made it. *Sharîfo'ddîn*.

(L) This is as it was in the author's time: the present *Dehli* is a new city, built in a different place by *Jahâno'ddîn Akbar*, father of *Humâюн*, and called, from him, *Akbarâbâd*. *La Croix*.

- a lying south-west of the other : these two parts were joined on each side by a wall ; and the third, lying between them, was called *Jebân Penâb*, which was larger than *Old Dehli* : this last had ten gates : *Seyri* had seven ; three of which looked towards *Jebân Penâb*, which had thirteen gates, six to the north-west, and seven to the south-east. Every thing seemed to be in a quiet posture, when, *January 12*, the soldiers of *Timûr*, being assembled at the gate of *Dehli*, insulted the inhabitants of the suburbs. The great Amîrs were ordered to put a stop to these disorders : but their endeavours were not effectual. The Soltânas having a curiosity to see the rarities of *Dehli*, and particularly the famous palace adorned with 1000 pillars, built by *Mâlek Juna*, that antient king of *India*, they went in with all the court ; and the gate being left open, on that occasion, for every body, above 15,000 soldiers got in unperceived.
- b But there was a far greater number of troops in a large place between *Dehli*, *Seyri*, and *Jebân Penâb*, who committed great disorders in the two last places. This made the ghebrs, in despair, to fall on them ; and several of them, setting fire to their houses, burnt their wives and children. The *Jagatays*, seeing this confusion among the ghebrs, did nothing but pillage and burn their houses ; while the disorder was increased, by more troops let in, to seize the inhabitants of the neighbouring places, who had fled thither for shelter.

THE Amîrs, to put a stop to this mischief, caused the gates to be shut, to prevent more troops from entering : but the soldiers within opened them again, and rose in arms against their officers. So that the whole army being entered by the 13th, in the morning, this great and proud city was destroyed. Some soldiers carried out 150 slaves, men, women, and children : nay some of their boys had twenty slaves a piece to their share. The other spoils, in precious stones, jewels, plate, and manufactures, were innumerable : for the *Indian* women and girls were adorned with precious stones, and had bracelets and rings on their hands, feet, and even toes ; so that the soldiers were loaded with them. The 15th, in *Old Dehli* the *Indians* retired into the great mosk, to defend themselves : but the Amîr *Shâh Mâlek*, and *Ali Soltân*, entering it with 500 men, sent to the abyss of hell, says our good *Musulman* author, the souls of those infidels, of whose heads they erected towers. Never was such a terrible slaughter and devastation heard of. Several days were employed to make the inhabitants quit the city, which was plundered ; and as they went, the Amîrs took a number of them for their service. The artizans were also distributed amongst the princes and commanders : but the masons were all reserved for the emperor, in order to build him a spacious stone mosk at *Samarkant*.*

JANUARY 18th, *Timûr* decamped from *Dehli*, and marched down to *Firûzabâd*, three *Mirtha* *be-* miles distant from the *Jawn*. He stayed there to say a prayer in a stone mosk, and then went on to the other side of *Jebân Numay*, near *Wazîrabâd*, where he was presented with two white parrots, from *Babâdr Nebâr*, prince of *Kûtele*, who had submitted to his envoys. These birds lived ever since the reign of *Togluk Shâh*, and had been kept many years in the antechambers of the *Indian* emperors. From thence the army passing through *Mudâla*, beyond the *Jawn*, *Kete*, and *Bâghbûr*, a delightful garden, came to *Asâr*, situate between the rivers. These places are six miles asunder. *Timûr*, resolving to take the city of *Mirtha*, one of the most noted places of the empire, twenty miles from *Asâr*, marched thither, at the head of 10,000 men, in two days and one night. As the ghebrs refused to submit, he ordered the walls to be undermined ; and the workmen having, by the time it was night, advanced ten or fifteen cubits breadth towards each bastion and courtine, the besieged were so greatly surprised, that they desisted to defend themselves.

NEXT day, being the 26th, the Amîr *Allahdâd*, with his regiment of the *Kûchins*, named *the faithful*, having attacked the gate, *Sarray*, a young lad, one of his domestics, cast a net upon the battlement, and boldly mounted the walls. He was followed by *Rûstem Berlâs*, and a great many others, who rushed into the town. They bound *Elias Ugani*, and the son of *Mulâna Ahmed Tobânesâri*, governors of the place, whom they seized ; but the ghebr *Sefi*, one of its princes, was slain in the assault. They slay'd alive all the ghebrs, and made slaves of their wives and children. Every thing was burned, and the walls razed. All this was quickly done, although *Turmeshîrîn Khân*, a great emperor in *Asia*, could not make himself master of this town. On this occasion, *Timûr* gave a singular instance of his modesty : for when, in a kind letter, which he had ordered to be written to the inhabitants, he found these words, *Why do you compare us to Turmeshîrîn Khân ?* he reprimanded his secretary ; saying, *Turmeshîrîn was a greater lord than I, of stricter virtue, and better conduct* : and would not suffer the letter to be concluded.

THE same day, he marched six miles to *Mansûra* : and the 27th, eight farther to *Pirûz-nâr*, on the *Ganges* (M). He encamped five miles lower, not able to find a safe passage ;

* Hist. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. p. 54—62. c. 19—20.

* Ibid. p. 62—67.

(M) Which is called, in *Perfan*, *Darîya Konk*, or the sea of Konk.

though *Pir Mehemed*, several Amírs, and part of the army, swam over the river, yet not without great danger. From thence he went twenty miles farther to *Tokluk Púr*, on the *Ganges*, having, by the way, sent 50,000 horse against the ghebrs, who were gathered on its banks. Here he was seized with a very troublesome swelling in his arm; but it did not long continue. Mean time, a vast number of ghebrs, in forty-eight great flat-bottomed boats, having advanced towards the camp, he set out to meet them, with 1000 of his officers; several of whom spurred their horses into the water, and advancing, in spite of their arrows, entered their boats, and cut them in pieces. With these boats they attacked ten others, fastened together for better defence; but the *Jagatays* boarded them, and cut those who manned them in pieces.

by water and
land.

ON the 29th, *Timúr* left *Tokluk Púr*, and, a little after, crossed the *Ganges*, at an easy passage. He then advanced against *Mobârek Khân*, who, not far off, expected the *Jagatays*, with 10,000 horse. As the *Indians* were far more numerous, the two wings of the army being at a great distance, *Timúr* was in no small perplexity; but, just at that instant, 500 horse, who had crossed the river to make inroads, arrived, as if sent by heaven, says our author, to succour the emperor; who, after returning God thanks, sent the Amírs *Shâb Málek* and *Allâbdâd*, with 1000 horse, to attack the enemy. These thinking them to be only the van-guard of a great army just behind them, suddenly grew afraid, and fled into the woods; where they were pursued, and a great number put to the sword. The booty taken, with their wives and children, was considerable. At the same time, *Timúr* having received advice, that a great number of ghebrs were assembled in the defiles of *Kúpele*, to the east of the *Ganges*, he departed, with 500 horse. On his arrival at the mountains, he met a body of them, whom his Amírs soon routed: but, being left with only 100 of his guards, a ghebr, named *Mâlek Shейka*, fell briskly upon him, with the same number of men. However, *Timúr* shot him in the belly with an arrow, and then unhorsed him by a cut of his sword on the head, of which he presently died¹.

Defile of Ku-
pele.

Head of the
Ganges.

SOME time after, advice was brought, that a great many ghebrs were gathered in the defile of *Kupele*, two miles distant: and, though *Timúr* was in want of sleep, he marched thither, with some officers of his van-guard, through almost impassable woods; and, being joined by his son *Pir Mehemed*, they made a great slaughter of the enemy, from whom they took a considerable booty. Thus *Timúr* was in three battles the same day; which never happened to any prince before him. The defile of *Kupele* is situated at the foot of the mountain near the river springs (N). For this reason, the *Indians* adore that stone; and all the inhabitants within one day's journey turn towards it when they pray. As there yet remained a prodigious number of ghebrs in the mountains of *Kupele*, who possessed a great quantity of riches, cattle, and other effects, *January* 30, *Timúr* marched towards the defile, where the infidels were gathered: but, on his approach, they lost courage, and dispersed themselves through the mountains; whither being pursued, many of them were slain, and their goods carried away.

Mountain
Swâlek.

AFTER this, *Timúr* returned, and, crossing the *Ganges*, encamped five miles lower on that river. Then, being satisfied with having marched to the eastern borders of the empire of *India* in one campaign, and acquired the merit of the *Gâzi*, he resolved to return to his own dominions. With this view, the 31st of *January*, he left the *Ganges*. Next day, advice being brought, that a great number of *Indians* were assembled in *Swâlek*, one of the most considerable mountains of *India*, stretching over two thirds of that vast empire, *February* 4th, he departed for that mountain; where a *Râjah*, named *Behrûz*, had posted himself, with a great number of ghebrs, in a narrow passage: but the *Jagatays* falling suddenly upon them, they made but a weak defence: so that those who escaped the sword were taken prisoners, with their effects; which so loaded the army with spoil, that they could not march above four miles a day. The 5th, they came to *Bebre*, near *Bekeri*, commonly called *Meliapúr*.

cleared of
hebrs.

THE 8th, they crossed the *Jawn*, and encamped in another part of the mountain of *Swâlek*; where an infinite number of *Indians* being assembled, under one *Râjah Ratan*, *Timúr* marched all night, and next morning came up with them, between the mountains *Swâlek* and *Kúke*: but they fled, on his approach, into the woods, where a great many were slain. He continued his progress in the mountains for several days, slaying the *Indians*, and seizing their effects. In short, there were twenty battles fought in thirty days; during which time, seven of the most important places in all *India* for strength were conquered. They were one or two leagues asunder; and the inhabitants were always at variance among themselves. One of them,

¹ Hist. TIM. BEK, p 67—76, c. 21—24.

(N) This relation is contrary to late accounts, which place the head of the *Ganga*, or *Ganges*, a great way distant in *Tibet*: and it is observable, that our author

does not say that either *Timúr*, or any of his troops, were at the place to view it: so that what he delivers must be only from uncertain reports.

a by persuasion of the *Mohammedans* who lived there, submitted to *Timûr*: but when the tax for saving their lives was imposed on them, they made use of tricks, to avoid paying it. To enable them to do it with less reluctance, an *Amîr* proposed buying their old bows, which they sold at a good price. Then it was ordered, that forty ghebrs should be lifted in the service: but they would not consent; and slew several *Musulmans*. Upon this, the *Jagatays* treating them as enemies, besieged the place in form; which they took, and put 2000 ghebrs to the sword^m.

THE *Gâzis* on the mountains of *Swâlek* being finished, *Timûr* departed from *Manfar*, the *Reines Châ-Châmû*, whose inhabitants were valiant men, and their forests of difficult access; yet, on the army's approach, they abandoned the town, to be entered and pillaged by the soldiers. Mean time *Shâh Eskînder*, prince of *Kashmîr*, being arrived at *Jebbân*, in his way to the camp, and there informed, that the *Amîrs* of the *Diwân* had taxed him at 30,000 horses, and 100,000 *Darefts* of gold, each weighing two *Medikals* and one half, he returned, to collect the same. *Timûr*, on advice of this, disapproved of the order, which had laid on *Eskînder* a tax more than his little kingdom was worth; and sent to him to return in ten days to the bank of the *Indus*. The 15th, they encamped over-against *Châmû*, capital of the province of that name. Next day, *Timûr* entered the defile, from whence springs the river of *Châmû*, which the army had crossed several times. It is situated at the foot of a mountain, on the left side of the city *Châmû*, having on its right the town of *Menû*. It was inhabited by strong and tall *Indians*, who had intrenched themselves in almost inaccessible woods, upon a craggy mountain, with their king at their head, resolved to defend their lives.

Timûr judged it better to insnare them by artifice, than attack them in so dangerous a place. *His king taken.* He therefore ordered his troops to leave them, and go pillage *Menû*: they likewise entered *Châmû*, and brought away abundance of spoil. Then posting some regiments in the woods, departed with the cavalry. The 17th, he crossed the river *Châmû*, and encamped four miles from thence, on the side of the *Jenâve*, or *Jenaw*, in a plain four leagues long, full of pasturage. As soon as the army had quitted the defiles, the *Indians* came out of their mountain, to re-enter their houses; but were soon attacked by the ambuscade, who cut them in pieces, without giving any quarter, excepting the king, and fifty officers of consideration. On this success, *Timûr* blessed the Almighty, who had delivered the enemies of the faithful into their hands. Great care was taken of the king of *Châmû*, who had been wounded in the fight, in order to get more easily the money due for saving the lives of him and his people. This, joined to the discourses of those about him, concerning the *Mohammedan* religion, prevailed on him, when cured, to embrace that faith, and eat the flesh of oxen. Upon this, *Timûr* made a treaty with him, and received him under his protection.

MEAN time news arrived that the forces sent to *Labor*, or *Labâr*, had made themselves *Labor pil-* masters of that city, had actually received the ransom tax, and made *Shikay Kuker*, prince thereof, prisoner. This prince, at the beginning of the war, accompanied *Timûr* every-where, *laged.* and was in great favour: but, at length, leave being granted him to return to *Labor*, he shewed a disregard for the *Jagatays*; which drew on him *Timûr's* resentment, who ordered his country to be pillaged, and his person seized. March 20th, the emperor crossed the *Jenaw*, and encamped five miles from thence. Next day, the army crossed the river. The 22d, they passed the *Dandîna*. And the day following, *Timûr* ordered, that all the *Amîrs* of both wings, *The army dis-* the colonels of regiments, and the captains of companies, should return home, by the different *banded.* routes marked out for them. He then made presents to them, according to their rank and merit. He did the like to the lords of *India*, *Amîrs*, and *Shaiîfs*, who had accompanied him, and permitted them to return; assigning the government of the city and province of *Multân* to *Keder Khân*, who, imprisoned by *Sûrenk*, in the citadel, escaped, and fled first to *Abûdan*, a *Mohammedan*, king of *Biâna*, dependent on *Debli*; and then to *Timûr*, on his arrival in the countryⁿ.

THE 24th, the army encamped at *Jebbân*, a delightful residence, on the borders of *Kash-Kashmîr de-* *mîr*. This country is a principality, near *Hâk*, of an oval form, and surrounded on all sides *scribed.* by high mountains. To the south, it has the country of *Debli*; to the north, *Badâkshân* and *Khorassân*; to the west, the *Ugân* tribes; and to the east, *Tobbot*, or *Tibet*. According to the natives themselves, there are in this province 10,000 flourishing villages: but 'tis the common opinion, that, both in the mountains and plains, there are not fewer than 100,000. The flat country between the mountains is twenty leagues in breadth. The women are beautiful to a proverb among the *Persians*: the air and water very wholesome. They have vast quantities of good fruits: but the winter is hurtful, because of the abundance of snow. The summer fruits, as dates, oranges, and citrons, never come to maturity; but are brought from

^m Hist. TIM. BEK, p. 76—86. c. 24—28.ⁿ Ibid. p. 86—94. c. 28—30.

warmer countries. The prince resides at *Nagaz* (O), which is the centre, and capital of the whole. Through the middle of the city runs a river, as large as the *Tigris* at *Baghdád*, and is exceeding rapid, though formed from a single fountain in the same country, called the fountain of *Vir*. The inhabitants have crossed it by more than thirty bridges of boats, besides chains at the chief passages; seven of which bridges are in *Nagaz*. a

River and mountains.

WHEN this river has passed out of *Kashmír*, it takes different names, from the countries it washes, as *Dindana* and *Jamad*. Above *Multán*, it joins the *Jenave*, or *Jenaw*; and, having passed that city, falls into the *Rávi*, which runs by the other *Multán*. At length the river *Biab* joins them; and, near the town of *Ucha*, they all rush into the *Ab-send*, or *Indus*, which is lost in the sea of *Omman*, or *Arabia*, at the end of the country of *Tatta*. The mountains which surround *Kashmír*, serve as a fortification against enemies; and over them are three roads into it: that from *Khorassán* is so very difficult, that the inhabitants are obliged to carry the merchandizes, and other burdens, on their backs, with beasts of carriage: the road of *India* is equally difficult: that of *Tobbot*, *Tobt*, or *Tibbet*, is easiest, but, for several days, travellers meet with venomous herbs, which poison their horses. Thus God has given the country natural defences; so that the inhabitants have no occasion for arms or armies. b

Timúr returns

MARCH 25th, *Timúr*, leaving *Jebbán*, marched to the *Dandána*, four miles distant, and crossed it over a bridge, which he caused to be made. Next day, he departed for *Samarkant*, before the army; and having marched twenty miles along that river, encamped at *Sanbaste*, a town in the mountain of *Indis*. The 27th, he came to the castle of *Beruj*; then entering the desert of *Jaláli*, or *Jerú*, got out of it, and came to a cavern, three miles from *Beruj*, where he encamped. Next day, at ten in the morning, he arrived at the *Indus*, which he crossed, over a bridge of boats. The 29th, he stopped at *Banú*. April 2d, he set out; and next day came to *Nagaz*, a castle built by the Amír *Soleymán Sháh*, to curb the *Ugans*. April 6th, he arrived at *Kábul*; the 7th, at *Garbán*. The 8th, having crossed the mountain and defile of *Shebertú*, being struck, says our author, by some evil eye, or malign influence, he fell sick, and had on his feet and hands painful ulcers: so that he was forced to be carried in a litter. Thus he passed a very narrow defile of the mountain *Siapúch*; in which space, they crossed the river of the defile forty-eight times: twenty-six from the beginning of the defile to the mountain, and twenty-two from the mountain to the end of the defile. The 12th, *Timúr* recovered. The 13th, he reached *Bakalán*; from whence passing through *Semenkán* and *Kulm*, he arrived at the *Jibún* on the 14th, and crossed over to *Termed*. From this place, by the way of *Kolúga*, or the iron gate, he came to *Kash*; and, having made some days stay in this city, departed for *Samarkant* the 9th of May, and arrived there on the 16th. Soon after, he distributed the curiosities and riches which he had brought from *India*, among the princes of the blood, the Sharífs, and principal men of the kingdom. To crown this *Indian* expedition, *Timúr* erected a magnificent mosk in his capital, large enough to contain all the faithful in that great city.^o c

to Samarkant.

Affairs of Irán

TIMUR had not been returned above four months, when he found himself obliged to undertake a new expedition into *Irán*, or *Persia* at large, to put a stop to the disorders which had crept in there, during his absence in *India*; chiefly owing to the misconduct of the Mírza *Mirán Sháh*, viceroy of *Azerbeján*, whose understanding had been impaired by an accident. This prince, while hunting near *Tauris*, in autumn 801, saw a roebuck, which he was desirous to take with his hands: but, in stooping, he fell off his horse, though one of the best horsemen in all *Asia*; and the violence of the fall cast him into a swoon, in which he lay a long time. He continued in fits for three days; and his physician being an ignorant fellow, or rather a knave, the Mírza was seized with a vertigo, which impaired his senses: so that, on a bare suspicion, he slew a man, squandered away the public treasures, and destroyed the most noted buildings. He marched with his troops to besiege *Baghdád*, at an improper season of the year: but, two days after he had invested it, was obliged to raise the siege, on account of the revolt of *Tauris*; where, on his arrival, he put to the sword all who were accused of being in the conspiracy. d

in great disorder;

AFTER this, taking it in his head, that the Sharíf *Ali*, prince of *Sheki*, intended to revolt, he, without farther examination, set forward with an army, to ravage his country. The Christian *Georgians*, before this, had revolted, when they understood how little the Mírza applied himself to public affairs; and, to revenge this invasion, in conjunction with the Sharíf *Ali*, went with a great army, to relieve Soltán *Táber*, son of *Abmed*, Soltán of *Baghdád*, who had been besieged a long time in *Alenjík*, by Soltán *Sanjer*, son of *Haji Sayfo'ddin*, e

^o Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 94—105, c. 30—35.

(O) Doubtless the same now called *Kashmír* and *Srinagar*. *Nagaz* is perhaps a mistake for *Nagar*, the Arabic *r* and *z* differing only by a point over the latter.

a they entered *Azerbejân*, and plundered the country. On which advice, *Sanjer* raised the siege; and, being returned to *Tauris*, *Mirân Shâb* sent his son the *Mîrza Abubekr* to repulse the *Georgians*. These latter having sent away *Tâber*, and placed *Haji Sâleb*, with three *Oznawrs*, or chief lords, of *Georgia*, in *Alenjîk*, in their return met the army of *Tauris*; which, being far less numerous, would have avoided fighting: but, as they were obliged to engage, the *Georgians* broke through both their wings, at the first onset; and the *Sharîf Ali* perceiving old, shot him dead with an arrow, which stuck in his neck: however, the *Georgians* defeated his troops ^p.

THE *Mîrza Mirân Shâb*'s lunacy appeared still more in his debauches; for he spent almost all his time in drinking and gaming. One day he reproached his wife, the princess *Khânîng*, ^{to what owe-} *Zâdeh*, with a fact which wounded her honour. She endeavoured to discover the grounds of it; in which inquiry, several persons of both sexes were sacrificed. The aversion between the *Mîrza* and her still increasing, she retired to *Samarkant*; where arriving, just at the time when *Timûr* was returned thither for *India*, she assured him, that, if he did not march forth-into *Irân*, her husband, who, through his distemper, already slighted his mandates, would certainly revolt. The emperor, who had been before informed of the misconduct of his son, resolved to follow this advice; and immediately issued orders to assemble the troops, for a campaign of seven years. The *Mîrza Shâb Rûkb*, on the first notice, got ready the troops of *Khorassân*; and sent his *Wazîr Soleymân Shâb* towards *Tauris*, with his van-guard, following with the rest of his army. *Timûr* set out from *Samarkant* October 11th, 1399; and, crossing the *Jibûn*, or *Amû*, at *Termed*, came to *Bâlk*. From thence, after several days march, he arrived at *Sarek Kâmisîh Jâm*; where he visited the tomb of the celebrated *Mutîrî Ahmed Jâm*. From thence he sent the *Mîrza Rustem* to his eldest brother *Pîr Mehemed*, at *Shîrâz*, with orders for them to march to *Bâghdâd*. Then continuing his road by *Nishâbûr* and *Bestâm*, *Ray* and *Khowar*, to *Ayvanik*, he was there joined by the *Mîrza Shâb Rûkb*, who had marched by *Shasuman*, *Astarabâd*, and *Sûri*.

MEAN time, the *Amîr Soleymân Shâb*, being arrived at *Ray*, in his way from *Herât* to *Tauris*, heard of *Mirân Shâb*'s lunacy; and not thinking it safe to go thither, resolved to ^{The authors} march to *Hamadân*. But, at the invitation of the *Mîrza Abubekr*, the *Amîr* went thither; and even persuaded *Mirân Shâb* to set out, two days after, to meet the emperor; which he did, at *Shâbriar*; but was not received with any tokens of kindness. Then *Timûr* sent commissaries to *Tauris*, to inquire into that prince's deportment; and it appearing, that his excesses were chiefly owing to the instigation of certain profligate musicians, and others, the emperor ordered that they should all be hanged, without exception, for a warning to others. Among the men of parts, who suffered on this occasion, was the incomparable *Mûlâna Mehemed Kûbestâni*, so famous for all sciences, and so celebrated a poet, whose conversation and agreeable wit had rendered him the wonder of his age.

TIMUR, leaving *Shâbriar*, proceeded by *Soltâniya* and *Karaderra* to *Ardebîl*; and, having hunted in the plains of *Mukân* and *Aktâm* (towns of *Azerbejân*), crossed the river *Arâna*, ^{Timûr ar-} ^{rives.} to *Karabâgh Arrân*. Here *Sharîf Sidi Ahmed*, son of *Sharîf Ali*, king of *Sheki*, by the mediation of *Sheykh Ibrâhîm*, king of *Shîrwân*, was pardoned, and confirmed in his principality, by *Timûr*; merely on account of *Ibrâhîm*, whom he loved, for his sincerity, and distinguished among his greatest officers. The *Sheykh*, to welcome his majesty's arrival in his country, made a sumptuous banquet for the court, and afterwards offered his presents, which were very considerable. Mean time, the court received advice of the death of several great princes; as *Timûr Kotluk Aglen*, who having been raised by the emperor to the throne of *Kipjâk*, after the defeat of *Toktamîsh Khân*, had afterwards made war on his benefactor; likewise of *Barkok*, king of *Egypt* and *Syria*; *Tamgûz Khân*, emperor of *China*; and *Kezra Kojâ Aglen*, king of *Jetâb*, upon whose decease dissensions arose among his four sons, *Shama Jebân*, *Mehemed Aglen*, *Shîr Ali*, and *Shâb Jebân* ^q.

f NEWS arrived also of the *Mîrza Eskânder*'s successes in *Mogulestân*. This prince, though but fifteen years old, taking advantage of the dissensions which arose among the *Gètes* after the death of *Kezra Kojâ Aglen*, left *Andekbân*, at the head of his troops, and entered into the lands of the *Moguls*, or *Mungls*. Being come to *Kashgâr*, they pillaged the city of *Tûrkent* (P) (or *Tûrkian*), and then proceeding forward, plundered *Sârek Kâmisîh*, *Kelapine*, *Ali Gheul*, *Tûr Kurgân*, *Chartâk*, and *Keyûk Bâgh* (Q). They at length arrived at the province of *Awj*, most of whose tribes submitted: the rest they carried prisoners towards the citadel of *Akshî*, consisting of three castles, which have a communication with each other; and is esteemed

^p Hist. TIM. BEK, vol. ii. l. v. c. i. p. 108—112.

^q Ibid. p. 112—121. c. i—4.

(P) The present capital of *Kâshgâr*.

(Q) All towns of *Mogulestân*. *La Croix*.

so strong, that the inhabitants of all the neighbouring provinces consider it as a safe retreat in time of war. But the Mîrza having caused assaults to be given, one after another, for near forty days, the besieged were forced to surrender. After this, he sent troops to pillage the towns of *Bay*, *Kusân*, and *Târem*.

Of Mîrza Es-
kander;

THESE conquests finished, the Mîrza *Eskânder* marched from *Aksû* to *Kotan* (R). This place is thirty-five days journey from *Kara Kôja*, or *Aramuth*, and fifteen from *Kâshgar*, which is twenty-five from *Samarkant*. In *Kotan* are two rivers, *Orakkash* and *Karakash*, the stones of which, being jasper, are carried to other countries. The Mîrza behaved with so much prudence, that all the towns and castles of this frontier province were reduced. From *Kotan* he went to *Karângû Tâg*, a steep and rugged mountain, in which the rivers of *Kotan* have their springs, and to which the inhabitants of that and the neighbouring places fly for refuge in time of war: but, finding it inaccessible, returned, to winter at *Kâshgar*. From hence he sent presents to the emperor, and the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân*, of three beautiful women of *Kotan*: but the latter refused his present, being greatly incensed against *Eskânder*; because, having entered *Turkestân* with an army, in order to join him against the *Getes*, the young Mîrza, that he might not serve under *Mehemed Soltân*, instead of waiting for him, as he ought, marched before into *Mogulestân*, while his cousin, in disgust, returned to *Samarkant*.

and his dis-
grace.

WHEN spring was come, *Eskânder* returned to *Andekbân*, and thence set forward to visit *Mehemed Soltân*. But, learning on the road that the latter intended to seize him, he returned, and entered the castle of *Andekbân*. There, being taxed by two Amîrs with a design to revolt, they assembled the militia, and besieged him. Upon this, *Eskânder* came out, and having talked to them with much good nature, went to lodge in a garden made by his father *Omar Sheykh*. Then having seized his domestics, they, by *Mehemed Soltân*'s order, carried them, with the Mîrza, to *Samarkant*; and having bound him, put to death his *Atabek* (or governor), with twenty-six of his household.

Timûr attacks
Komsha.

To return to *Timûr*. This prince, having chosen three men out of every ten, to serve as scouts, set out from *Karabâgh Arrân*; and crossing the *Kûr*, over a bridge of boats, was joined by *Sheykh Ibrâhim*, of *Shirwân*, and *Sidi Ahmed*, prince of *Sheki* (S), by which city the army passed, and took the road to the defile of *Komsha* (belonging to a prince of that name), where the infidels dwelt. As this defile was full of impassable woods, the soldiers, with their axes and saws, made a road, ten days journey in length, and broad enough for six companies to march in front. Although it snowed very hard, for twenty days together, yet the army entered *Georgia*, and fell upon the infidels in the mountain, giving quarter to none. *Komsha*, the chief of them, fled, leaving his family and effects. They destroyed his villages, with the churches, and plucked up the vine-trees, which the inhabitants, who were very fond of wine, had carefully planted. After a month's stay in this defile, the roads being impassable, through the severity of the weather, *Timûr* returned to *Karabâgh*; where an inquiry being made into the behaviour of the officers, who fought the *Georgians* in their return from *Alenjik*, some were punished with the bastinado, and all the principal officers of the Mîrza *Mirân Shâh* fined. The prince *Burbân Aglen*, who had been restored to favour, was put to death, for his misdoings in several skirmishes; and his son treated in the same manner: but the Mîrza *Abubekr* was much honoured, for his valour shewn in that action.

Pîr Mehemed
deposed.

Hej 802.
A. D. 1400.

THE Mîrza *Rûstem*, sent from *Jâm* to *Shîrâz*, as before-mentioned, being arrived at that city, was handsomely received by the Mîrza *Pîr Mehemed*; and set out for *Bâghdâd* soon after, according to his orders, leaving *Pîr Mehemed* behind to follow him. He passed by *Toftâr* and *Râmhermes*, to *Mendeli* (T); where he arrived in *March* 1400; and, defeating Amîr *Ali Kalânder* the governor, pillaged the town. Mean while, the Mîrza *Pîr Mehemed*, after a long delay, set out for *Bâghdâd*: but, after some days march, turned back again, on pretence of sickness; and, by the instigation of certain persons, undertook to compose poisons and fascinations. The Amîr *Saïd Berlâs*, governor of *Shîrâz*, being informed hereof, imprisoned the Mîrza in the castle, and gave advice to *Timûr*; who immediately sent *Allahdâd*, to prosecute the offenders, and place *Rûstem* on the throne of *Pârs*, in the room of his elder brother, whom he was to bring bound to court. This Amîr put to death some men of quality, concerned in corrupting the prince; while *Rûstem*, coming from *Mendeli*, on notice given him, was, by letters patents, established in his place.

* Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 121—130. c. 4—6.

(R) This city is 157 days journey from *Kambâlek*, or *Pe king*; for, from *Kotan* to *Kara Kôja*, are thirty-five stages; thence to *Tetkaw*, in the borders of *China*, thirty-one, where there is a wall between two mountains, with a great gate, and several inns; from hence to *Gben-jan Fû*, a city of *China*, fifty-one days; and forty thence

to *Kambâlek*; 'tis also forty from *Ghen-jan Fû* to *Nem-nay*. *Sharifo'dâin*.

(S) A town on the south borders of *Georgia*, near the *Caspian* sea. *La Croix*.

(T) A town of *Arabia* [rather *Irak Arabi*], dependent on *Bâghdad*. *La Croix*.

a WHEN *Mir Ali Kalander* arrived at *Bâghdâd*, with an account of what had passed at *Aien-Plot at Bâgh-*
deli, *Soltân Ahmed*, in great perplexity, ordered the gates to be shut, and the bridge destroyed. *deli.*
 He was still more alarmed at the conspiracy formed against him by *Sherwân*. This lord had
 been made governor of *Khâzeftân* by *Timûr*; but, having committed several irregularities, in
 extorting money, and even putting to death governors of cities, he revolted, with 1000
 horse, to the Soltân. He had not been long at *Bâghdâd*, before he began to conspire against
 his protector, by bribing his principal officers with vast sums of money. The plot was disco-
 vered by an officer, who finding the memorandum of the monies paid, which *Sherwân's* secre-
 tary had lost, carried it to his master, at such time as he had ordered the gates to be shut.
 The Soltân, more affrighted at this treason than before, sent orders to the Amîrs, who were on
 b an incursion with *Sherwân*, to cut off his head; and, in less than eight days, put to death
 above 2000 of his own officers in *Bâghdâd*; he slew, with his own hand, most of the ladies
 and officers of his (*Sherwân's*) household.

AFTER this, *Soltân Ahmed* shut himself up in his Saray, not suffering any one to come *Soltân Ah-*
 near him: even when the stewards brought him his dinner, they delivered it at the door, *med's flight.*
 without entering. He spent several days in this manner; and then crossing the *Tigris*, in the
 night, by boat, with six persons only, rode to the country of *Kara Yusuf*. Mean time, the
 stewards, as usual, delivered the king's dinner at the palace-gate; so that he returned, with
Kara Yusuf and his troops, before the people knew any thing of his absence. In July *Ahmed*
 hearing that *Timûr* was on his march to *Siwâs*, in *Anatolia*, set out, with *Kara Yusuf*, his
 c family, and treasures, that he might get thither before the roads were stopped up by the empe-
 ror's troops. At *Hâlep*, he was opposed by *Temûrtâsh*, who commanded there; but having
 defeated his troops, he continued his road.

To return to *Timûr*. When winter was over, this prince called a dyet, wherein the war *Timûr in-*
 of *Georgia* being considered as preferable to all others, both on account of religion, and *wades Geor-*
 increase of power, he departed from *Karabâgh* for *Georgia*; the roads and provinces of which, *gia.*
 he ordered to be described in writing. In ten days he arrived in the plain of *Berdaa*; where
 he gave audience to *Tabârten*, prince of *Arzenjân*, on the *Euphrates*. The emperor honoured
 him with the marks of sovereignty, and then dismissed him, with orders to watch the motions
 of the *Othmâns*. After several days march from *Berdaa*, he arrived on the borders of *Geor-*
 d *gia*; from whence he sent to *Mâlek Ghûrghin*, king of that country, to demand *Tâber*, son
 of *Soltân Ahmed*: but, instead of complying, *Ghûrghin* returned a very uncivil answer. Upon
 this, the *Jagatays* entered his dominions, and destroyed every thing they met with, even the
 vines. The affrighted inhabitants, who escaped the sword, fled, with their effects and provi-
 sions, to the high mountains; where they had fortified caverns and houses, built on craggy
 rocks; so that no power had ever yet conquered them.

FOR all this, *Timûr's* soldiers, without considering the dangers, ascended the mountains; *Makes great*
 and then, laying themselves in boxes, were let down by cords to the caverns of the infidels; *harack.*
 which they entered, making a terrible slaughter. Some of these craggy places were so well
 defended, that, as well to disperse the enemy, as to burn their houses and intrenchments, the
 e army were obliged to make use of combustible matter. Thus they took fifteen noted places,
 giving quarter only to such as turned *Mohammedans*. *Timûr* left a strong garrison in *Tafîs*, or
Tefîs, capital of *Georgia*, and then went to encamp in the plain of *Mokrân*. King *Ghûrghin*
 fled into the deserts; but the greater part of the *Oznawrs* came to the camp, and sued for par-
 don. When the country was reduced, the temples and monasteries were razed, and chapels and
 mosks erected in their room *.

AFTER this conquest, *Timûr* resolved to attack the other provinces of *Georgia*, and marched *Takes the*
 next towards the defile of prince *Jâni Bek*, whose country being pillaged, and people slain, he *fortresses.*
 soon came to submit himself. Among other fortresses, there was one named *Bâl*, at the entrance
 of the defile, which, though standing very high, and of difficult access, was presently taken,
 f and razed. The army, having ravaged other parts of the country, went to encamp in the true
 antient *Georgia*; from whence at length removing, they crossed the *Kûr*, laden with spoils.
 During these transactions, a great number of *Oznawrs* retired into the castle of *Zerit*, situated
 on the ridge of a narrow mountain, and never before taken: but *Timûr* having besieged it,
 after several attacks, on the seventh day a general assault was given, and the fort being taken
 sword in hand, it was demolished, and all the *Georgians* slain. After this, on advice that king
Ghûrghin was in the town of *Swânit*, the emperor marched thither with one half of his army:
 but the king, not daring to wait his coming, fled towards *Abkhâz* (U). The troops carried

* Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 130—139. c. 7, 8.

(U) A town of *Georgia*, on the frontiers of *Cherkassia*. *La Croix*.—Perhaps rather the country of the *Abkhâz*, to the west of *Mingrelia*.

Swānit at the first assault; and then went in pursuit of *Ghūrghin*: but that prince, crossing the rivers *Aygar* and *Korlan* (X), had the good fortune to escape.

The king submits.

THE king of *Georgia* seeing himself reduced to the last extremity, by protecting prince *Tāber*, he obliged him to retire to his father, in the *Othmán* dominions; and then sent an ambassador to beg *Timūr*'s pardon, with a promise, on oath, to pay the annual tribute, and send any number of forces into his service. The emperor, on those conditions, withdrew out of his country, and marched towards the territories subject to *Ayvāni*, one of the most powerful sovereigns of *Georgia*. As there was no army to oppose them, the soldiers dispersed themselves, ruining the towns and castles, and destroying every thing with fire and sword. They did the like by the country and people of *Kara Kalkānlik*, who were armed with black bucklers, and good mountain horsemen. After this, *Timūr* set forward on his return: but, receiving advice, when at *Ilāk* or *Yeylāk Menkūl*, that the enemy had assembled again in *Faraşgherd*, in *Georgia*, he marched thither; and, in five days, made himself master of seven fortresses, which he razed, after slaying an infinite number of the infidels; and then returned to *Menkūl*. Here ambassadors arrived from an *European* prince, to make an alliance with him. They brought with them the son of *Amīr Morād* (or *Amurath*), the *Othmán* emperor, whom they had taken prisoner. *Timūr* received them with great civility, granted them what they desired, and, having given them rich vests, dismissed them, to return by way of *Trabizond* ¹.

¹ Hist. Tim. Bek. p. 139—145. c. 9—12.

(X) Rivers of *Kaşbāk*, or *Kipjāk*. *La Croix*.

C H A P. V.

Timūr overthrows Bayezîd, and reduces Georgia. Dies on his march to conquer China.

Timūr offended,

DURING the two months that *Timūr* encamped in *Menkūl*, he prepared to march against *Bayezîd*, surnamed *Ildrim*, or *the thunderer*. This prince, who had extended his dominions considerably on every side, had not only taken *Siwās* and *Malatîya*, from princes in friendship with *Timūr*; but had summoned *Tabārten*, though he knew him to be under the emperor's protection, to come to his court, and to send the tributes of *Arzenjân*, *Arzerûm*, and their dependencies, to his treasury. Of this *Tabārten* sent advice to *Timūr*; who thereupon wrote a letter, to advise *Bayezîd* to keep within his own bounds, and not offer to go beyond those limits. But, as that letter contained many reproachful expressions, the *Othmán* made answer to the envoys, that he had long desired to have a war with their master; and that, if *Timūr* did not advance against him, he would go seek *Timūr*, and drive him beyond *Tauris*.

marches against Bayezîd.

THE emperor, on the return of his envoys, immediately marched towards *Anatolia*. Being arrived at *Avenik*, or *Vân*, he was met by the *Amīr Allabdâd*, who brought with him, from *Shirâz*, the *Mīrza Pīr Mehemed*, bound like a criminal. *Timūr* ordered that the *Mīrza* should be examined, in a council of war, and punished according to his deserts. He was sentenced to receive the bastinado, according to the *Yasa* (or laws of *Jenghiz Khân*); and having undergone that punishment, his chains were taken off, and he was set at liberty. By the same laws, the *Sheykh Râde Ferîd*, and *Mobârek Kojâ*, were put to death, for having corrupted the *Mīrza*, and taught him magic. After this, the emperor marched forward, at the head of his army; and, at his arrival at *Arzerûm*, was saluted by *Tabārten*, prince of *Arzenjân*. September 1, he entered the country of the *Othmāns*, and attacked *Siwās*; but, as we intend to give a pretty circumstantial account of this war, in our history of the *Othmāns*, we shall only slightly touch on those transactions in this place ^a.

Takes Siwās.

SIWAS, or *Sebastê*, a fine as well as strong city, submitted, after eighteen days leaguer, to *Timūr*; who ordered 4000 *Armenian* cavalry to be buried alive, and the walls to be razed, for an example to other places. He then sent troops in pursuit of *Soltân Ahmed*, who had entered *Anatolia*, and others, under the *Mīrza Shâh Rûkb*, to destroy the *Turkmân* robbers

^a Hist. Tim. Bek. p. 145—152. c. 13—15.

a of *Abulghân*, in *Zulkâderia*, who had carried off some horses. The Soltân and *Kara Yusef* escaped, with the loss of their baggage, and a Soltâna; but the robbers were cut to pieces. After this, he marched against *Malatîyah*, which he took in one day, the governor and his party flying at his approach. Then he sent out troops, on all sides, to ruin the country of *Malatîyah*; which they did, and returned with abundance of spoil. Thus the frontiers of *Anatolia* and *Syria* were, in a short time, brought in subjection; and as the Soltân of *Egypt* had offended *Timûr* no less than the *Othmân* emperor, he resolved to invade his dominions, before he proceeded any farther against *Bayezîd*, who had no army yet in the field.

TIMUR, in the year 795 (1393), after he had reduced *Baghdâd*, having sent an ambas- *Invades Syria.*
sador to Soltân *Bârkok*, then reigning in *Egypt*, as hath been before-mentioned, this ambas-
b sador, on his arrival at *Rahaba*, on the *Euphrates*, was seized, according to custom, and
sent to *Egypt*; where, by the persuasions of Soltân *Abmed*, he was put to death. After this,
Kara Yusef having, in battle, taken prisoner *Atîlmîsh Kâchin*, *Timûr*'s governor of *Avanîk*,
while that monarch was in *Kipjak*, sent him to *Bârkok*, who confined him in prison, and
continued his hostilities against the *Jagatays*. The emperor being now on the borders of
Malatîya, sent a letter to *Farrûj*, who had succeeded *Bârkok*, to demand *Atîlmîsh*: but
Farrûj, after his father's example, ordered the ambassador to be imprisoned at *Hâlep*, where
he had been already stopped, as usual, till notice was given to the Soltân of his arrival. *Timûr*,
enraged at this insult, resolved to be revenged; and although, at first, the Amîrs besought
him to disband his troops, who wanted repose, after so many late fatigues, yet, perceiving
c him to be firm, they applauded his resolution. They marched on to *Bebesna*, and encamped
on an eminence near the castle, which is in a defile where several torrents flow, built with
very high and strong walls, on the ridge of a steep mountain ^b.

WHILE *Timûr* was viewing the place, a great stone, shot at him from an engine, fell near *Takes Antâp*,
his tent, and rolled into it. Enraged at this, he immediately ordered his troops, who had
taken the lower town, to besiege the fortress, in whose wall they soon made breaches with
their engines, fapping them, at the same time, in other places. The governor *Mokbel*, see-
ing himself in this distress, sent to beg quarter. *Timûr* promised him his liberty: but said,
he would take the place first, to shew, that though reckoned impregnable, it was not so to
him. The 7th of *October*, fire being put to the props, the towers began to fall: after
d which, the emperor not only spared *Mokbel*, but the whole garrison. The army then marched
to *Antâpa*, or *Antâp* (A), a city, whose walls were built of stone, exceedingly strong, sur-
rounded by a ditch thirty cubits deep, and near seventy wide, with a draw-bridge. The coun-
terscarp, which was of stone, had a covered way, broad enough for a man on horseback to
pass along it; which post was assigned the archers. When the *Tatars* arrived, they found the
principal persons all gone out (B); and only a few poor inhabitants left, who immediately
opened the gates to *Timûr*, and put him in possession of abundance of goods, as well as
ammunition.

MEAN time *Temûrtâsh*, governor of *Hâlep*, having sent advice to *Kâbera*, or *Kayro*, of the *Proceeds to*
enemy's proceedings, the Soltân sent orders for all the troops of *Syria* to march to that city. *Hâlep*.
e When they were arrived, *Temûrtâsh* assembled the chief commanders, to consult whether it was
best to submit to a powerful prince, whose successes and conquests he set forth to advantage,
or oppose him. The most experienced officers approved of the motion: but the majority,
and especially *Shadîn*, governor of *Damaskus*, taxed him with cowardice (C); vaunting, that
the towns of *Syria* were not built of mud and brick, like those of the countries conquered by
Timûr, but with solid stone; and that taking but a few men out of every village, which the
registers reckoned to be 60,000, an army might be raised sufficient to withstand any force.
While, therefore, it was resolved to defend *Hâlep*, *Timûr* advanced towards it. The two first
days he marched six or seven leagues each; but afterwards ordered the army to move no
more than half a league *per day*: so that, in a whole week, they proceeded but one day's
f journey, and that with great precaution. The *Syrians*, imputing the slowness of the enemy's
march to fear, abandoned their first resolution of keeping in the town, and drew out in the
open field.

THE 8th of *November* the army of *Timûr* arrived near *Hâlep*; and, the third day after, *Defeats the*
marched to attack the enemy in order of battle: every one had on a coat of mail, a cuirass, *enemy.*

^b Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 152—162. c. 15—19.

(A) *Arabsbâb* says, that *Timûr* left *Kalâto'rrûm*, or the castle of the Romans, without daring to attack it, on account of its strength, although the commander made several sallies upon him: yet he owns, that, by the computation of *Karozem*, *Timûr*'s comptroller, his army amounted to 800,000 men. *Timûr* did what was necessary; and *Arabsbâb* hated him.

(B) According to *Arabsbâb*, *Afsemâr* the governor sallied out; and, being abandoned and wounded, fled to *Hâlep*, but was not pursued.

(C) *Arabsbâb* says, that *Temûrtâsh* had agreed with *Timûr* to betray the Soltân of *Egypt*.

and helmet. The right wing was commanded by the Mîrzas *Mirân Shâh* and *Shâh Rûb*; and the van-guard of it by the Mîrza *Abûbekr*. Soltân *Mahmûd* led the left wing, whose van-guard was conducted by Soltân *Hussayn*. The main body was commanded by *Timûr* himself; who had before him a rank of bulky elephants, which served as a rampart, with towers on their backs, filled with archers, and flingers of wild-fire. The battle began by the skirmishers; who rushed into the midst of the enemy's battalions, and either killed, or brought off some noted person prisoner. The right wing then fell on the *Syrians* left wing, which was routed by the valour of the Mîrza *Abûbekr*. Their left wing likewise defeated the enemy's right, while the main body performed the like service. Hereupon *Shadûn* and *Temûrtâsh* fled into the city, followed by their troops, who dispersed. The major part took the road to *Damaskus*: but, being pursued, only one horseman of all that great army escaped to carry the news to that city^c.

Takes the city. As for those who retreated into *Hâlep*, the disorder was so great in the chief street of the city, and the gates so crowded, that one could hardly pass. Here was the greatest slaughter ever mentioned: for, to avoid the fury of the sword, they flung themselves upon one another into the ditches. On the other hand, the *Jagatays*, with a single pike, often ran three or four of the enemy through at a time, in the throng of the gate: so that the dead bodies were piled upon one another, to the very plinth of the walls; and at length a passage was made over the ditch, upon those bodies, level with the draw-bridge. There one might see the horses and their riders mixed promiscuously, and covered with blood and dirt; some pierced with arrows, and others with their brains dashed out; one with a coat of mail, his head bending beneath the blow of a war-club; another falling without his head, his sword fast clasped in his hand. Mean time other troops were employed in pillaging the enemy's camp, where they met with abundance of spoil. At length the whole army marched to the general assault the same day, and entered the city; which they plundered of its great wealth, carrying away the women and children, horses and cattle.

The castle surrendered. *SHADUN* and *Temûrtâsh* had retired to the fortress, which was built on the ridge of a high steep rock (D), surrounded with a ditch thirty cubits wide; and so deep with water, as to carry a boat (E). From the surface of the water to the castle-wall, it is about 100 cubits; and the shelving so smooth and steep, that it is impossible to ascend it on foot, because it is covered with free-stone, and polished bricks. As soon as the *Jagatays* had surrounded the ditch, they shot arrows so incessantly, that the besieged dared not appear on the walls; while the sappers, crossing the water in floats, began to work at the bottom of the mountain, and shake the stones. This being perceived by the besieged, five of the bravest men, going down with a rope tied to their waist, the ends of which were held by others on the wall, ran sword in hand upon the sappers; but the *Tatars*, who had orders to support them, sallied out of their tents, and slew them with their arrows. After the dead bodies were drawn up, no soldier would venture to shew his head. Upon this, *Timûr* wrote a letter to the two generals, exhorting them to save their lives, and surrender. This they did, upon a reflection on their circumstances; and, being put in irons, with other chiefs, and 1000 soldiers, *Timûr* sent one of them to acquaint the king of *Egypt* with their condition; and that he must forthwith send *Atîlmîsh* to him, if he would preserve their lives.

Hama reduced. THERE were in this city treasures of an infinite value, consisting of that laid up by several kings; and the riches carried in by the citizens, in hopes of saving them. Part was distributed among the soldiers; and the rest left in charge with eight Amîrs, who were appointed to govern this strong place. Then, after fifteen days stay, he marched, to continue his conquests in *Syria*. He had sent before the Mîrzas *Pîr Mehemed* and *Abûbekr* as scouts towards *Hama* (F); the town of which they took, but could not reduce the castle: yet, on the appearance of the innumerable troops which *Timûr* brought, the garrison begged quarter; which was granted, but the spoil was given to the scouts. The emperor staid here twenty-two days: during which time the Amîrs made another attempt to induce him to stop here; representing, that, for two years, they had been continually on the march, or in battle; and that the enemy's troops were in much better condition than theirs. They therefore desired that they might go and repose themselves at *Tripoli*, on the sea-coast; so that, at the beginning of spring, they might march with vigour against the *Syrians*.

Hems surrendered. BUT *Timûr* would not hearken to their reasons; alleging, that they ought not to give the enemy any time to recover themselves. Hereupon he ordered them to march towards *Hems*

^c Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 162—172. c. 19—21.

(D) The castle of *Alippo* is not built on a rock, but a mountain of earth, covered with free-stone. *La Croix*.

(E) The author seems not to have seen the ditch, any more than the castle; for if the ditch was full of water, a ship might sail in it. *La Croix*.

(F) A city of *Syria*, of which the geographer, or historian, *Abû'lfeida* was prince. *La Croix*. It is the ancient *Epiphania*.

- a (or *Emessa*): and, as a great Amîr was sent before for a scout, he prevailed upon the inhabitants to submit, on promise both of their lives and effects. Accordingly, the principal men went out, loaden with presents, to meet *Timûr*; and received his protection. The emperor then continued his road towards *Baalbek*; and, in the way, detached troops to pillage the coast of *Saïd* (or *Sidon*), and *Barût*. When the army came before *Baalbek*, they admired the beauty of its walls. Among the stones, which are of a prodigious size, there is one at the corner of the castle, facing the gardens, which is twenty-eight cubits long, sixteen broad, and seven high. Its buildings are very lofty; and it is believed to have been raised by dæmons and genii, at the command of *Solomon*, who had an absolute power over them. For all this, it was quickly reduced by the *Jagatays*, who found abundance of provisions. After which, they marched toward *Damaskus*, which is seventy leagues distant from *Hâlep*, through snow and rain, it being the third of *January*; and, having made one day's journey, *Timûr* halted to visit the tomb of the prophet *Noah*^d.

MEAN time *Farrûj*, Soltân of *Egypt*, to whom *Syria* belonged, raised a great army, chiefly of cavalry, which were the best in the world; and came to *Damaskus*, which he put in a good posture of defence. But, relying more on policy than strength, he sent to *Timûr* an eloquent villain, in quality of ambassador; who, the better to cover his intentions, put on a religious habit. He was accompanied by two assassins, who had orders to murder the emperor during the ambassador's audience. When *Timûr* drew near *Damaskus*, those villains joined the court, and were admitted to pay their compliments. They had thus several favourable opportunities: but the emperor being protected by Heaven, they could not execute their designs. However, *Koja Massâid Semnâni*, one of the great secretaries of the council, suspected, by their behaviour, that they had some evil intention. This being related, by a third person, to *Timûr*, he ordered them to be searched; and poisoned daggers were found in their boots. The chief of the villains perceiving their plot discovered, confessed the truth; and was, by the emperor's order, slain with the same dagger which was found about him, and his body burnt. The two assassins had their noses and ears cut off, with design to send them, in that condition, with a letter to the Soltân of *Egypt*. Attempt of assassins.

Timur, being arrived at *Kobbey Seyâr*, ordered *Shadûn*, and the other prisoners, brought from *Hâlep*, to be put to death, farther to be revenged on *Farrûj*. The same night there happened an affair as ridiculous as extraordinary: The *Mîrza Soltân Hussayn*, after a debauch, was excited by some seditious persons to revolt against his grandfather (G). Accordingly he went to *Damaskus*, and lifted himself in the *Syrian* service. This adventure gave the enemy much joy; and *Farrûj*, in policy, treated him with all possible respect. Next day the army went and encamped towards the south side of the city; building a wall, the height of a man, about the camp, and digging a trench round the wall. Two days after, *Timûr* sent a letter to the Soltân, to demand *Atîlmîsh*; and offer peace, on condition that he caused money to be coined in the emperor's name, and his name to be read in the public prayers. The ambassador was received with great honour; and, being dismissed, was followed by several lords, who, from *Farrûj*, promised obedience to *Timûr*, and to send *Atîlmîsh* to his court within five days. Farrûj feigns submission.

Timur, believing these lords to be sincere, received them kindly, and presented them with vests; but he was soon undeceived: for, some days after, having ordered his army to remove their camp to *Gauta* (H), that the horses might feed in that delicious place: they had no sooner began to move, than the whole army of *Syria* sallied out of *Damaskus*, imagining that this march eastward proceeded from weakness, and an intention to fly. They thought likewise, that so numerous an army could not decamp without falling into some disorder; and that, if they took the opportunity to attack their rear, they could not fail of defeating them. With these hopes, the soldiers, issuing forth, and joined by prodigious numbers of the populace, armed with swords, sticks, or stones, fell on the rear of the *Tatars*; who thereupon facing about, secured their front with the bales of baggage. When the whole army were come together, and ranged in order, *Timûr* sent to the *Mîrzas Mirân Shâb*, *Shâb Rûkh*, and *Abâbekr*, who commanded the right wing, to attack the enemy on one side, while the Amîrs of the left wing pressed them on the other. As the two wings, backed by the main body, fell furiously on the *Syrians*, they were defeated, after an obstinate battle, and repulsed to the gates of *Damaskus*; after having above half their soldiers slain, and a great part dispersed: who, being pursued, were for the most part cut off^e. Attacks the Jagatays.

^d Hist. TIM. BEK, p. 172—181. c. 21—24.

^e Ibid. p. 181—189. c. 24—25.

(G) According to *Arabshâh*, he quitted *Timûr*, being ashamed to see him with his army in so miserable a condition.

(H) A great plain to the east of *Damaskus*, where there is a very large lake; into which the rivers watering that city fall in an united stream.

Defeated, and
flies.

THIS signal victory was gained *January* 19th, 1400. During the heat of the battle, one of *Shâb Rukb's* officers fell in with the *Mirza Soltân Hussayn*, who commanded the *Syrians* left wing; and, having seized his horse's bridle, brought him to his master, who gave advice of it to *Timûr*. This prince ordered him to be put in prison, and loaded with chains: but he was soon after delivered, through the intercession of *Shâb Rukb*; yet not till he had received the bastonado, according to the *Yasa*; and, besides the reproaches he met with, was never after suffered to enter the emperor's hall. Next day *Timûr* ordered the army to march towards the city in order of battle, with the elephants at their head, to strike farther terror into the inhabitants: and it is remarkable, that, from the end of the right wing to the extremity of the left, it took up between three and four leagues of ground. The Soltân, on this, held a council; wherein it being agreed for him to return to *Egypt*, and leave the soldiers to defend the city, with the inhabitants, he sent an ambassador to excuse what happened the day before, as a popular sedition; and promised, that, if his highness would grant a cessation of arms for the present day only, he would next morning execute whatever he should command.

Damaskus be-
sieged,

with great
vigour.

THE emperor, on this message, ordered his army to return, and encamp a second time: but, when night came, *Farrûj*, accompanied by the principal lords of his court, departed from *Damaskus*. This flight being discovered by a *Tatar* deserter, *Timûr* sent after him a great body of horse; who overtook the Soltân, slew several of his men, and obliged the rest to abandon their equipage to fly the swifter. Next day he ordered the city to be invested by his whole army. This so terrified the inhabitants, that the Sharîfs, Kâdis, and other men of the law, opened the gates; and, going to the camp, agreed to pay a tax to save their lives. The city being thus yielded, they invested the castle, which was one of the most noted fortresses in the world. Its walls, consisting of great pieces of rock, very high, and regularly built, were encompassed with a ditch about twenty cubits wide. The soldiers having raised three platforms high enough to command the city; the battering-rams, and engines to cast stones and wild-fire, began to play; while the sappers, after the ditch was drained, fell to undermining the walls on every side, notwithstanding the great stones and wild-fire showered down on them by the besieged. They heated great pieces of the rock, by putting fire underneath, and casting vinegar thereon: and then, with their hammers, broke them out, placing wooden props, to keep the rest from falling on them. When they had done sapping the bastion of *Tarma*, which was the largest of all, fire was set to the shorings; when presently this high and famous tower fell, and made a vast breach by its fall: but, as the soldiers ran to enter this breach, on a sudden another part of the wall fell; which, crushing fourscore of them to pieces, so damped the ardour of the rest, that they would advance no farther.

and surrender-
ed.

THE besieged, taking advantage of this respite, closed up the breach, and fortified themselves behind it; but, great part of the castle falling soon after, they lost all hopes: so that *Yezdâr* the governor caused the gate to be opened, and carried the keys himself to *Timûr*; who ordered him to be put to death, for having deferred surrendering too long. They found in the castle abundance of riches. The garrison, consisting mostly of *Cberkassians*, *Hababans*, *Zenji*, and *Mamlûks*, were all made slaves; so were the citizens. *Timûr*, observing with indignation, that, while *Damascus* abounded with fine edifices, the tombs of *Omma Selma* and *Omma Habîba* were neglected, ordered two magnificent marble domes to be built over them, adorned with works in sculpture. He likewise caused gold and silver to be coined in place of the *Syrian* money, which was coarse; and sent troops to ravage the sea-coast about the city of *Akkia* (or *Akka*).

Dreadful
massacre.

Hej. 803.
A. D. 1401.

DURING these transactions, *Timûr* was attacked with an imposthume in his back, which was very grievous for the time, but soon went off. After this, assembling his privy-council, he told them, "He had heard that the *Syrians* encouraged the *Ommîyan* Khalîfahs in all the "cruelties they exercised against *Ali*, in the wars which they carried on against him; and "could not conceive how a nation should be thought to be of the sect of a prophet, which "united with the most cruel enemies of his family. He added, that so rigorous a punishment, as had then fallen on them, was a proof that the said tradition was true." This reflection of *Timûr*, being communicated to others, so wrought on the minds of the soldiery, that, *March* 28th, 1401, they broke into the city without orders, and made a terrible slaughter; enslaved the rest of the inhabitants, and seized their effects (1). The riches were so great, that the beasts they had taken between *Siwâs* and *Damaskus* not being sufficient to carry them off, they were obliged to fling away great part, such as gold and silver brocades, curious belts of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, and the like.

As the two upper storeys of the houses of *Damaskus* are of wood, the lowest being of stone; and most of the ceilings, as well as walls, are varnished, next day the city took fire by acci-

¹ Hist. TIM. BES. p. 189—198. c. 25—27.

(1) *Arabshâh* inveighs against *Timûr* for the havoc made at *Damaskus*: and from this account, he seems to have been the cause of it.

- a dent, and burnt down : nor was it possible to quench it. Besides the wooden roof of the famous *Ommîyan* mosk, covered with lead, the eastern minâret, built of stone, was reduced to ashes : yet that of *Arûs*, named also *Munar Beyza*, on which the *Musulmâns* believe *Isa*; or *Jesus*, will descend to judge the world, though made of wood, remained intire. After this, *Timûr*, resolving to return out of *Syria*, ordered all the slaves taken in that country, as well as *Damaskus*, to be set at liberty. He then set forward, the 31st of *March*; and sent for the *Mîrza Mebemed Soltân* from the frontiers of *Mogulestân*, to invest him with the empire of *Hulâkû*, which he deserved for his merit. When he arrived at *Hems*, he sent the *Mîrzas Rûstem* and *Abûbekr*, with 10,000 horse; to the city of *Tadmîr* (or *Tadmor*), built by *Solomon*, the houses of which are free-stone, to pillage the subjects of *Zulkâder*, who were in its neighbourhood. The *Mîrza Soltân Hussayn*, at the head of 5000 horse, marched to *Antiokh*; and the *Mîrza Kalîl Soltân*, with 15,000 horse, was detached against the *Turkmâns* of *Kubek*, who were encamped on the *Euphrates*. *The city burns*

- THE first party, having made the *Zulkâderians* fly into *Arabia*, and brought away 200,000 *Turkmâns* sheep, went on to the *Euphrates*. The second party pillaged the city and country of *Antiokh*; *spoiled*. and then, joining the third at *Hâlep*, marched towards *Kalâto'rrûm*, and the *Euphrates*. Here, meeting the *Turkmâns*, they were vigorously attacked : but the *Sheykh Hussayn*, son of *Kubek*, their leader, being slain, his brothers fled with the rest of those people, who left a great prey of cattle : so that, with what the other soldiers had gotten, they reckoned 800,000 sheep, which sold for a dinâr apiece, and were obliged to leave the other animals behind. Mean while *Hamah* *Timûr* proceeded on his way. When he came to *Hamah*, he ordered the town to be pillaged; *pillaged*. the houses plundered, and the inhabitants made slaves; to punish them for destroying the edifices which the *Jagatays* had built at their first arrival. The walls likewise of the castle of *Halep* were razed, and the houses burnt, by the *Amîrs*, who then joined the imperial army, which in four days marched to the *Euphrates*, where the other detachments met them. As the *Mîrza Soltân Hussayn* performed several brave actions in his expedition, he obtained pardon for his former fault, and was received into favour.

- THE army crossed the river, by swimming, over-against the city of *Bîr*; from whence two *Bîr and Roha* boats were sent to carry over the baggage of the emperor, who confirmed the governor in his *yield*. post. Here *Kara Ozmân*, governor of *Malatiya*, arrived also, and was handsomely received. *d* After *Timûr*'s departure from hence, he had a mind to hunt in *Mesopotamia*: hereupon a circle was made by the two wings, five days journey in circuit, of which the fountain of *Râso'l Ayn* (K) was the centre: where they found such abundance of game, that they took them with their hands. The hunt concluded with a feast; in which they ate of antelopes and roebucks, whose flesh is very tender, and the best of all the animals of the desert. In their passage, the inhabitants of *Roba*, or *Orfa*, came out with presents, and were kindly treated: but a castle beyond it was razed; and the *Armenian* robbers, who held it, cut to pieces. The army then advanced to *Mardîn*; whither the *Soltâns* of *Husni Keyfa* (L) and *Arzina*, and other lords in those quarters, came to salute the emperor: only the *Soltân* of *Mardîn*, who had been set at liberty *Mardîn* and restored by *Timûr*, not having followed the army into *Syria* with his troops, or sent any of *revolts*. his brothers on that duty, dared not come to meet his highness. *Timûr*, however, kindly *e* asked after him, and sent for him in very obliging terms: but he refused, confiding in the strength of the place. And, as the emperor was sensible it would require a long siege to reduce it (M), he was contented to ruin and burn all the houses of the lower town; at the same time ordering *Kara Ozmân* to block up the fortress so closely, that not a man might escape.

- Timûr*, having sent the *Amîr Allâhdâd* to take care of the frontiers of *Jetab*, departed from *Alenjîk* *Mardîn*. After which, he detached the *Mîrzas Soltân Hussayn*, *Pîr Mebemed*, *Omar Sheykh*, *reduced*. and *Abûbekr*, with a great body of the army, to *Alenjîk*; with orders, after taking that fortress, to march into *Georgia*: but as they had heard at *Vân*, that *Alenjîk*, after two years siege, had been *Georgia* forced by famine to surrender, they turned off towards the right for *Georgia*; and made such *invaded*. haste, that they surprised the inhabitants, and ravaged their country. Hereupon *Mâlek Gûrghîn* sent to acquaint the *Mîrzas*, that he was surprised at this invasion, seeing he was one of the emperor's most faithful servants; and that, as soon as his highness should come into those parts, he would not fail to pay obedience to him. Upon this, the *Mîrzas* ceased ravaging his country; and sent to know if *Timûr* would grant that king quarter, waiting at *Menkûl* the return of the courier.

z Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 198—203, c. 27.—30.

(K) From hence springs the river *Al Khabâr*, which falls into the *Euphrates* at *Karkisia*.

(L) Corruptly called *Hasan Keif*; a city on the *Tigris*, between *Amed* and *Mûssel*. *La Croix*.—'Tis also, by travellers, written *Atan Keif* and *Chief*: it should be *Hasn* or *Hesu Keyf*, that is, *the castle of Keif*.

(M) *Arabshâh* says, that *Timûr* could not take the castle of *Mardîn*, because situated on an inaccessible rock, large enough to contain much plowed lands, with several springs of water.

Bâghdâd
besieged.

At the same time the Soltân *Mahmûd Khân* and the Mirza *Rûstem*, with several Amîrs at the head of their Tomâns, according to orders, set out for *Bâghdâd*. Where, as soon as they arrived, *Farrûj*, of the *Jalayr* tribe of *Mungls*, who was governor, supported by vast multitudes of *Turks* and *Arabs*, sallied out, being joined by several princes and Amîrs of *Irâk Arabi*: from the east, came the Amîrs *Ali Kalânder*, of *Mendeli*, and *Jân Ahmed Bakû*; from the west, *Farrukshâh*, of *Hilleb*, or *Hella*, and *Mikâil*, of *Sîb*, with 3000 men. The Mirza *Rûstem* immediately took horse, with his troops: and, surrounding the enemy, repulsed them as far as the *Tigris*, where a bloody battle ensued. *Jân Ahmed* was slain, with many of the bravest soldiers; and others drowned in the river. For all this defeat, *Farrûj* would not surrender; pretending that Soltân *Ahmed* ordered him to deliver up the city to *Timûr*, if he came in person, but not else. Of this the Amîr sent advice to the emperor; who, after the submission of *Nisibîn*, having passed the *Tigris* at *Musel*, in his way to *Tauris*, immediately set out for *Bâghdâd*, accompanied by the bravest men in his army, by way of *Altûn Kupruk* (N). As soon as he arrived at that city, he encamped at the lower part of the river, opposite to the gate called *Kariet Ulakab*; and his troops, surrounding the walls, though two leagues in compass, began to sap them.

Its vigorous
defence.

MEAN time *Farrûj*, desirous to know if *Timûr* was come, sent to him, as an ambassador, one who knew him; who was admitted to audience, and honoured with a vest: but although this person was a confidant of the governor, yet, at his return, he imprisoned him, under pretence that he told what was not fact. On the other hand, *Timûr* caused a bridge of boats to be laid across the *Tigris*, below *Kariet Ulakab*; and took all necessary precautions to block up all the passages with his troops: in short, it was so inclosed on all sides, that although the river ran through the middle of it, and was covered with boats, yet it was impossible for any body to get out. In the interim, *Farrûj*, and the inhabitants, thro' despair, rather than bravery, performed actions which almost exceeded human power: for, as soon as the *Tatars* made a breach by sapping, the besieged immediately repaired it with mortar and brick, and entrenched themselves behind. The heat was now so violent, that the birds fell down dead, and the soldiers melted like wax under their cuirasses: for all this, they raised a platform which commanded the city, from whence they incessantly cast stones with their engines.

Taken by
assault.

THE Amîrs had often begged to make a general assault; but *Timûr* would not give leave, in hopes the enemy would submit: but, at the end of forty days, on the 23d of *July*, when the inhabitants were forced, by the heat of the sun, to quit the walls, and retire to their houses, leaving their helmets reared on sticks in their places, the army advanced furiously to the walls; and, having fixed their scaling ladders, the Amîr *Sheykh Nûro'ddîn* mounted first: then, sounding the drums and trumpets, all the commanders followed, and the troops entered sword in hand. The inhabitants, endeavouring in vain to fly from the place to avoid the sword, cast themselves into the *Tigris*. Several got into boats; and others swam, to descend the river: but were no sooner come to the bridge, than they were shot by soldiers placed in ambush. However, *Farrûj* found means to escape by water, with his daughter: but, being closely pursued, and not able either to defend himself, or get off, cast himself with his daughter into the river, where they were both drowned, and the boat sunk. Afterwards his body was taken up, and thrown on the bank^b.

Barbarous
massacre.

As several *Tatars* had been slain in the assault, each soldier was ordered to bring one (O) head of the men of *Bâghdâd*; in executing which command, they spared neither old men of fourscore, nor children of eight years old; the number of the dead was so great, that the officers could not count them; and of their heads they made towers. Although no quarter was given to either rich or poor, yet some learned men found means to get access to *Timûr*; who pardoned them, gave them vests, and a convoy to places of safety. After this, the markets, karawânsarays, monasteries, palaces, and all other buildings were razed, excepting mosks, colleges, and hospitals. The air becoming infected with the stench of the dead bodies, the camp was removed to the upper part of the river, near the tomb of the great Imâm *Abû Hanîfab*, chief of the four orthodox sects among the *Mohammedans*, whose intercession *Timûr* implored. From this place he ordered Soltân *Mahmûd Khân* and the Mirza *Kalil Soltân* to make inroads in the neighbouring places. They accordingly passed by *Hilleb*, as far as *Mashhâd Nejes* (P); and thence to *Wâset* (on the *Tigris*). They ravaged the two cities: but paid their devotions at the holy place of *Mashhâd*, instead of attacking it.

Bâghdâd
destroyed.

^b Hist. Tim. Bck. p. 208—215, c. 30—32.

(N) A bridge on the river *Altûn Sû* (or water of gold), near *Mûssel*. *La Croix*.

(O) *Arabshâh* says, two; and that 90,000 were slain in cold blood. They flung away the bodies; and made

trophies of their heads, piled up together in towers, to the number of 120.

(P) The same as *Mashhâd Hussayn*, in the plain of *Kerbela*, near the *Euphrates*, often mentioned before.

- a TIMUR took the road to *Shebrezâr* and *Kâlgbi*, leaving the main body to come after with the baggage. As, in this march, the *Kûrds* attacked all who separated themselves, tho' at ever so small distance, from the army, the emperor placed soldiers in ambush round the roads; who, falling out as soon as those robbers appeared, seized, and hanged them on the chestnut-trees which grew in the highways (Q). At the river *Jagatû*, the empress *Saray Mulk Kham*, and other wives of the *Mîrzâs*, with their children, met his highness; and at *Akziaret* the *sharîfs*, doctors, and principal lords, of *Irân*, came to wait on him. During his stay at this place, he invited the learned to dispute on points of religion. When he had passed by *Ujûn* (R), and was encamped at *Hesht Rûd*, or the eight rivers, he received advice that *Bâyezîd*, who, during his stay in *Syria*, had taken *Arzenjân* from *Tabârten*, was marching towards the east. Hereupon *Timûr* ordered the troops who were at *Menkûl* in *Georgia* to join the *Mîrza Shâb Rûkb* at *Avenîk* (or *Vân*), and oppose the *Othmâns*. But a messenger arriving from *Tabârten*, with advice that *Bâyezîd* desired peace, and would make him satisfaction; the *Mîrza* sent notice to court, and staid for an answer.

- MEAN time *Timûr*, being arrived at *Tauris*, a few days after marched towards *Georgia*: and, when he came to *Kom-tûpa*, ordered the *Koja Ismael Kavâsi* to be hanged before the market-place of the camp, for the tyrannies he had exercised over the people. He afterwards crossed the *Arâs*, and encamped at *Nakhshivân*; from whence he went to see the castle of *Alenjîk*, which is near that city. About this time *Tabârten* arrived at court with a letter from *Bâyezîd*; and, by his intercession, obtained pardon for the *Othmân*. Here being joined by *Shâb Rûkb*, and the other *Mîrzâs*, with their troops, the army marched to the defile of *Shâhbûz*, and entered the mountains. From thence they passed by *Gheukbey Tonkez* to *Shemkûr*, a town of *Georgia*: whither the commissary, sent to *Mâlek Ghûrgîn*, returned with that prince's brother, who brought the tribute, and rich presents; promising, in the king's name, due obedience, and to keep troops always ready for the emperor's service. The prince being dismissed with orders for *Mâlek* to send an army forthwith to join the imperial troops, *Timûr* removed his camp to *Karawl Topa*; from whence, marching by *Ghenjeb* and *Berdâa*, he came, the 12th of *December*, to *Karabâgh Arrân*, where he wintered. Here ambassadors arriving from *Kipjâk*, to assure the emperor of the *Khân's* obedience, diverted him from his intended expedition into that country in the following spring. Here also the *Mîrza Mehemed Soltân* came from *Samarkant*, and was received with great honour, his father placing a crown of gold upon his head. He brought with him bound the *Mîrza Eskânder*; who, having been convicted, before the *Divân*, of a fault committedⁱ, received the bastinado; but at length his chains were taken off, and he was set at liberty^k.

- As soon as *Soltân Ahmed* heard that *Timûr* had left *Bâghdâd*, he returned thither with a design to rebuild that city: but *Timûr*, being informed of this, sent four bodies of troops, under the *Mîrzâs*, by different roads, to ravage the country, and prevent his intention. One party, passing through the country of the *Kûrds* (who, during the winter, were encamped in the plains), put an infinite number to the sword. The *Mîrza Abûbekr*, who took the road to *Bâghdâd*, arrived there so suddenly, that the *Soltân*, with his son *Taber*, and some domestic officers, crossing the *Tigris* in a boat, fled to *Hilleh*, whither he was hotly pursued; but, by breaking the bridge behind him, escaped into the isles of *Kbâled* and *Mâlek* in the *Euphrates*. Another detachment pillaged *Mendeli*, and defeated the governor *Ali Kalânder*: while a fourth advanced to *Wâset* (on the *Tigris*), and plundered the *Arabs* of *Abbâdân* (S), from whom they took a considerable spoil in horses and camels. When winter was over, all the troops joined about twelve leagues from *Bâghdâd*, and marched together to the imperial camp.

- BÂYEZID having given protection to *Kara Yûsef*, who had begun afresh to rob passengers; and even insulted the *Karawân* of *Mekba*, *Timûr* resolved to make war on him: but, as the inhabitants of *Anatolia*, who had already experienced this monarch's power, represented the destruction which would attend the arms of so formidable an enemy; the *Soltân* sent ambassadors to *Karabâgh*, with a letter, asking pardon for what was passed, and promising obedience for the time to come. *Timûr*, unwilling to hurt a prince who was at war with the infidels of *Europe*, told them that he would forbear hostilities, provided their master would either put *Kara Yûsef* to death, send him to the *Tatar* camp, or expel him out of his dominions. After this, he did them particular honours, and dismissed them, accompanied with an ambassador of his own; telling them, that he would march in spring to the borders of *Anatolia*, where he would wait for an answer, which would determine whether their master desired peace or war.

ⁱ See before, p. 552.^k Hist. Tim. Bek, l. v. c. 32—37. p. 215—226.

(Q) The author was informed by credible persons, that these trees one year produce chestnuts, and the next gall nuts: but *La Croix* believes he mistook the oaks, which have that property, for chestnut trees; which, he says, are very uncommon in *Syria*.

(R) A town of *Azerbejân*, near *Tauris*. *La Croix*.—*Herbert* calls it *Ojont*.

(S) A town of *Arabia*, on the borders of *Irâk Arabi*, on the *Persian gulf*, near *Basrah*, or *Bassora*. *La Croix*.

Timûr irresolute.

Hej. 804.
A. D. 1402.

Consults the astrologers.

Marches towards Anatolia.

Takes Kamek fortress.

WHILE *Timûr* was hunting in the plain of *Aktâm* (south of *Arrâs*), to which the *Othmân* ambassadors were invited, he perceived an old canal ruined by time, which he resolved to restore by means of his soldiers; who carried on the work with so much vigour, that, in a month, two leagues of it, deep enough for a boat, were dug. The spring-head is at a place called *Surkapil*; and it falls into the *Arrâs*, at another named *Kiesbk Chengbîski*. The emperor gave it the name of *Nâbri Berlâs*, or *River of Berlâs*; and, on its banks the inhabitants have since built several towns, villages and pleasure-houses, with gardens and vineyards. When spring came, *Timûr* was still in suspense whether he should march against *Bâyezîd*, though he knew him to be his enemy; in consideration, partly, that he so zealously maintained a religious war against infidels; and partly because the *Ottomân* empire abounded with valiant as well as martial troops. On the other hand, the *Jagatays* being greatly fatigued with a long continual service, the Amîrs endeavoured to dissuade *Timûr* from the expedition; alleging, among other reasons, that, in the campaign against the *Othmâns*, there appeared in the heavens, according to the astrologers, an inevitable misfortune attending the *Jagatayan* army.

THE emperor, upon this, sent for *Mûlâna Abdo'llah Lesân*, one of the most famous court-astrologers; and, to remove the apprehensions of the Amîrs, ordered him to declare what the different aspects of the heavens portended. *Abdo'llah* hereupon said, "It appears, by the ephemerides of the present year, that the ascendant of this empire is in the highest degree of strength, and that of the enemy in the lowest degree of weakness. A comet will appear in *Aries*; and an army, which comes from the east, will make an intire conquest of *Anatolia*, the prince of which will be taken prisoner (T)." All objections being thus removed, *Timûr*, in the end of *April*, departed from *Karabâgh*; and, by way of *Berdâa* and *Ghenjeh*, arrived at *Shemkûr*; from whence he marched towards *Âlatâk* (U). Having passed by *Tabadâr*, on the borders of *Georgia*, he came to the plains of *Menkûl*; from which place he sent a second ambassador, with a letter, to *Bâyezîd*, importing: that, in case the Soltân consented to what he had desired, and would deliver up the fortress of *Kemak* (W), which had been always subject to the countries under the obedience of *Timûr*, he would not interrupt his wars against the infidels, but even succour him with his troops¹.

THERE being a strong castle, named *Tartûm*, in the neighbourhood, whose garrison refused to pay tribute, and insulted passengers, *Timûr* sent troops to take it; which they did on the sixth day of the siege, and put all the *Georgians* to the sword. He staid at *Avenik* (or *Vân*) for the return of his ambassadors sent to *Bâyezîd*: but, when two months were passed beyond the time agreed on, finding all his endeavours to preserve *Anatolia* were frustrated, he continued his march towards that country. When he came to *Arzerûm*, the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân* begged leave to go and conquer the castle of *Kemak*, which his father granted; and when he arrived at *Arzenjân*, he sent the Mîrzas *Abûbekr*, *Kalil Soltân*, Soltân *Hussayn*, and *Eskânder*, with more troops, to his assistance in the siege. The castle of *Kemak* (X) is one of the most noted in all *Asia*: it is situated on a high steep rock, and surrounded with a defile in form of a labyrinth. At the bottom of its walls are gardens, and parterres of flowers, on the bank of the *Euphrates*; and no prince had ever taken it by force. Several poets have compared it to the terrestrial paradise, because every year, for three days together, little birds as big as sparrows, and unfledged, fall out of the air; which the inhabitants gather up, and preserve salted in pots. If they do not take them in three days, their wings grow large enough to fly away.

THE troops no sooner came before *Kemak*, than they besieged it in form. They made their approaches for ten days; during which time they cut off the water which supplied the place. Next day they made rope-ladders; and, in the night, the *Mekrit* soldiers, who ran up the steepest mountains like roe-bucks, got to the top of the rock; from whence they let down cords, by which a great number of brave men mounted, armed with cuirasses, during the darkness. When the besieged perceived them, they cast down great stones; and several, missing the steps, fell down. Next morning the soldiers mounted to the assault; while wild-fire flew from the engines on both sides. The officers of the Mîrza *Abûbekr*, who himself did wonders, first scaled the walls, and erected the horse-tail: at the same time others mounted on all sides, and became masters of the place. When *Timûr* received advice that *Kemak* was taken, he came before it; and gave the government to *Tabârten*, because it was no more than seven leagues from *Arzenjân*^m.

¹ Hist. Tim. Bek, l. v. p. 228—238. c. 37—41.

^m Ibid. l. v. p. 238—242, c. 42, & seqq.

(T) *La Croix*, in the margin, puts, *Admirable prediction of an astrologer*; as if he believed in that idle science, or rather imposing art; and took it for granted, that the prediction was made according to its rules: whereas it might have been framed to encourage the army; or only added by the historian from report, which always magnifies or changes facts.

(U) Perhaps it should be *Avanik*, or *Vân*.

(W) On the *Euphrates*, twenty-one miles south of *Arzenjân*.

(X) *Kamek*, *Kamak*, or *Kamkê*, as in the *Nabian* geography.

a AFTER this, *Timûr* marched forward; and at *Siwâs*, or *Sebaste*, was met by his ambassador, with two others from *Bâyezîd*; whose answer was so unsatisfactory, that the emperor refused their presents, and bid them tell their master, they must prepare for war. Having reviewed his army, he departed from *Siwâs*; and, sending troops to take the castle of *Harûk*, marched towards *Kaysariya*, or *Cæsarea*, in *Kappadocia*; to whose inhabitants he gave quarter; and then set out for *Akkhara* (Y), to meet *Bâyezîd*, who was advancing on that side. The Amîr *Shâb Mûlek*, who was sent before to get intelligence, with a thousand horse, lay in ambuscade, to surprise the *Othmân* scouts; and defeated them. *Bâyezîd*'s son, on the other hand, formed an ambuscade near the camp of *Timûr*, but to no effect. The emperor, being come to *Ankora*, laid siege to it: but, on advice that *Bâyezîd* was approaching, he ordered it to be raised, and the army to march toward the enemy. Next day, being the first of *July*, the two armies met, and came to an engagement, the particulars of which we shall relate elsewhere^a; and therefore shall only mention here, that *Timûr* gained the victory; and *Bâyezîd* was taken prisoner, with his son *Mûssa*, who were treated with great humanity and honour^b.

Defeats and takes Bâyezîd.

Upon this great defeat, *Ankora* submitted; and *Timûr* sent the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân* towards *Prusa*, to seize the treasures of *Bâyezîd*, and other riches of that city. While the Mîrza *Eskûnder* was detached to *Konîya* (*Kogni*, or *Ikonium*), *Akshâbr*, *Karabissar*, *Satalia*, and other places, the Mîrza *Shâb Rûkk* was sent to *Gbulbissar*, and *Timûr* himself marched to *Khyutakia*; from whence he sent out parties towards other cities, to ravage all the country of *Anatolia*, while he recreated his court and great officers with feasts and rejoicings. Although the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân* made the greatest haste to *Prusa*; yet *Mussulman Chelebi* had gotten thither before, and fled with the treasures: the principal inhabitants also fled different ways; but were pursued and brought back. *Bâyezîd*'s wife and two daughters were taken at *Yenishabr* (Z); as was likewise the daughter of Soltân *Abmed*, king of *Bâghdâd*, whom *Bâyezîd* had demanded in marriage for his son *Mestafa*. The Mîrza seized on what treasure had been left at *Prusa*, consisting in abundance of plate and rich furniture: after which, the pillage was given to the soldiers; who, when they had done plundering, set the houses on fire.

Ankuria surrenders.

Prusa taken.

From thence the Mîrza *Abûbekr*, being sent to *Isnik*, or *Nice*, took and pillaged it: he also reduced the whole country. Then marching with the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân* to *Yenishabr*, married *Bâyezîd*'s eldest daughter. Mean time Mîrza *Soltân Hussayn*, detached to make inroads in the southern parts, took *Akshâbr* and *Karayser* (or *Karabissar*), plundering the towns as far as *Koniyab*; while others ravaged the province of *Aydin*, and the sea-coast. *Timûr* generously sent to *Bâyezîd* his wife *Destina* (A); and restored the Amîr *Mehemed*, son of *Karamân*, who had been twelve years kept in chains by *Bâyezîd*, to the government of all *Karamânia*. After this, he left *Kyûtakiya*, where he had staid a month, and marched towards *Tangûzlik*. In the way, he issued out a severe order, that the brave *Sainte Maure* and his brother *Morâd* should be put to death, for several crimes he had committed; with his son, and other brothers: *Koja Firûz*, prince of *Isra Yaka* (B), was treated in the same manner. At the same time feasts were prepared; to which *Bâyezîd* was invited, and treated with great honour: further to comfort him, *Timûr* conferred on him, by patents, the kingdom of *Anatolia*, and had the crown placed on his head^c.

Isnik pillaged.

THE feasting being over, *Timûr*, *October 25th*, sent an ambassador to *Farrîj*, Soltân of *Egypt*, with a letter, threatening to march to *Kâberah*, or *Kayro*, unless he ordered money to be coined with his (the emperor's) impress; the Kotbah to be made in his name; and *Atilmîsh* to be sent without delay. Two other ambassadors were sent to the *Tekkâr*, or *Greek* emperor, to summon him to pay tribute, and the customs; likewise messengers to *Mussulman Chelebi*, who had fled to *Isra Yaka*, and resided at *Ghuzelbissar*, which his father had built above *Constantinople*, threatening to send over the army, if he did not forthwith repair to court, or at least lend *Timûr* money. Some time after, the ambassadors, sent to the *Greek* emperor, returned with two others, to make his submission, and agree to pay the imposed tribute. At *Bûlûk* he was overtaken by the messengers sent to *Mussulman Chelebi*, and an ambassador, with a letter from that prince, promising to come and throw himself at *Timûr*'s feet. After this, advice was brought, that Soltân *Mohammed Khân*, titular emperor of *Jagatay*, who, by *Timûr*'s order, was gone to make inroads, had died of a violent distemper, with which he had been seized at *Kechik Bûrlûgh* (in *Ghermian-îli*); at which news *Timûr* was very much afflicted.

Egypt and Turkey threatened.

^a See, in a subsequent volume, the History of the *Othmân Turks*.
c. 43—49.

^b Ibid. l. v. p. 258—267. c. 50—53.

^c Hist Tim. Bek, l. v. p. 242—257.

(Y) The same as *Ankuria*, *Anguri*, or *Enguri*, as 'tis variously written, the ancient *Ancyra*; a city towards the north part of *Anatolia*, and about the middle from east to west.

(Z) Four leagues from *Prusa*, and six days journey from *Constantinople*; the same as *Teniche*. *La Croix*.—

It seems rather to be ten leagues from *Prusa*, or *Purfa*. It is called also *Shabrno*.

(A) The *European* romances call her *Roxana*; and say, *Timûr* kept her for his own use. *La Croix*.

(B) That is, *Turky* in *Europe*. *La Croix*.

Anatolia ravaged.

MEAN time *Kechil Búrlúgh*, *Akyaka*, and *Satala*, situated on the sea-coast, were ravaged. ^a Afterwards the provinces of *Mentesha* and *Teke-ili* were ruined, by the Amírs sent for that purpose, who returned to court laden with booty. During autumn, the emperor lay encamped at *Tangúzlik*: where, the air being infected by the violent heat, several soldiers died, as well as by drinking the water of a spring at this place, which petrifies when it stagnates. *Timúr*, having settled the winter-quarters for his troops, sent the Mírza *Mehemed Soltán* to *Magnasiab*, in the province of *Serban-ili* (or *Sarúkbán*), and *Shâh Rúkb*, to quarter in the province of *Ghermian-ili*, between *Olúg Búrlúgh* and *Kechik Búrlúgh*. After this, the emperor marched to *Dúgúrlík*; and, having crossed the *Menduras*, came to *Ghuzelbissar* (C); from thence he passed on to *Ayázlik* (D); then to *Tira*, one of the most noted cities of *Anatolia*, whose inhabitants, like those of other places, were obliged to pay the ransom for ^b their lives.

Smyrna taken,

BEING informed at this place, that, on the sea-coast, there were two exceeding strong fortresses, named *Ezmír* (or *Smyrna*), one possessed by *Christians*, the other by *Mohammedans*, who were incessantly at war on account of religion; he thought it his duty to deliver the *Mussulmans*, by extirpating their enemies. Hereupon he sent the Mírza *Pír Mehemed*, son of *Omar Sheykh*, to summon the Christian *Ezmír* to embrace the faith: but, on the news of his approach, *Mahmús* the governor, craving aid of all the *European* princes, soon assembled a considerable force. *Timúr*, being informed of this, marched in person to attack the place; and, having been joined by all his troops, laid siege to the same in form; whereof we shall give an account in the *Turkish* history ¹. The place being taken, the inhabitants were put to the sword, excepting a few, who swam to the ships in the road; and all the houses demolished. ^c As all this was done in fourteen days, the people of the country were astonished, who were acquainted with the strength of the place, and knew that it had never been taken before by any *Mohammedan* prince: besides *Morád*, father of *Báyezíd*, had several times attempted it, with a formidable army, to no purpose; and *Báyezíd* himself had laid siege to it for seven years in vain ².

and ruined.

Foja and Khio yield.

H. 805.
A. D. 1403.

DURING these transactions, ambassadors arrived again from *Mussulman Cbelebi*, and from *Isa Cbelebi*, another of *Báyezíd*'s sons, promising the utmost obedience; with whose misfortunes the emperor was touched. *Foja*, another Christian castle, a day's journey distant from *Ezmír*, submitted on sight of the troops of *Timúr*; who afterwards having furnished the *Mussulmans*, who inhabited the other castle of *Ezmír*, with arms to repulse the enemy, went to encamp at *Ayázlik*. There ^d *Soba*, an *European* prince of the island of *Khio*, in which grows mastick, sent an ambassador to *Timúr*, offering submission, and to pay the tribute; upon which he was taken into the emperor's protection. From *Tangúzlik* the army marched to *Soltán Hissar* (*); where *Timúr* gave the cities of *Khyútabia*, *Tangúzlik*, and *Karashár*, with the province of *Ghermian-ili*, to *Takúb Cbelebi*, who fled from *Báyezíd* to the emperor, and was the rightful heir. Being come to *Ulug Búrlúgh*, which had not yet surrendered, he gave orders to attack it. It was soon taken; and as the Amír *Jalálo'l Islám* was slain before it, the men were all put to the sword, the women carried away captive, and the place demolished. Here *Timúr* ordered the Mírza *Mehemed Soltán* to march by the road of *Ankora*, and rejoin the camp at *Kaysariya*.

Other places taken.

AFTER this, leaving *Ulug Búrlúgh*, in two days and nights he reached *Egridur*, a city ^e built with free-stone, in the province of *Hamid-ili*. It stands on the bank of a fresh-water lake, called by some *Falak abád*, five leagues long, and four broad. Three of its sides are surrounded by the lake, and the fourth by a mountain. In the midst of the lake are two isles, *Ghúlistán* and *Nasibín*; in which last is built a fortress, whither the neighbouring people had retired for safety with their effects. As *Timúr* thought himself obliged in honour to take this place, he ordered it to be attacked by his troops: who, soon entering it, put the inhabitants to the sword, excepting a few, who escaped in boats to *Nisibín*; which island they resolved to attack next. To this purpose, the Mírzas and Amírs having crossed over on floats made of the skins of oxen and horses, the governor immediately went out and submitted. Thence the court marched to *Akshábr*, where the Amír *Mehemed Karamán* came from *Koníya*, ^f and, under the name of ransom, among other things, presented such vast sums of silver, that it was thought he did more than he was able, considering the small extent of his country; which made *Timúr* honour him the more.

Death of Báyezíd.

ABOUT this time *Báyezíd* fell sick, and soon after died at this place; whose death *Timúr* bewailed with tears, having intended, after the conquest of *Anatolia*, to re-establish him on the throne. He bestowed several largesses on that prince's officers; and presented his son *Mússa Cbelebi* with a royal vest, a load of gold, and other rich things, and then dismissed

¹ See a subsequent volume.

² Hist. Tim. Bek, l. v. c. 54--57. p. 267--278.

(C) This is the same with *Magnesia*, on the *Meander*; the same as *Menduras* in the text, by others called *Mandre*.

(D) Or *Ayúzaluk*, the same as *Ephesus*.
(*) Or *Tralles*.

a him; telling him, that his father should be buried with the greatest pomp. Mean time advice came, that the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân* was likewise fallen ill; and that, through the unskillfulness of his physician, he was become delirious. Upon this, *Timûr* immediately departed from *Akshâbr*, for the place where his grandson lay sick; and, having harassed the lands of the *Dârgot* tribe of *Turkmâns* in the way, *March* 25th arrived thither, and found the Mîrza speechless. He ordered him to be put in a litter, and departed: but, coming to *Kara Hissar* three days after, the prince died there, aged eighteen years, extremely regretted ^{and Mehemed Soltân.} by *Timûr*, on account of the great actions he had performed, and what might have been expected from him. His corpse was sent under a convoy to *Avenik* (or *Vân*); whence, being put in a new coffin, it was sent to be interred at *Soltânîya*, in the prophet *Kayder*'s tomb; b from whence it was translated afterwards to *Samarkant* ³.

WHEN *Timûr*'s ambassadors were arrived at *Kayro*, they found a handsome reception from *Egypt* ^{sub-} *Farruj*, surnamed *Alimâleko'n-nâfir*; who, having heard of *Bâyezîd*'s overthrow, thought it ^{mits.} would be ruinous to refuse obedience to the conqueror: he therefore, by advice of his council, caused money to be coined, and prayers read, in *Timûr*'s name; and, after honouring *Atîlmîsh* with an audience, sent him back, with two ambassadors, and presents, to intercede for him. *Timûr*, being pleased with this submission, dismissed the ambassadors with a crown, mantle, and belt enriched with precious stones, for the Soltân. Being then in the country of the *Kara Tatars*, he resolved to remove those people into *Tartary*. They are a nation of *Turks*, whom *Hûlâkî* brought with him into *Irân* (in 1256); and, having experienced their malice, obliged them to reside on the borders of *Anatolia* and *Syria*: but, in the confusion c which arose in *Irân* on the death of *Abûsaïd Khân* (in 1320), they revolted; and, dividing themselves into fifty-two tribes, resolved to live independent. When *Bâyezîd*, after the death of *Kâdhi Burhânoddîn*, prince of *Siwâs*, was become master of this kingdom, he enrolled them in the *Othmân* army, and gave them a residence in his empire, where they became exceeding rich and powerful.

As *Timûr*'s design of removing them was to re-people *Jetab*, he treated their chiefs with *Kara Tatars* great honour, and likewise made them presents, when they came to salute them: but, as ^{transplanted.} there were between thirty and forty families of them, he ordered his army to surround the plains of *Amasia* and *Kaysariya* (E), where they dwelt, that none might get away, and then d sent for their chiefs; who, after being told his resolution to carry them back into *Tartary*, seemed readily to submit to his will; and, being distributed among his troops, began their march with them out of *Anatolia*. When *Timûr* arrived at *Kaysariya*, the inhabitants, thro' fear, defended themselves against his troops; but, being overpowered, were all cut to pieces. From thence he went to *Siwâs*, where he conferred several honours on *Kara Osmân*, and sent him back to his principality. At *Arzenjân* he was complimented by the faithful *Tabârten*, on whom he bestowed a royal vest. From thence he passed on to *Arzerûm*; and at length *Timûr comes* e came to *Avenik* (or *Vân*), where the empresses met him, clothed in black, for the death of ^{to Vân.} the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân*; which being now made known to the princess *Khân-zâdeb*, she swooned away, and tore herself like one distracted.

AFTER this excess of mourning, *Timûr*, for the good of the deceased prince's soul, gave f alms to the poor; and provided a funeral banquet, where the Sharîfs, doctors, grandees, and nobles, of all *Asia*, assembled on this occasion. They sat down, according to their rank, at the emperor's table: the korân was read over several times. The banquet was served up by his majesty's stewards: the Mîrza's brass drum was beaten; whereat the ladies, Amîrs, and soldiers, made a great cry, and wept bitterly; after which, it was broken to pieces, according to the custom of the *Mungls* ⁴.

MEAN time *Mâlek Ghûrghîn*, king of *Georgia*, having failed to come, at the time appointed, ^{Enters Geor-} to cast himself at *Timûr*'s feet, and beg pardon, that monarch marched into his country; and, ^{gia.} being arrived at *Menkûl*, received the submission of *Mâlek Iffa* (or *Aysa*), prince of *Mardîn*, f who, with his head uncovered, begged pardon on his knees. The emperor, after reprimanding, forgave him. As this prince brought with him the tribute for several years past, and made abundance of handsome presents, *Timûr* gave him a crown, a royal vest, and a belt set with precious stones. As an addition to those favours, his daughter was betrothed to the Mîrza *Abûbekr*; and thus had the honour to be allied to the emperor. At the same time *Yowâni*, grandson of *Akbûga*, a *Georgian* prince, and *Kustandil*, brother to *Mâlek Ghûrghîn*, besides the lords and princes of all the neighbouring places, came with presents to pay their homage. *Timûr* received them with great civility; and, presenting them with vests, dismissed them.

³ Hist. Tim. Bek, l. v. p. 279—289. c. 57—62.

⁴ Ibid. p. 285—299. c. 62—65.

(E) I believe it should rather be *Aksara*. *La Croix*:

Mirza Abû-
bekr sent

IN the neighbourhood of *Menkûl*, the emperor again invested the *Mirza Pîr Mehemed*, son of *Omar Sbeykh*, in the government of *Shîrâz*, capital of *Pârs*, or *Perfia*, then sent him away : and at the same time dispatched orders to the *Mirza Rûstem*, at *Shîrâz*, to repair to court. At *Kansar*, a place dependent on *Jerbâdkbân*, he received a packet from court, signifying that the emperor had given him the government of *Ispâbân*, capital of *Persian Irâk*; and with orders to rebuild the fortress of *Ormiyân*, at *Urûjerd*; which he did, after parting with his brother *Pîr Mehemed*, who came to *Kansar*, in his way to *Shîraz*. When the court was come to *Kârs*, he invested the *Mirza Abûbekr* with the government of the province of *Irâk Arabi*, as far as *Wâset*, *Basrab*, *Kûrdestân*, *Mardin*, *Diyârbekr*, and *Oyrat*. He gave him orders to restore *Bâghdâd*, which had been destroyed : also to exterminate all disturbers of the public peace ; and begin with *Kara Yûsef* the *Turkmân*, who had made himself master of *Irâk Arabi*.

against Kara
Yûsef ;

THIS prince, having fled from that province to avoid the troops of *Timûr*, as hath been before-mentioned, got into *Rûm*, or *Anatolia* : but, when the *Tatar* army arrived at *Kaysariya* (in its march against *Bâyezîd*), he fled back again to *Irâk* ; where having assembled all the *Turkmân* tribes, he stopped at *Payan Hît*. Soltân *Abmed* at the same time retired from *Bâghdâd* to his son Soltân *Tâber* : but being excited by his father's Amîrs, who feared *Abmed*, to revolt, he passed the bridge during the night, and encamped on this side of the river. When the Soltân was informed of it, he broke down the bridge ; and, marching along the river, stopped in presence of the rebels. From thence he sent an express for *Kara Yûsef* ; who having joined him, they passed the river together ; and, coming to a battle, *Tâber* was vanquished, and fled : but, endeavouring, with his armour on, to leap his horse over a brook, both fell in, and he was drowned.

who takes
Bâghdâd.

AFTER this defeat, *Tâber's* troops dispersed ; and Soltân *Abmed*, growing jealous of *Kara Yûsef*, returned to *Bâghdâd* ; but this latter, coming soon after from *Hilleb*, with his army, took that city. The Soltân hid himself : but was perceived by one *Kara Hassan*, who helped him to escape during the night, carrying him on his shoulders to a place near five leagues distant ; where, meeting a man with an ox, *Abmed* mounted, and came with his deliverer to *Takrît*. Being here joined by several of his officers, he went to *Damaskus* ; while *Kara Yusef* became peaceable possessor of *Irâk Arabi*. When the *Mirza Abûbekr* came to *Erbîl* (or *Arbela*), he seized *Abd'allah* the governor, and other chiefs of the rebels ; then, marching to *Bâghdâd*, he went in pursuit of *Kara Yûsef* ; and, being joined by the *Mirza Rûstem*, from *Urûjerd*, with other Amîrs, and their troops, near *Hilleb*, they passed the *Euphrates* together ; and met the *Turkmân* prince opposite the town of *Sib*, more to the south, on the other side of *Nâbro'lgânam* ; where, altho' he was entrenched with a numerous army, and the *Mirza* had but three thousand men, they resolved to attack him.

Is defeated,
and flies.

ON this occasion, they divided their troops into two bodies, that they might assault him on both sides at once : then *Rûstem* crossed the water, and fell on the enemy with great resolution ; while the *Mirza Abûbekr* did the like on his part. Nor did the enemy yield in bravery to the *Jagatays* ; but at length they were defeated. *Kara Yûsef* fled into *Syria*, with some of his domestics : but his subjects, who consisted of between 10 and 15,000 families, his oxen, sheep, and camels, were plundered. His brother *Yar Ali* was shot off his horse in the battle, and had his head cut off : but his wife, the queen of the *Turkmâns*, with the ladies of her court, were taken prisoners. The *Mirzas* also vanquished *Noayr*, absolute sovereign of all the *Arab* tribes of the desert ; with several other princes in those parts, who, till that time, had never submitted to any conqueror. After this, *Abûbekr* employed himself to render the country as flourishing as ever : he encouraged the people, obliged them to cultivate the lands ; and caused the city of *Bâghdâd*, which was almost ruined, to be rebuilt.

Georgia in-
vaded,

MEAN time *Timûr*, having decamped from the neighbourhood of *Kârs*, entered *Georgia* ; whither *Sheykh Ibrâbîm*, prince of *Shîrwân*, passing through *Armenia*, had gone before, and seized some defiles. *Mâlek Gbûrgbîn*, surprised at the news of this march, sent ambassadors to court, with presents, signifying “ his obedience ; and that he was ready, on the first order, to send either money or troops : that his fear had hindered him to repair to court ; but that, as soon as it was over, he would run to kiss his majesty's feet, as the prince of *Mardin*, and other governors, had done ; would prostrate himself before the throne, and receive his orders, as his slave.” *Timûr* would not hearken to what the ambassadors said, nor receive their presents. He told them, “ That the case of their master, who was a *Christian*, differed from that of the other princes (he mentioned), who were *Mohammedans* ; and therefore, on the score of religion, more intitled to favour : that, if he desired life, he must immediately repair to court ; and, if God should not give him grace to turn *Mohammedan*, the tribute of *Karaj* would be imposed upon him ; after which, he would leave him once more the

^u Hist. Tim. Bek, l. vi. c. 1, 2. 11. p. 299—305, 307 & seq.

^v government

- a " government of his country, and suffer his subjects to live in peace : that the emperor of *Constantinople*, as a *Christian*, was on the same footing with him : in short, that if he came to court, he should be well received ; but that, if he made the least difficulty of coming, none of his excuses should be accepted of."

b THE ambassadors being dismissed, and the corn-harvest of the *Georgians* approaching, to prevent their reaping it, *Timûr* sent troops into their country, who drove out the inhabitants ; and, carrying off all the corn and pulse, destroyed every thing else. There is a very steep hill in *Georgia*, 150 cubits high, situated between two very deep defiles ; on the south of it is a rock, which surpasses it in height, and is ascended by ladders and cords. There is but one way leading to this hill, and that very narrow as well as crooked ; besides, the precipices which surround it, hinder an army from encamping, and besieging it. The *Georgians* had fortified this mountain on all sides ; built houses on it, and a gate at the very extremity, with cisterns to preserve rain-water. This fortress, called *Kortene*, was commanded by *Trâl*, a *Georgian* prince, who had under him thirty great *Oznawrs* ; and a strong garrison, secured against want, their cisterns being filled with water, their cellars with delicious wines, and the place stored with swine and sheep.

c TIMUR, apprised of the importance of this place, resolved to take it, notwithstanding the difficulties which might attend the siege ; as it was in the midst of the enemy's country, and neither victuals nor water enough was to be found for the troops required to carry it on : so that every one was surprised at this undertaking, and believed it impossible to take the place. As soon as the imperial standard arrived before the castle, *August* 13th, the inhabitants sent to offer *Timûr* presents and submission : but, finding they could not divert the storm, they declared war by a discharge of arrows and stones. The *Amîrs* having taken the quarters assigned them, *Shâh Mâlek*, who was posted on the side of the gate, was ordered to build a sconce opposite to it ; which, to the admiration of all, he finished in three days, though capable of containing 3000 men. Two other *Amîrs* were likewise ordered to build two sconces in different places : this was done, that, in case the siege lasted too long, garrisons might be put in them, to incommode the besieged.

l TIMUR encamped in a place behind the fortress, proper for making battering and other engines ; where he commanded a *meljûr*, or platform, of stone and wood, to be built high enough to command the place. This work being finished in a week, on the 20th *Bikîjek*, a *Mekrît*, skilful in marching over mountains, found means, during night, to get upon the rock south of the castle ; to the top of which he carried a goat, which he took in his way up ; and, having killed it, placed it for a signal, and then descended unseen by the *Georgians*. Next day he told this adventure to the emperor ; who immediately ordered strong cords to be made of raw silk and thread, for making ladders. When these were finished, four other *Mekrîts* ascended the rock, and drew up the ladders with long cords. Then mounting by an arch, which a goat could scarcely pass, and fastening the ladders to a tree which grew out of the very ridge of the rock, fifty of the bravest *Turks* of *Khorassân* immediately ascended. At day-break one of them cried aloud, *Allah Akber*, and blessed *Mohammed* : at the same time *Mahmûd*, an officer, sounded his trumpet.

f THE watch, alarmed by this noise, roused the sleeping garrison ; while the scalers began to advance towards the place by a way very narrow and dangerous, no more than three persons being able to march in front. One of them went first, followed by two others, holding his buckler before him : but, being shot in the mouth with an arrow ; he fell backwards, and the enemy seized on his buckler. *Abd'allah Sebzawâri* advanced sword in hand, and slew some *Georgians* ; till, being mortally wounded in ten or twelve places, he fell through weakness. The *Turk Mahmûd* fell on the enemy with a heavy club, with which he broke the leg of a very considerable *Oznawr*. In short, of the fifty men who had mounted to the assault, several arrived at the castle-gate ; where a bloody battle ensued : some also continued to attack the place from the *meljûr*, or platform ; so that at length the gate was broken, and the troops entered the castle on the 22d of *August*. The besieged begged for quarter on their knees : but most of the *Oznawrs*, or officers, were cast headlong from the walls. The governor *Trâl* was bound, and carried to the camp, with the whole garrison ; who were all beheaded by *Timûr's* order, and their wives and children enslaved : but he made a present of *Trâl's* wife to *Sheykh Ibrâhîm*, prince of *Shîrwân*.

THE emperor heaped honours and riches on *Bikîjek*, and the other brave men who had first mounted the rock. He made *Mehemed Turân*, surnamed king of *Bawrân*, one of the principal lords of *Khorassân*, governor of the place ; with orders not to suffer the *Georgians* to gain any more footing in the neighbouring conquered countries. He was likewise to convert

* Hist. Tim. Bek ; l. vi. p. 306—310. c. 3—5.

the church into a mosk, to build a niche in place of the altar, and, instead of bells and crosses, a to provide Muezîms, and readers of the Korân.

Georgians
wasted.

DURING these transactions, all the great officers, and governors of the several provinces and cities of *Khorassân* and *Irâk*, came to court, to pay their homage. After the taking of *Kortene*, *Timûr* marched for *Abkbâz*, which is the northern frontier of *Georgia*; and the vanguard having opened a road through the thick woods, he entered into the middle of the kingdom: where he plundered 700 towns and villages, laying waste the cultivated lands, razing the *Christian* monasteries and churches, which were built of marble and free-stone.

Peace granted.

THE *Georgians*, to avoid the enemy, retired into caverns, among rocks and mountains, by means of ladders, which they drew up after them: but the soldiers being let down in boxes, great ropes, from the top of the mountain, to the caverns, as in former expeditions, entered b them, though some contained near 100 *Georgians*, and put them to the sword. When *Mâlek Ghûrgbîn* was informed of this desolation, and progress quite through his country, by the lords who were slaves in *Timûr*'s army, he sent ambassadors, offering to send all his riches to court, the annual tribute, and the troops which should be required. The Amîrs, on their knees, intreated him to accept of these submissions: but, not being able to abate his zeal for the continuation of the *Gâzi* (or religious war), they proposed the affair to the doctors of the law, and to the Muftis; who, unanimously declared, in the imperial council, *That, since the Georgians consented to pay the tribute, and not to injure the Mussulmans, they were obliged, by their law, to grant them quarter, without doing them any farther harm, either by slaughter or pillage.* Upon this conclusion of the doctors, *Timûr* nodded to Sheykh *Ibrâhîm* (king of *Shîr- c wân*), one of the intercessors, in token, that, in respect to him, he condescended to the request of king *Ghûrgbîn*. The ambassadors, who were dismissed, between hope and fear, soon returned, and brought 1000 gold medals, struck in the name of *Timûr*, 1000 horses, gold and silver plate, with a balaf ruby, of a beautiful colour, weighing eighteen medikals, there being few which weigh so much; they likewise obliged themselves, by oath, to pay the tribute*.

Baylakân
rebuilt.

THEN *Timûr* decamped, in order to return; and, after some days march, arrived at *Teflis*, having ruined all the churches and monasteries in the neighbouring parts. When he had gone two days journey beyond the river *Kûr*, he resolved to march to *Karabâgh*, and rebuild the city of *Baylakân* (F); near which last he encamped. From hence removing, to winter at *Karabâgh*, d although the season was very cold and rainy, yet he set the work forward, in which the soldiers, under the inspection of the *Shâhzâdehs* (or *Mîrzâs*), and the Amîrs wrought with such diligence, that the buildings, which were of brick, were finished in a month. The circuit of the walls was 2400 cubits, of large measure, the thickness eleven, and height fifteen; the ditch was thirty cubits wide, and twenty deep. At each angle of the place was a great bastion; and in the middle of each curtain, a gallery, with battlements, and an engine to cast stones. *Timûr* gave the government of this new city to *Babrâm Shâh*; and invested the *Mîrza Kalîl Soltân* with that of *Baylakân*, *Berdaa*, *Gbenjeh*, the country of *Arrân*, *Armenia*, *Georgia*, and *Trebizond*. He likewise ordered a canal to be cut, six leagues in length, and fifteen cubits in breadth, to convey the water of the *Arrâs* into *Baylakân*: and this is one of the most magnifi- e cent monuments of his grandeur and power.

Timûr's vigilance

DURING *Timûr*'s stay at this place, the principal lords of *Irân* and *Turân* came to court, where an assembly of the most learned men was held; the emperor being very curious in hearing the chief questions of the law explained; with the distinction between positive commands, and those which contain only matter of advice. One day the conversation happening to fall upon the words of *Mohammed*, *That God orders princes to practise justice and beneficence*; *Timûr* asked the doctors, *How they come to neglect to tell him what he ought to do, and what he ought not to do?* they answered, *That his highness did not stand in need of their counsels; but, on the contrary, they might profit by imitating him.* The emperor told them, he did not like that sort of compliments, which looked like flattery: adding, his meaning was, that, as they could f not but be acquainted with the affairs of the provinces they came from, and conduct of the several officers in authority, he expected they should inform him, whether they distributed justice or not, that he might remedy evils, and deliver the weak from oppression. Hereupon the doctors having represented the condition of their respective provinces, *Timûr* chose the most experienced among them, and sent with each an intendant, to whom he gave a full power to make, or dispense with, laws, for the better administration of justice. He likewise permitted them to restore, out of the treasury, what sums had been extorted from poor people, and to punish the oppressors, in an exemplary manner. Then *Timûr* made this memorable speech, which was taken down by a lord, who was present at the assembly:

over govern-
ments.

* Hist. Tim. Bek, vol. ii. p. 311—319. c. 5—8.

(F) Called also *Bilkân*, and *Pilkân*.

- a " My heart hath hitherto been set upon enlarging the limits of my vast empire : but now, I take up a resolution to use all my care in procuring quiet and security to my subjects, and to render my kingdoms flourishing. It is my will, that private persons address their petitions and complaints immediately to myself : that they give me their advice, for the good of the *Remarkable Speech.*
 " *Mussulmans*, the glory of the faith, and the extirpation of the wicked disturbers of the public quiet. I am unwilling, at the day of judgment, that my poor oppressed subjects should cry out for vengeance against me. I am not desirous, that any of my brave soldiers, who have so often exposed their lives in my service, should complain against either me, or fortune; for their afflictions touch me more than they do themselves. Let none of my subjects fear to come before me with their complaints; for my design is, that the world should become a
 b " paradise under my reign; knowing, that when a prince is just and merciful, his kingdom is crowned with blessings and honours. In fine, I desire to lay up a treasure of justice, that my soul may be happy after my death."

TOWARDS the end of *November*, a *Cherkassian* officer came to the camp before *Baylakân*, with the head of *Mâlek Azzo'ddin*, king of *Lor Kuchek*, who had revolted. His skin had been flay'd off, and hung up, stuffed with straw, for an example to others. About this time, *Timûr* likewise performed an act of justice on the person of the famous doctor, *Mûlâna Kothbo'ddin Kermi*, who was come to court, with the other officers of the diwân of *Sbirâz*: because, at his departure, he had taxed the inhabitants of *Pârs* (or *Proper Persia*) at the sum of 300,000 dinârs kopeghi, under pretence of a present to the emperor. His majesty, being highly offended at this tyranny, which he was informed off privately, by *Mûlâna Saed*, a doctor of the same country, immediately ordered the Sheykh *Darwîsh Allâbi* to bind his hands, and, placing the forked branch about his neck, sent him, in that figure, to *Sbirâz*, with the sum he had extorted from the inhabitants, to be restored to those who had paid it. *Argbûn*, *Kothbo'ddin's* intendant, was condemned to be hanged, on account of the troubles which he had brought on the people, by his master's order: and sentence was executed on him, as soon as *Mûlâna Saed* returned to *Sbirâz*. *punished with infamy.*

THE *Friday* following, the inhabitants of the city and neighbouring villages, being assembled in the old mosk, *Mûlâna Kothbo'ddin* was exposed, at the foot of the preaching-chair, which was of free-stone; from whence *Mûlâna Saed* having told the people what *Timûr* had ordered him to say on the occasion, the mosk echoed with their acclamations. After this piece of justice had been done on the person of one of the greatest lords of the kingdom, the *Mîrza Pîr Mehemed*, son of *Omar Sheykh*, took off his fetters and forked branch, and sent him back to *Samarkant*, the intendency of the finances of *Sbirâz* being given to another.

WHEN *Balakân* was intirely built, *Timûr* marched to pass the winter at *Karabâgh*, in *Koria's*, or thatched houses, built for the purpose. Here advice being brought, that *Eskânder Sheykhbi*, prince of *Damâwend* and *Firûzkûb*, had revolted, the Amîr *Soleymân Shâh* had orders to go to *Ray*, to observe *Eskânder's* motions; and the *Mîrza Râstem* was sent to assist him. They were directed to give him a handsome reception, in case he returned forthwith to his obedience: but to prosecute him to the utmost, if he continued obstinate. About this time, *Ibrahim*, king of *Shirwân*, regaled the whole court with a banquet; and *Nûr Alwerd*, son of *Soltân Ahmed*, of *Bâghdâd*, eighteen years old, was brought from *Irâk Arabi*. The venerable Sheykh *Bereke* (G) then also arrived at court; and the pious *Timûr* went out of his tent to meet him. *The Sheykh Bereke arrives.* The Santon, having perceived the emperor, flung off his turbân, and paid his compliments of condolence on the death of the *Mîrza Mehemed Soltân*. *Timûr* embraced, and wept a long time with him. The learned of *Great Bukhâria* came to court on the same occasion of condolence; and every evening, after the emperor had done with the affairs of state, he heard them dispute on some questions of learning and religion.

As the princes of *Ghilân* had only sent a few small presents, instead of coming to court, *Timûr* sent the *Karawl*, or van-guard, and the *Mîrza Shâh Rûkb*, with his troops, to *Kzeligâj* (or *Kezeligâj*). *Affairs of Ghilân.* The princes, alarmed at these motions, consented to pay a great sum, under the name of *Karaj*, and sent the Seyd *Râzi Kiya*, one of the princes of *Dilem*, of *Mohammed's* race, with another prince, to give assurances of their obedience. The emperor honoured the Seyd *Râzi* in a particular manner, made him vast presents, and gave him the government of the castle of *Kemâk*, on the borders of *Anatolia*, which *Shâms*, a relation of the Amîr *Abbâs*, formerly possessed (H), with troops to go thither. Soon after, the Sharîf Seyd *Bereke* fell sick at *Karabâgh*, and died. *The Sheykh dies.* *Timûr* wept bitterly for the loss of his best friend; and caused his coffin to be buried at *Audekûd*. Then he gave to the *Mîrza Eskânder* the government of *Hamadân*, *Nebawend*, *Urujerd*, *Lor-kûcbek*, and their dependencies.

y Hist. Tim. Bek, vol. ii. p. 319—328. c. 9—13.

(G) He is mentioned before, as prophesying victory to *Timûr*. P. 566.

(H) *Timûr* gave it, not long before, to *Tabârten*, prince of *Arzenjân*. See before, p. 562.

Hej. 806.

A. D. 1404.

Politie regu-
lation.

WHEN winter was over, *Mâlek Iffâ* (I), prince of *Mardin*, came to court, with his daughter, betrothed to the *Mîrza Abûbekr*. *Mâlek Azzo'daîn Shîr* came also from *Vasân*, with a present of numerous horses. About the same time, the emperor issued out a general order to all the greater and lesser officers of the kingdom of *Hülakû Khân*, residing in *Azerbeijân* and *Irâk Arabi*, to send each a brother, or some relation, to reside at *Samarkant*: and, to prevent delay, dispatched officers to the respective places, to bring them away forthwith. In the month of *Ramazân*, *Timûr* made a funeral banquet for the prince *Mehemed Soltân*, in which the poor chiefly were regaled. The *Shevkhs*, doctors, and *Imâms*, from all parts, were present at this feast; where the intire *Korân* was read over; and which concluded with prayers for the repose of the *Mîrza's* soul. Afterwards the princess *Khân Zâdeb* went to *Soltâniya*, and conveyed from thence the *Mîrza's* coffin to *Samarkant*.

Mîrza Omar
promoted.

TIMUR, after this, took the diversion of a grand hunting, in the plains of *Aktâm*, beyond the *Arrâs*; in which, besides dogs, were employed leopards, with gold chains; swift greyhounds of *Greece*, and uncommon beagles. But, what were most remarkable, huge *European* mastiffs, as strong as *African* lions, terrible as enraged tygers, and swift as arrows. When the chace was over, the emperor distributed among the learned of *Great Bukhâria* an infinite number of curiosities, brought from *Anatolia*. And finding there was nothing in *Asia* which he was not master of, excepting *China*, he left *Karabâgh* on the 8th of *April*, with a resolution to go upon the conquest of it; and, crossing the *Arrâs*, encamped near the town of *Nimet-abâd*, on the canal of *Berlâs*. Here, at a great feast, he invested the *Mîrza Omar*, son of *Mîrân Shâh*, with the government of the empire of *Hülakû*, containing the countries of *Azerbeijân*, *Rûm*, or *Anatolia*, and *Syria*, as far as *Egypt*. He likewise obliged the princes who governed *Pârs*, and both the *Irâks*, to be subject to his jurisdiction².

Eskânder pur-
sued.

MEAN time, the *Mîrza Rûstem* and *Soleymân Shâh*, who were gone to *Ray*, to inquire into the conduct of *Eskânder Sheykbi*, found that he had revolted; and, having placed his family in the fortrefs of *Firûzkûb*, was fled to the mountains in the forests of *Chelawn* and *Rûstemdâr*. The generals hereupon drew 2000 men out of the garrisons, and, entering the forest, took and razed the fortrefs of *Nûr*. Here *Mâlek Kayûmarrez*, an enemy of *Eskânder*, coming to meet them, they sent him to *Eskânder*, thinking to oblige him with a kind invitation to a treaty in his favour: but, not daring to trust them, he accommodated matters with *Kayûmarrez*, and began hostilities. On advice of this, *Timûr* sent several troops before; and following himself, with the rest of the army, by *Ardebîl* and *Soltâniya*, arrived *May 15*, at *Kashîn*; where, at *Mîrza Abûbekr's* request, he permitted *Mîrân Shâh*, his father, to go to *Bâghdâd*, to reside there with him; and then sent him to join *Rûstem* at *Kujûr*, where they kept entrenched till the arrival of the army: after which, they cut roads through the forests, and marched to seek the enemy.

Firûzkûh
taken.

THE 22d, *Timûr* came to *Ray*; then passing by the castle of *Gbulkendân*, at the foot of mount *Damâwend*, and afterwards by *Damâwend*, arrived at *Firûzkûb*; a citadel, famous in history, situated on the ridge of a mountain, and walled with the utmost strength. The 31st of *May*, the siege was formed, and the throwers of wild-fire began the attack. As one of the towers of the place was built on the bank of the river, and reached as high as the level of the mountain, at whose foot it stood, the enemy made use of it, to draw up water from the river: but the besiegers turned the course of the stream, and spoiled the water which was left, in spite of a vigorous opposition. During night, *Mehemed Azâd*, *Akbuga*, and other brave men, got up to the foot of the walls; who, being perceived by the garrison, were resolutely attacked, and several wounded: but, after sun-rise, all the soldiers ascended, by different places, and gave a general assault. The son of *Eskânder Sheykbi*, governor of the castle, and those with him, being seized with fear, though the garrison consisted of 300 strong men, surrendered the place, after a two days siege.

Kâra Tatars
revolt.

NEXT day, advice came, that the *Kâra Tatars* had revolted near *Damgân*, and wounded almost to death their *Deroga*. The other bands, hearing this, resolved to fly: but the *Amîr Shâmso'ddîn*, and other captains, who had the conduct of them, falling on the mutineers, slew above 3000 on the spot. Some were brought away, and the rest fled to the forests of *Astara-bâd*; but, being pursued by way of *Bestâm*, were overtaken at *Karatugan*, on the *Caspian* sea, and defeated, though far more numerous. Above 1000 were slain, and more than 10,000 families were taken prisoners. After this, *Timûr* marched in person against *Eskânder Sheykbi*, over high mountains and deep valleys, to *Chelawn*, where he arrived *June 11*; but, not being able to find the rebel, returned the same day. In this road there is a very deep defile, full of woods, always covered with mists; and in the middle runs an exceeding rapid torrent, which one can neither ford nor swim over. The great difficulty there is in passing

² Hist. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. p. 328—338. c. 13—17.

(I) Called elsewhere *Soltân Asya*.

a this streight, has given it the name of *the defile of bell*; and as *Eskânder* had broken the bridge over the torrent, his pursuers were obliged to build another of wood, which *Timûr* crossed, and encamped on the top of a mountain beyond it^a.

PARTIES being sent out every way, in search of the fugitive, one of them met with *Eskânder* ^{him}, on the 17th of *June*, in the middle of a wood, near the *Caspian* sea, at the head of ^{200 foot}, and thirty horse, with which he sallied out of his little camp, and prepared to attack his pursuers; who, though but twenty in number, fearing *Timûr*'s reproaches, resolved to die rather than fly. *Eskânder*, followed by his horsemen, attacked them several times with their pikes: but the *Jagatays* so plied him, that he at length shamefully turned his back, though famed for intrepidity, and fled, with his soldiers, farther into the forest. They pillaged his camp; and, next morning, met with his son, the Amîr *Ali*, and daughter, his wives, and domestics, who were all made slaves. The scouts, being joined by the Mîrza *Soltân Hussayn*, and seventy men, continued the pursuit of *Eskânder*, and meeting him, about noon, in the midst of the forest, with 200 foot, and fifty horse, fell furiously upon him; then retreated, as if he would have fled. The enemy, upon this, boldly sallied out to attack his men: but they turned on them suddenly, in good order, and made a cruel slaughter of the foot. Two of the horsemen were taken prisoners; and *Eskânder*, re-entering the forest, went out by the side towards *Ghilân*; nor was ever heard of more: although some say, he took the habit of a monk: others, that he died for grief in the woods.

THE Amîrs being all returned to the camp, *Timûr* reproved them for not continuing the pursuit, and sent them back again on the same errand: but, on advice that they could not encamp in the woods, which the rains had made exceeding miry, he sent orders for them to return, after they had sufficiently fatigued themselves. Then *Timûr* marched to the castle of *Harfi*, towards *Ghilân*, and from thence to the meadow of *Kelare Dâsh*. After he had sent the Mîrzas to their respective governments, he departed for *Samarkant*. In a few days, he came to the kioshk, or pavilion, of *Argûn Khân*, at the foot of mount *Damâwend*, in the country of *Lâr*; and *July* 10th, encamped at *Firûzkâb*, the government of which, and *Ray*, with their dependencies, he left with the Amîr *Soleymân Shâh*. The 14th, he arrived at *Bestâm*. The 20th, left *Nisâbûr*; and passing *Jâm*, came to the river *Jûkûjerân*. From hence, by *Kerlân*, he went to the river *Morgâb*; where *Apaktâlpa*, governor of *Shishektu*, was, for oppressing the inhabitants, hanged, with his head downwards, after having had his feet bored through.

THEN continuing his route by *Andekûd*, the defile of *Gbez*, and *Aliabâd*, he at length crossed ^{to Samarkant} the *Jibûn* (or *Amû*) at *Termed*, and came to *Kash*. From whence he made such haste to *Samarkant*, that the principal persons had not an opportunity to proceed far to meet him. He arrived there in *Mobârram* 807. Soon after, *Massâid Dawd*, and *Mehemed Jilde*, who had been the principal secretaries, and, during *Timûr*'s absence, performed the function of Wazîrs, were condemned, for doing injustice; and both hanged, by his order, at *Khâni Gheul*, during the banquet there. Afterwards, *Timûr* went to the garden of *planes*, where he gave audience to an ambassador of *Idekû*, emperor of *Kipjâk*, who presented him with a shonkar. He next visited the garden of *Dilen Shâh*, where he received an ambassador from one of the greatest sovereigns of *Europe* (K), who made him several curious and magnificent presents; particularly, some pieces of tapestry, wrought with so much art, that, were the great performances of the painter *Mani*, on the cloth of *Artene*, to be compared with them, *Mani* would blush, and his works appear deformed^b (L).

AFTER this, *Timûr* ordered a palace to be built by the *Syrian* architects, in the garden south of *Bâghi Shamâl*, more large and magnificent than any he had founded before. It was a square, each side being 1500 cubits in length. The chief ornaments were of marble, in sculpture, and inlaid work of various colours. The outside of the walls was covered with porcelain of *Kashân*, and the fountains were beautified with infinite jet d'eaux of several forms. The emperor solemnized the finishing of it with a splendid banquet, to which the *European* ambassadors were invited: for the *kasses*, says our author, have also their place in the sea (M).

^a Hist. TIM. BEK, Vol. II. p. 338—347. c. 17—21.

^b Ibid. p. 347—357. c. 21—24.

(K) This, doubtless, was *Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo*, sent by *Henry III.* king of *Castile*. He set out 21 *May* 1403, and returned to *Spain* 24 *March* 1406. He mentions the feast made by *Timûr*, on the marriage of his children, and to which he was invited: but not a word of his audience of leave, and the rich presents he received. On the contrary, he assures us, he never had one; because *Timûr* died about that time, at *Samarkant*. But this appears to be false in fact; and also shews the ambassador had left *Samarkant*, and obtained his au-

dience. For had he been at *Samarkant* (as he intimates) when *Timûr* died, he must have known that conqueror did not die in that city. See *La Croix*, pref. to *Timûr Bek*, for an account of this embassy.

(L) This is doing great honour to *European* manufactures.

(M) This seems to be spoken with great contempt of the ambassadors: for the *kass* is a little animal, the size of a barley-corn, which is seen on the surface of the sea. *La Croix*.

Kind of jubilee.

TIMUR resolving, before he made his intended expedition to *China*, to marry his grandchildren, ordered a grand feast to be made, in the plain of *Kbāni Gheul* (N), whither he went to lodge, on the 17th of *October*. The governors of provinces, generals, and great lords of the empire, assembled in this place, and pitched their tents in order. People from all parts of *Asia* repaired, to behold this solemn rejoicing; where all sorts of diversions were exhibited, and the richest curiosities sold, in magnificent shops. There was built a *chartak*, or amphitheatre, covered with brocade and *Persian* carpets, furnished with seats for the music, and places for the buffoons and jesters, to shew their skill. There was another *chartak* for all sorts of tradesmen, and 100 of a different manner, filled with those who sold fruit, each of whom had a kind of garden, of pistachios, pomegranates, almonds, pears, and apples. The butchers dressed up skins of animals in very ludicrous figures. Women imitated speaking goats, with horns of gold, and ran after one another. Some were dressed like fairies and angels, with wings; whilst others assumed the appearance of elephants and sheep.

Feast, and diversions.

THE skimmers also appeared in masquerades, like leopards, lions, tygers, foxes, with whose skins they were covered. The upholders made a camel of wood, reeds, cords, and painted linen, which walked about, as if alive; and the man within it, drawing a curtain, discovered the workman in his own piece. The manufacturers of cotton made birds of cotton, and a high mināreh, or tower, of the same material, with the help of reeds, which every body imagined to be built with brick and mortar. It was covered with brocades and embroidered work, carried itself about, and on its top was placed a stork. The saddlers shewed their skill in two litters, open at top, carried on a camel, with a beautiful woman in each, who diverted the spectators by actions with their hands and feet. The mat-makers gave a proof of their dexterity, by two lines of writing, in *Kufik*, and other large characters, worked with reeds.

Princes married.

THUS every one contributed to celebrate the marriage of the young princes, who were the *Mīrzas Olūk Bek* and *Ibrāhīm Soltān*, sons of *Shāh Rūkb*; *Ayjel*, son of *Mīrān Shāh*; *Abmed*, *Seydi Abmed*, and *Biera*, all three sons of the *Mīrza Omar Sheykh*. The astrologers having chosen a happy moment, the first officer of the household drew the curtain of the imperial gate. The Kadis, Sharifs, Imāms, and doctors, of the empire, met the emperor; and having agreed on the articles of marriage, the great doctor *Sheykh Shamsō'ddīn Mehemed al Fazarī ho'ddīn*, received the mutual consent of the parties, which he registered; and then, according to the *Hanafyan* rites, joined the princes and princesses together in marriage; on whom every one sprinkled gold and precious stones.

Great magnificence

THE emperor being seated on his throne, the banquet was served up to the brides, and other ladies of the court, by the most beautiful young women of his saray, who had on crowns composed of flowers. The princes of the blood, Amīrs, Neviāns (or Noyāns), Sharifs and foreign ambassadors, were seated under a canopy, supported by twelve columns, and distant about a horse's course from the nuptial-hall. Here were ranged earthen urns, with strings of precious stones about them, filled with gold, and silver pilastres, on the tops whereof were cups of gold, agate, and crystal, adorned with pearls and jewels: all which vessels were presented on salvers of gold and silver, to those who drank; the liquors being *Kammez* (O), oxymel, hippocras, brandy, wines, *firma*, and the like. It is reported, that the wood of several large forests was cut down, to dress victuals for this banquet. There were tables furnished in different places throughout the whole plain, and flaggons of wine set near them, with infinite baskets of fruit. Besides these preparations for the court, there were jars full of liquors, ranged all through the plain, for the people's drinking: and, that their joy might be complete, they were allowed to pursue whatever pleasures they thought fit, without any restraint, by proclamation, in these terms; "This is the time of feasting, pleasure, and rejoicing. Let no person reprimand, or complain of, another: let not the rich insult the poor; nor the strong the weak: let no one ask another, Why have you done this?"

in the feast,

and equipage,

the married princes.

THE elephants, with thrones on their backs, were drawn out on this occasion. When the feast was over, a vast quantity of curious moveable goods was, according to custom, laid upon mules and camels, for the new-married princes; among which were all sorts of rich habits, crowns, and belts, set with precious stones. The mules had coverings of satin, embroidered with gold: and their little bells, as well as those of the camels, were of gold. This pompous equipage passed before the admiring people. The bridegrooms, with their brides, were clothed nine times in different habits, set off with crowns and belts. Each time they changed their dress, they paid their respects, as usual, to the emperor; while the ground was covered with the gold, pearls, and precious stones, which were sprinkled on them, and became the perquisite of their domestics. At night, illuminations were made, with lanthorns,

^c Hist. Tim. Bek. Vol. II. p. 357—364. c. 24—26.

(N) That is, a mine of flowers.

(O) Or kemis, made of mares milk. See before, p. 255.

torches,

a torches, and lamps; and the new-married princes entered the nuptial-chamber. Next day, *Timûr* honoured them with a visit at their respective apartments, accompanied by the empresses, great Amîrs, and Sharîfs of the court. Nor were the rejoicings confined to *Khâni Gheul*: for there was not one place in the whole empire, from thence to *Tûs* (or *Mashbâd*), in *Khorassân*, where the sound of drums and trumpets was not heard.

THE marriage-feasts lasted two months; after which, the assembly was dissolved, and the licence which had been granted during the feast recalled: so that, for the future, no person was allowed to drink wine, or commit any thing unlawful. After this, *Timûr* retired to his closet; where “ he thanked God for his favours, in raising him, from a petty prince, to be “ the most mighty monarch in the world: in giving him so many victories and conquests; b “ maintaining him in sovereign authority, and making him his chosen servant.”

TIMUR, having taken a short repose, resolved to put in execution his design against *China*. *The war of China*
To this end, he summoned the Mîrzas and great Amîrs of his council to court; and made a speech, wherein he told them, his dear companions, as he called them, “ That as the vast “ conquests he had made were not obtained without some violence, which had occasioned the “ destruction of a great number of God’s creatures, he was resolved, by way of atonement for “ his past crimes, to perform some good action; namely, to make war on the infidels, and “ exterminate the idolaters of *China* (P): that it was fitting those very troops, which had been “ the instruments whereby those faults were committed, should also be the instruments of “ repentance; he therefore required, that they should march into *China*, to acquire the merit c “ of that holy war, by demolishing the temples of the idols of fire, and erecting mosks in “ their places.”

THE council having approved of this pious expedition, orders were immediately issued for assembling the forces of the empire at *Tâshkunt*, which was to be the general rendezvous of the army. *Timûr* then went from *Khâni Gheul* to *Samarkant*; where having done particular honours to the ambassador of *Egypt*, he gave him leave to depart; sending with him an ambassador of his own, with a letter to Soltân *Farruj*, seventy cubits long, and three in breadth, written in letters of gold, in answer to what that Soltân had written, relating to Soltân *Abmed* and *Kara Jûsef*. He likewise granted particular honours and favours to the ambassadors of *Europe* (Q), *Dâshî Kipjâk*, *Jetâb*, and other parts, and permitted them to return home. He d gave the Mîrza *Omar Bek* the government of the towns of *Tâshkunt*, *Sayrâm*, *Yenghi*, *Ashira*, and all the kingdom of *Jetâb*, as far as *China*: likewise to the Mîrza *Ibrâhim Soltân*, that of *Andekhân*, *Aksiket*, *Tarâz*, and *Kâshgar*, as far as *Kotan*^d.

WHEN the troops were assembled, the Amîr *Berendâk* reviewed them, by *Timûr*’s order; *Timûr* sets and brought account, that there were in the army, which he designed to carry into *China*, *ent.* 200,000 men complete; consisting of the forces of *Great Bukhâria*, *Turkestân*, *Bâlk*, *Badakshân*, *Khorassân*, *Sîstân*, *Mazânderân*, the *Kara Tatars*, with the colonies from *Pârs*, *Azerbejân*, and *Irâk*. The emperor was pleased with the good condition they were in; and, having distributed his treasure among them, commanded them to begin their march. The Mîrzas *Kalîl Soltân* and *Abmed Omar Shейkh*, with the troops of the right wing, were ordered to pass the winter, at *Tâshkunt*, *Shâbrukhiyah* (R), and *Sayrâm*; while the Mîrza *Soltayn Hussayn* was to remain, with some troops of the left wing, at *Yâssi* and *Sabrân*. At length *Timûr* set out from *Samarkant*, the 23d of *Jomazio’lawel*, in 807, in a happy moment fixed by the astrologers (*); and although the rains, snows, wind, and cold, were extremely violent, yet he continued his march to *Aksûlat*, where cottages and houses had been built to lodge in. Here the emperor being informed, that the Mîrza *Kalîl Soltân* had, a second time, concealed, in his apartment, *Shâdi Mulk*, one of the concubines of the Amîr *Sayfo’ddîn*, whom he had married for love, he ordered her to be put to death; but, by means of the great empress, it being pretended she was with child, the order was countermanded, and the lady committed to the care of the black eunuchs (S).

f *TIMUR* took such care with regard to provision and arms, that every horseman had enough of both to serve ten men. Besides this, several thousand loads of corn were carried in wag- *Arrives at Otrâr.*

^d Hist. TIM. BEK, Vol. II. p. 364—372, c. 26, & seq.

(P) He intended to atone for the destruction of God’s creatures, by a farther destruction of his creatures: to atone for one crime, by committing another. Not only the *Chinese* idolaters were to be rooted out, but also those who were not idolaters, under the name of infidels.

(Q) The *Spanish* ambassadors, whom we have mentioned in the preface, were dismissed at the same time as those of *Egypt*, without obtaining an audience of leave of *Timûr*, who was reported to have been very sick; whence, in the *Spanish* relation, he is said, through mistake, to have been dead. *La Croix*.—This seems to

be a palliation: *Timûr* died at *Otrâr*; and it does not appear that he was sick at *Samarkant*.

(R) This place, formerly called *Feshkent*, was entirely ruined by *Jenghîz Khân*’s army; but, in the year 794 of the Hejrah, and of Christ 1392, *Timûr* ordered it to be rebuilt, and repeopled: and, as he then gave it to the Mîrza *Shâh Rûkh*, it was called after him *Shâh-rûkhîya*. *Shârîfo’ddîn*.

(*) Who could not foresee his death.

(S) To prevent the Mîrza’s having a future commerce with her.

gons, to sow the fields on their road, to supply them in their return. Several thousands of camels also were in the train, that, on pressing occasions, their milk might serve for nourishment to the soldiers. These precautions were necessary in an army so numerous, as not to be matched in antiquity (T). Although the cold was so extreme, that several men and horses perished on the road, some losing their hands and feet, others their ears and noses, yet *Timûr* set forward from *Aksûlat*, and crossing the *Sibûn* (or *Sîr*), over the ice, at *Zarnûk*, February 27th, arrived at *Otrâr*. This river was frozen so hard, that they were obliged to dig two or three cubits to get water: and, during the months of *January* and *February*, waggons, men, and beasts, could pass either the *Jibûn*, or *Sibûn*, in any part of them. The same day, one corner of the roof of the palace where the emperor lodged, took fire by means of a chimney; which accident was considered by the courtiers, who before had been scared with frightful dreams, as a prognostic of some misfortune to his majesty.

A bad omen.

Appoints an heir;

At this time, an ambassador arrived from *Tokâtmişh Khân*, formerly emperor of *Kipjâk*, who had, for a long time, wandered as a vagabond in the deserts of that country, confessing his master's ingratitude, and imploring forgiveness. *Timûr* not only gave *Kara Kojâ* a magnificent audience, but assured him he would, at his return from *China*, again conquer the empire of *Tushî Khân*, and give it to *Tokâtmişh*. The 25th of *March*, his majesty was attacked with a burning fever, and believed he heard the *hûris* say, *Repent! for you must appear before God*. On this, he became sincerely penitent for his crimes, and resolved to make satisfaction for them, by good works. Although his sickness daily increased, yet he was continually inquiring after the condition of his army. When he found death approaching, he sent for the empresses, and principal *Amîrs*. "He bid them not weep, but pray, for him. Said, he had hopes God would pardon his sins, though numberless; and had this consolation, that he had never suffered the strong to injure the weak. He exhorted them to procure ease and safety to the people, as an account would be required of all in power, at the day of judgment." He then declared his son *Pîr Mehemed Jêbân Ghîr* his universal heir, and lawful successor; commanding them all to obey him, and sacrifice their lives to maintain his authority. After this, he ordered all the *Amîrs*, great lords of the court, and generals, to come before him, and made them swear to see his will executed, and to suffer none to oppose it. He commanded that all those who were absent should take the same oath.

and dies.

The lords burst in tears, and promised to fulfil his testament. They proposed sending for the *Mîrza Soltân* and *Amîrs* at *Tâshkunt*, that they might hear his majesty's will from his own mouth; alleged, that their declaration could not have the same force with them. But *Timûr* forbade it, as they could not come time enough to find him alive; and said, he had no other desire than to see the *Mîrza Shâh Rûkb* once more; but that it was impossible. After recommending the observance of his will, and the avoiding of discord, to the princes his children, he ordered one of the doctors to read the *Korân* at his bed's-head, and often repeat the unity of God. At night (about eight o'clock), he several times made profession of his belief, *That there is no other god than God*; and then gave up his soul to the angel *Esfrafiel* (or *Israel*), on the 17th of *Shaabân* 807 (U), after he had lived seventy-one years, and reigned thirty-six.

His character.

TIMUR was remarkable for his sincere piety, great veneration for religion, strict justice, and unbounded liberality; which have been sufficiently exemplified in the foregoing history. As to his birth, his ninth grandfather was *Tumena Khân*, of the race of *Buzenjer Khân*, chief of a branch of the tribe of *Kayât* (X), descended from *Turk* the son of *Japhet*. However, the *Amîr Trâgay*, his father, as well as his grandfather the *Amîr Berkulk*, had abdicated the kingdom, and left the government of the principality of *Kâsh*, which they had preserved, with the *Toman* of 10,000 men annexed thereto, to the children of their uncles, of the family of *Berlâs*: so that *Timûr Bek* may be said to have brought the crown into this august family, he being the first emperor of it. At the age of twenty-five, he attained the highest dignities, with surprising courage, and an ambition admired by all the world. Endeavouring to perfect the great talents which he had received from nature, he spent nine years in different countries: where his good sense, and great genius, appeared in councils and assemblies; while his intrepidity and valour, whether in personal combats or pitched battles, drew upon him the admiration of every body.

^e Hist. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. p. 372—380. c. 27—29.

^f Ibid. p. 380—387. c. 29—31.

(T) Then it must have consisted of more than 200,000 men. Nay, *Timûr* himself had more numerous armies at other times.

(U) Which answers to *Wednesday* the 1st of *April* 1405.
(X) *Jenghîz Khân* was descended from the same tribe. See before, p. 266.

a He made himself master of the three empires of *Jagatay Khân*, *Tusbi Khân*, and *Hillâkî* *Power and conduct.* *Khân* (Y); so that his power, riches, and magnificence, were greater than what we read of other monarchs (Z), or even than can be well imagined. But the chief proof of his power was, whatever kingdom he made war upon, he soon conquered it, and gave the government to some of his children and officers (A); not acting like the antient conquerors, who were contented with those tokens of submission which vanquished princes might make by the payment of a tribute. One thing farther remarkable in this monarch's conduct was, that, although he observed the wholesome maxim of holding dyets, yet he never solely confided in them; but constantly did what his own genius inspired in him. He could not be shaken in his resolutions; and had the policy to be present at the execution of his most important enterprizes, whether they concerned the state, or religion: but, in peace and war, he would put forward every thing himself.

There remain infinite monuments of his grandeur in the cities, towns, castles, and walls, *Public works.* which he built; in rivers and canals which he dug; as well as bridges, gardens, palaces, hospitals, mosks, and monasteries, which he erected in divers parts of *Asia* in so great a number, that a king might be accounted very powerful and magnificent, who should have employed thirty-six years only in building the great edifices which *Timûr* caused to be founded. Are not all the karawanfarays in the great roads of *Asia*, for the accommodation of travellers; the magnificent monasteries and hospitals, from which the poor, the sick, and passengers, reap so great an advantage by the alms distributed there; the good works of this pious emperor?

This character of *Timûr*, given by his historian *Sharîfo' ddîn Ali*, is confirmed by his enemy *His person.* *Arabshâh*, with circumstances which give us a much greater idea of that prince, than what his professed friend and flatterer has said of him. *Timûr*, according to that author, was, as to his person, very corpulent, tall, and exceeding fat, but very well-shaped. He had a large forehead, and big head. His countenance was good; and his complexion fair, very ruddy, and not at all swarthy. He wore a large beard (B); was very strong, and well-limbed: had broad shoulders, thick fingers, and long legs. His constitution was perfectly hale: but he was maimed in one hand, and lame of the right side. His eyes appeared full of fire, but were not very brisk. His voice was loud and piercing. He feared nothing; and, altho' near four-score years of age, his understanding was sound and perfect, his body vigorous and robust; his mind constant, and unshaken like a rock.

He did not like raillery, and could not bear a lye. There was no joking or fooling before *Prudence and sagacity.* him; for he loved the naked truth, even altho' it was to his own disadvantage. He neither grieved, if he miscarried in any attempt; nor appeared overjoyed on any good success. The device of his seal was, *I am sincere and plain.* He never admitted of any lewd discourse in his presence; nor ever talked of slaying, plundering, ravages, making slaves, or the like violences: yet was bold, courageous, feared, and respected. He had a clear and subtle understanding: was surprisingly sure in his conjectures; extremely happy in his guesses; vigilant and active where requisite; and unshaken in his resolutions. He could see into the most hidden intrigues, and discover the most subtle artifices: could distinguish the truth from sophistry; and, by the strength of his reason, saw things in their causes, as others see objects present to their eyes.

Timûr took great delight in reading history, or hearing it related. He was so well versed *Knowledge of countries.* in the state of countries, provinces, and cities, that the natives were astonished to find him as knowing as themselves; and, when he arrived at any city, would ask those who came first to wait on him, *What news of such and such persons? What was it that happened to such a one, at such a time, and in such an affair? How did such an undertaking succeed? What end did such persons make of the difference that was between them?* and would often tell them of the *Great penetration.* disputes and conversations they had with others. This made them think he had been among them in disguise; and some affirmed they had seen him: but this intelligence he gained by spies and correspondents, which he had in all places. His stratagems, inventions, and their effects, looked like enchantment. His conjectures came surprisingly to pass: among the rest, when he arrived before *Siwâs*, which had a very strong garrison, he said to his men, *Mark what I tell you; we shall have this place in eighteen days:* which actually happened. *It is most cer-*

^a Hist. Tim. Bek, l. v. p. 424, & seq. c. 48.

^b His portrait by AHMED EBN ARABSH. p. 2, & seq.

(Y) That is, three parts of the empire of *Jenghîz Khân*; which all descended to *Oktay*, who reigned in the eastern part of *Tartary*, and whose successors conquered *China*; of whom, for a time, those of the other three parts held their dominions. *Timûr* did much; for he carried his conquests to the river *Ganges* in the east, and the *Archipelago* in the west.

(Z) This seems to be aimed at *Jenghîz Khân*: but *Timûr* was not equal to that conqueror in those respects, or perhaps any other.

(A) In this he did but imitate *Jenghîz Khân*.

(B) This description does not tally with the print of his head, given by *Kampfer* in his *Amoenitates exoticæ*, p. 36.

tain, says *Arabsháh*, that this limper was either directed by heaven; or doomed to eternal torments, by the ill use which he should make of temporal felicities¹.

Cleft and
subtle.

He was a great dissembler, and studied ways to deceive every-body. He would pretend that the things, which above all others he hated, or desired to avoid, were most agreeable to him; and seemed not to like those which he was passionately fond of. He would assemble his officers, to consult which way they should march next; and, when they had come to a resolution, would issue orders accordingly: and at the same time assign the reasons for taking such a route: but, as soon as every thing was ready, and the army began to move forward, he on a sudden countermanded his orders, and obliged them to march a quite contrary course. He was so artful, that, when an enemy advanced to meet him, he would often, as in *Syria*, spread a report, that his soldiers were fatigued and dispirited: he would even retreat, under pretence that his troops wanted provisions or forage: all this was done in order to animate the enemy, and make them keep their post, that he might the more easily surround them with his forces.

Great firmness
of mind.

When he resolved on any siege, or other enterprise, though ever so difficult and hazardous, he was not to be diverted from his purpose, and it was dangerous for any body to advise him to desist. *Mohammed Kawjín*, the greatest of all his favourites, having undertaken, at the solicitation of the chief commanders, to give over the siege of a castle in *India*, built on a very high rock; *Timúr* stripped him of all his wealth, which he gave to a Black, and turned him adrift².

This prince, when he undertook any thing, never ceased labouring, both with his hands and head, to bring it about. One time, that he besieged a castle, he contracted a fever by too much fatigue; yet, not being able to rest, without seeing how things went on, he ordered himself to be carried to the door of his tent, which stood on an eminence, from whence he beheld the attack. He was supported under the arms by two persons: but, being very weak, soon ordered them to lay him gently on the ground; which they did. Then, sending one of them away, said to the other, named *Mahmúd*, of *Karazm*, "Consider my feebleness, and how destitute I am of strength. I have neither a hand to do any thing, nor a foot to walk: if I should be attacked, I cannot defend myself. Should I be abandoned in the condition I am in, I should remain as in a trap; without being able in any-wise to help myself, or avoid the evils that must befall me: yet, see, the Almighty has subjected nations to my obedience, gives me entrance into the most inaccessible places, fills the earth with the terror of my name, and makes kings and princes fall down before me. Can such works come from any but God? What am I but a poor miserable wretch, without either power or application equal to such great exploits." At these words, said *Mahmúd* to our author, the tears fell from his eyes, nor could I refrain myself from weeping³.

His sons,

TIMUR left behind him fifty-three descendants; thirty-six males and seventeen females:

I. THE *Mírza Jeshán Ghír*, his eldest son, died before him, as hath been mentioned in his reign: but left two princes; (1) *Mehemed Soltán* (who also died before his grandfather). This prince had three sons; *Mehemed Jeshán Ghír*, nine years old at the death of *Timúr*; *Sadvakkas*, six; and *Yabia*, five. (2) The *Mírza Pír Mehemed Jeshán Ghír*, twenty-nine years of age. He had seven sons: *Kaydu*, nine years old; *Kaled*, seven; *Buzenjer*, *Sadvakkas*, *Tenjer*, *Kayser*, and *Jeshán Ghír*: in all, eleven princes.

and grandsons;

II. THE *Mírza Omar Sheykh*, deceased, left six sons: (1) *Pír Mehemed*, twenty-six years old; who had one son, of seven years, named *Omar Sheykh*. (2) *Rústem*, aged twenty-four; who had two sons, *Ozmán*, six years old; and *Soltán Ali*, one year. (3) *Eskänder*, twenty-one years of age. (4) *Abmed*, eighteen years. (5) *Sidi Ahmed*, fifteen. And (6) *Bayera Hassan*: in all, nine princes.

III. THE *Mírza Mirán Sháh*, thirty-eight years of age, had five sons: (1) *Abúbekr*, twenty-three years old: who had two sons, *Alengber*, nine years of age; and *Ozmán Chelebi*, four. (2) *Omar*, twenty-two years old. (3) *Kalil Soltán*, twenty-one years. (4) *Ayjel*, ten. And, (5) *Siorgatmish*, six: in all, seven princes.

IV. THE *Mírza Sháh Rúkh*, twenty-eight years of age, had seven sons: (1) *Olúk Bek*, eleven years old. (2) *Ibráhim Soltán*, of the same age. (3) *Bayfánkar*, eight years. (4) *Siorgatmish*, six. (5) *Mehemed Juki*, three years. (6) *Ján Aglen*, two years. And, (7) *Turwi*, one year: in all, eight princes.

daughters, and
grand-daughters.

BESIDES these princes, *Timúr* had one daughter, named *Soltánâ Bákbé Begüm*; and sixteen grand-daughters. *Omar Sheykh* had three daughters. *Mehemed Soltán*, three. *Mirán Sháh*, four: and *Sháh Rúkh*, one. *Pír Mehemed Jeshán Ghír*, three. *Abúbekr* one: and *Kalil Soltán*, one.

THE *Mírza Soltán Hussayn*, twenty-five years of age, was the son of *Timúr's* daughter, named *Akia Beghi*, or *Taji Khân*; and his father was the *Amír Mehemed Bey*, son of the *Amír Mússa*^m.

¹ His portrait by AHMED EBN ARABSH. p. 4—12. TIM. BEK, l. vi. c. 48. p. 427, & seq.

² Ibid. p. 12—21.

³ Ibid. p. 39.

^m Hist.

C H A P. VI.

Distractions which arose on the death of Timûr, and the usurpation of Kalîl Soltân.

^a **A**S soon as *Timûr*'s death was known in the court, the empresses tore their faces and hair; ^{State of af-} the court-lords rent their clothes, and, flinging themselves on the ground, passed the ^{fairs.} night in grief: while the heavens, says our author, seemed to share in their affliction; since rains and thunder, storms and tempest, ceased not all the night. Next morning the body was washed, and embalmed with camphire, musk, and rose-water; then wrapped in linen, and laid in a coffin of ebony. As the design of the war in *China* was not yet abandoned, they kept his death concealed, by avoiding all signs of grief; and sent advice to the *Mîrzas*, particularly *Pîr Mehemed Jeshân Ghîr*, to repair forthwith to court. Next day the *Mîrzas*, empresses, and *Amîrs*, who were at *Otrâr*, set out, with the corpse, for *Samarkant*; and, having crossed the *Sibûn*, two parasangs distant, on the ice, entered a wood; where it was agreed in council, that they should march to *Tâshkunt*, under the command of the *Mîrza Ibrâhîm Soltân*; who, on his arrival, should deliver up the command to his elder brother *Kalîl Soltân*: that this latter should bear the title of emperor the whole campaign; and proceed with the whole army to conquer *China*: lastly, that, at their return to *Samarkant*, they should hold a general dyet, to execute *Timûr*'s last will and testament.

^b **A**FTER this, several lords were sent with *Timûr*'s coffin to *Samarkant*; where they arrived ^{Mîrza Huf-} the 6th of *April*, and buried it with the usual solemnity. The empresses, and other ladies, ^{fayn rebels.} followed, with the *Mîrza Olûk Bek*, and others; while the *Mîrza Ibrâhîm Soltân* took horse, at the head of the army, to march into *China*. When they were come to the bridge of *Kal-dorma*, on the river *Arj*, east of *Otrâr*, and one league from it, expresses were sent to the *Mîrzas Kalîl Soltân* and *Soltân Hussayn* to join them at *Jûklek*, a town five leagues east of the same city, in order to proceed in the expedition. But this great design was frustrated by the *Mîrza Soltân Hussayn*, in whose breast the death of *Timûr* rekindled the inclination of revolt-^c ing, which he had discovered in the war of *Damaskus*: for, as soon as he received that advice, he disbanded part of the troops of the left wing; and, taking from them their horses, passed the *Sibûn* (or *Sîr*) at *Kojend*, with one thousand men, each having two horses, and took the road of *Samarkant*: his design was, to have amused the inhabitants, and entered the city by stratagem^a.

^d **T**HIS news being brought to the *Amîrs Sheykh Nuro'ddîn* and *Shâh Mâlek*, who sent him ^{Kalîl Soltân} the express, they immediately gave notice to *Argûn Shâh*, whom *Timûr* had left governor at ^{elected.} *Samarkant*; and ordered him to secure that ambitious prince, if he approached the city. They wrote also to the *Mîrza Kalîl Soltân*, and his great *Amîrs*, who were at *Tâshkunt*, six days journey of the karawân from *Otrâr*, to acquaint them with the evil design of *Soltân Hussayn*; and that it was proper to return with their troops to *Akar*, there to concert measures with them for the public good. After this, they marched for *Samarkant*; and, having crossed the *Sibûn* on the ice, next morning joined the empresses. Mean time affairs took a cross turn; for the *Amîrs*, with *Soltân Kalîl*, having had advice, before the express from *Otrâr* arrived, of the proceedings of *Soltân Hussayn*, their fear caused by *Timûr*'s death was much increased; and, thinking the best way to prevent the evil, was, to create an emperor, the *Mîrza Ahmed Omar* ^{Sbeysk}, and the Great *Amîrs Kodadâd Hussayni*, *Yadghiar Shâh Erlat*, *Shâmso'ddîn Abbâs*, ^e *Berendâk*, and other principal officers, advanced the *Mîrza Kalîl Soltân* to the throne at *Tâshkunt*, and swore obedience to him.

As soon as the empresses, with the *Mîrzas* and *Amîrs*, received this advice, they wrote to ^{Secures Sa-} the *Mîrzas* of *Kalîl Soltân*, reproaching them with their breach of oath to *Timûr*, and acting ^{markant.} contrary to his last dispositions. The *Amîrs*, having read the letter, sent *Berendak* to *Aksu-lat*, where the empresses were encamped, to acquaint the *Amîrs*, "That what they did was
"with a good intention, and to prevent troubles: but, since they found what they had done
"was agreeable neither to their sentiments, nor the late emperor's will, they were ready to
"join with them in such measures as they should judge proper for carrying his majesty's tes-

^a Hist. Tim. Bek, l. vi. c. 31—35. p. 387—397.

“ tament into execution.” Upon this, the Amîrs Sheykh *Nûro’ddîn* and Shâh *Mâlek* wrote a second letter to those at *Tâshkunt*, exhorting them to annul the oath they had wrongfully taken thro’ inadvertency; and, by a written instrument, signed by *Kalîl Soltân* as well as themselves, submit to the *Mîrza Pîr Mehemed*. When *Berendak* was dismissed, the empresses and *Mîrzas*, with their troops, continued their road. When they came to *Ali Abâd*, the *Mîrza Omâr Sbeykh* and Shâh *Mâlek*, went before: but, on their arrival at *Samarkant*, *Argûn Shâb*, who had been gained by the promises of *Kalîl Soltân*, shut the gates against them: he even refused to let in either Shâh *Mâlek* or Sheykh *Nûro’ddîn*, to confer with the Amîrs there; pretending it would be contrary to the orders he had received from *Timûr*. He said, however, “ That he believed his majesty had ordained the *Mîrza Pîr Mehemed* his successor; “ and that he would deliver up the government of the city, as soon as the *Mîrzas* and Amîrs should, in an assembly, agree upon it ^b.”

Renounces the
empire.

THOSE Amîrs, who looked on all that *Argûn Shâb* had said to be grimace, returned to the empresses at *Ali Abâd*. Mean while, *Berendek* being returned to *Tâshkunt*, the Amîrs drew up a manifesto, which every one signed and sealed, and the *Mîrza Kalîl Soltân* himself was obliged to subscribe. The *Mîrza* ordered *Atîlmîsh* to carry this paper to the Amîrs *Nûro’ddîn* and Shâh *Mâlek*, and from them to *Pîr Mehemed*; directing him “ to assure the *Mîrza*, that “ he was his sincere friend; and would acknowledge him for his father’s successor, pursuant “ to his last will.” But, in this, *Kalîl Soltân* acted the hypocrite; his sole desire being to reign; in which he was instigated by some Amîrs who were about him. He seized all the horses, mules, and camels, belonging to *Timûr*, as well as the *Mîrzas* and Amîrs of his attendants, which he had left to graze at *Tâshkunt* and *Sayrâm*, and distributed them among those of his own party: he gave them likewise abundance of money, stuffs, and arms, which belonged to the soldiers who were in those quarters; and then departed, at their head, for *Samarkant*.

Assumes it
again,

WHEN he came to the *Sibûn*, he ordered the Amîr *Berendâk*, with the troops of the right wing, to cross the river, on a bridge of boats, above *Shâb Rûkhîya*. As soon as he was gotten over, he broke the bridge, and went to join the empresses, who were then on their way to *Samarkant*. The Amîrs *Kodadâd* and *Shâmso’ddîn Abbâs*, with the same view, marched to *Acbik Ferkint*, pursuant to a secret agreement made before with *Berendâk*, to abandon *Kalîl Soltân*, and do nothing contrary to *Timûr*’s will. The *Mîrza*, on this advice, passed the *Sibûn* with his troops. Mean time *Berendâk*, being informed, on the road, how *Argûn Shâb* had refused the Amîr Shâh *Mâlek* admittance into *Samarkant*, he was surprised, and, moved as well by his ambition as his cowardice, without regarding his oath, immediately returned to join the *Mîrza Kalîl Soltân*, to whom he swore fidelity a second time. Hereupon the *Mîrza*, with those of his party, declared the instrument void, wherein they had promised obedience to *Pîr Mehemed*; and at the same time continued his road to *Samarkant*, with design to usurp the empire.

without re-
serve.

WHEN the Amîrs Sheykh *Nûro’ddîn* and Shâh *Mâlek* received this advice, after a speech wherein they lamented the confusion which the empire was fallen into; and the little regard paid to the will of a great monarch, when dead, by those very persons who had tasted most of his favours, they advised the empresses to proceed to *Samarkant*, while they attended the *Mîrzas* to *Bokbâra*; from whence they proposed to go meet the *Mîrza Pîr Mehemed*, *Timûr*’s heir. When the empresses came to *Samarkant*, the Amîrs of the city would not admit them on that day. Next morning they entered; and took up their abode at the kanika of the *Mîrza Mehemed Soltân*, where *Timûr*’s coffin lay. There several grandees of the empire, assembling in mourning habits, made lamentation over the emperor’s corpse, and were joined in signs of grief by all the inhabitants ^c.

Comes to Sa-
markant.

MEAN while the *Mîrzas Olûk Bek* and *Ibrâbîm Soltân*, being arrived at *Debbûs*, a high fortress on the river of *Samarkant*, received a letter from *Koja Yûsef* and *Argûn Shâb*, importing, “ that their refusing to open the gates to them, was not thro’ any motive of treason, “ but to obey *Timûr*’s will: that they would use *Kalîl Soltân* in the same manner, should “ he come; and, in short, would resign the city to none but the *Mîrza Pîr Mehemed*, the “ lawful successor, for whom they kept it.” This they swore to at the end of the letter: but, three days after, the princes received advice that they had gone out to meet *Kalîl Soltân*, and conduct him into *Samarkant*. Hereupon they went on to *Bokbâra*, which they put in a posture of defence. The *Mîrza Kalîl Soltân* entered *Samarkant* on the 27th of *April*, chosen by the astrologer *Mâlâna Bâdro’ddîn*; and took possession of the great imperial palace, where all the treasures of *Asia* were amassed. There, being seated on the throne, he received the submission of the *Mîrzas*, Amîrs, and principal men of the state.

^b Hist. TIM. BEK, l. vi. c. 36—38. p. 397. & seq.

^c Ibid. c. 39—43. p. 405, & seq.

a As soon as he was installed, to shew he had an outward regard to *Timûr's* will, he gave the title of Khân to the *Mîrza Mehemed Jêhân Ghîr*, son of the *Mîrza Mehemed Soltân*, and nephew of the *Mîrza Pîr Mehemed*, though that prince was but nine years of age : his name was also placed at the top of all the patents, and imperial orders, according to custom ; altho' the *Mîrza Kalîl Soltân* assumed the sole disposal of every thing, as if the lawful sovereign. Two days after, the new emperor went to the *kanika*, where *Timûr's* tomb was, to pay his devotions, and perform the public ceremonies of mourning ; at which the empresses, *Mîrzas*, *Amîrs*, and all the people, assisted in black habits. When the funeral banquet was over, the imperial drum was beaten in a doleful manner : after which, it was broken in pieces ; and the *Seyd Bereke's* body being brought from *Andekûd*, *Timûr's* was placed underneath it, b pursuant to his orders.

WHEN the *Mîrza Kalîl Soltân* was fixed on the throne, he distributed his immense treasures His profuse-
profusely among the *Amîrs*, principal lords, and soldiers. This liberality, or rather prodigality, was the first cause of his ruin : the second was his violent passion for *Shâdi Mulk*, before-mentioned : for, when he found himself an absolute sovereign, he resigned every thing up to the will of this beauty, and took no pleasure but in her company ; while she shewed no regard to either princes or nobles, but thought every one below her. What made his lavish humour the more inexcusable, was, that he squandered away his wealth on men of no worth ; while persons of extraordinary merit could obtain nothing, or but a trifle. He likewise advanced several strangers of mean extraction to the first employments in the state ; which alienated from c him the hearts of the great *Amîrs* of his court, and generals of his armies. Besides, as *Shâdi Mulk* was inferior in rank to the deceased emperor's wives, and these latter became jealous of her growing greatness, she conceived a great aversion to them, and persuaded *Kalîl* to give them, as well as *Timûr's* concubines, in marriage to some considerable *Amîrs* ; in order, as she said, the more firmly to engage them in his interest. Accordingly he disposed of those great ladies, but in a manner condemned by all men of understanding ; for he forced them to marry those who were not worthy to be their porters. In effect, his actions drew on him the aversion not only of his soldiers, but all his subjects : and affairs falling into confusion by his ill management, all his grandeur came to nothing in less than four years d.

THIS is the substance of what *Sharîfo'ddîn Ali* has written concerning the reign of *Kalîl Soltân* : but here we must, with regret, take leave of that well-instructed historian, to follow others who lived at too great a distance to be well acquainted with the affairs of the descendants of *Timûr*, for want of authors who were upon the spot.

KALIL SOLTAN was of an amiable disposition ; and, being exceeding liberal, attained, without any difficulty, to the sovereignty which he aspired to. He had at his disposal the brave Arab and Persian troops, with their best commanders, who were charmed with his affability, mildness, and sincerity. He was finely shaped, and handsome ; dextrous in managing his arms, and valiant : bountiful to those who served him, and always did more than he promised. He began his reign with the consent of the army : but this consent was not to be depended on. His *Amîrs* and chief officers expected that he should be attacked on all sides as soon as e the severity of the season was over ; and only waited opportunities to serve their respective interests. We have already mentioned the desertion and return of *Brendâk* (or *Berendâk*), of whose perfidy at that time *Kalîl Soltân* took no notice : he even heaped favours on him ; but, when his affairs were settled, put to death the traitor when he least suspected, seized all his effects, and extirpated his whole family.

THE next who took off the mask was *Khodadâd Hussayn*, governor of the provinces beyond the *Sibûn* (or *Sîr*), and the frontiers of *Turkestan*. This person was the greatest enemy the new emperor had ; and had always set himself on an equality with *Timûr* himself, as being of the house of *Soltân Hussayn* : on which account he bore the rank as sovereign in those countries. But, as *Kalîl's* affairs were quite unsettled when he passed the *Sibûn*, he could do no f less than keep up a friendship with him, and leave him in possession of the government which he held before. On *Khodadâd's* revolt, those who sought an occasion to quit *Kalîl Soltân*, repaired to him. Now the winter was over, *Sheykh Nûro'ddîn*, who had been one of *Timûr's* chief adherents, went away openly, and joined the rebel. *Shâh Mâlek*, another of them, halted afterwards from *Samarkant*, with a great noise ; and, passing the *Jibûn* (or *Amû*), retired to *Shâh Rûkh*, who held the government of *Herât* and *Khorassân*. *Kalîl Soltân*, without giving himself any uneasiness about those who abandoned him, continued to oblige such as remained in his service g.

As soon as *Allabdâd*, governor of *Esbara* (or *Ashpera*, on the frontiers of *Jetab*, towards *Allâhdâd Mogulestan*), heard of these transactions, he consulted his friends ; who advised him to leave alarmed.

^a Hist. Tim. Bek, l. vi. c. 44—46. p. 413—423.

^c ARABESH. Continuat. Hist. Timûr, p. 72—82.

that fortress, and return to his own country. Next day the commanders of the troops under a his power repairing, according to custom, to pay him their respects, and receive his orders, he asked them privately, what was to be done in this conjuncture. As the officers left it wholly to him to direct the method, and promised to follow his orders, upon oath, he told them, his resolution was to wait on *Kalil Soltân*; and desired, in the mean time, that they would stay and watch the *Mungls*. Things being thus settled, *Allâhdâd* set forward the 17th of *Ramazân* 807 (*), followed by his wives, children, and all that belonged to him. Taking his route through frost and snow, he arrived at *Kulatajuk*, where he received a mandate from *Kalil Soltân*, ordering him not to take any step against his interest, but to remain in his post at *Esbâra*.

Joins the re-
völker.

THIS order disconcerted all his measures; but, while he debated with himself what was to b be done, a deputy arrived from *Khodadâd*, advising him to leave *Esbâra*, and come to him as soon as possible. Nothing could arrive more opportunely, to deliver him out of the perplexity which he was in: he therefore made haste to join *Khodadâd*, who was overjoyed to see him: then passing the *Sibûn* at *Kojend*, they marched towards *Samarkant*. When they came to *Tisek*, they began to ravage the country with fire and sword, which had remained in peace all the reign of *Timûr*: this happened in *Shawal*, the same year 807; nor could *Kalil Soltân* prevent this disorder. Mean time the troops which *Allâhdâd* had left at *Esbâra*, fearing the *Mungls* might fall on them, began to consult what course to take. Some were for waiting to perform their promise; others were for quitting that post. At length the dispute rose to such a height between the two parties, that from words they came to blows, in which one of c the captains was killed. At night part of the troops left the place; which obliged the rest to follow, with all their effects. When they arrived where *Allâhdâd* was, this Amîr, instead of treating them ill for disobeying his orders, began to excuse himself for not having performed his promise, on pretence of having been prevented by *Khodadâd* (†); and bid them stay near him till there was an opportunity of going to *Samarkant*‡.

Invited by
Kalil.

THIS adventure persuading *Khodadâd* that the enmity between *Allâhdâd* and *Kalil Soltân* was irreconcilable, he began to put confidence in him, and ask his advice. As he had intercepted a troop of servants belonging to the army, he was inclined to put them to the sword: but *Allâhdâd* alleging, that it was most prudent to use lenity, especially at setting out; and that, by sending them away, he might gain the friendship of their masters; he took his d advice, and dismissed them courteously. After this, *Kalil Soltân* sent a deputy to dispose *Allâhdâd* to mediate the difference between him and *Khodadâd*, promising to satisfy both their expectations. The cause of their animosity is said to be this: *Kalil Soltân* having at first been posted in the provinces near *Khodadâd*, his grandfather ordered this latter to have an eye over him, and regulate his conduct. As *Khodadâd* was naturally rough, severe, and disagreeable, he treated the prince with rigour and harshness; which irritated him to such a pitch, that he procured poison to be given him: but, discovering it in time, he took remedies, and escaped; however, he felt the effect of the dose ever afterwards.

Goes to Sa-
markant.

FROM that time a thorough hatred subsisted between them, which at last became public, and was the occasion of great disorders in the state. *Allâhdâd* shewed *Khodadâd* the letter of e *Kalil Soltân*; after which, he took an oath on the Korân, backed with the most horrid imprecations, “never to quit his service, or change his party, for any other; adding, that if he “went to *Samarkant*, he would do his utmost to reconcile the difference between him and “*Kalil Soltân*; put his affairs on a good footing; and procure him *Tumâna* (C), one of the “wives of *Timûr*.” Having, by these and many other artifices, lulled *Khodadâd* asleep, he returned to his friends at *Shâb Rûkkîya*, two stages distant; where crossing the *Sibûn*, he made what haste he could for *Samarkant*; sending before to let *Kalil Soltân* know what had passed between him and *Khodadâd*; and desiring him to send an escort to meet and protect him, in case *Khodadâd* should suspect his design, and detach troops to stop him; as he actually did; but too late; for *Allâhdâd* never halted one moment on the road, excepting to refresh a little, f till he arrived at *Samarkant*.

Is made Wazîr.

KALIL SOLTAN was overjoyed to see him; and, as the post of prime Wazîr was vacant, (Sheykh *Nûro'ddîn* and Shâh *Mâlek*, with all the rest who were inclined to rebel, having quitted the country), he gave that important mark of his favour to *Allâhdâd*, in prejudice to all the other Wazîrs and grandees of the state. The new minister soon restored every thing to order, and detached troops to guard the frontiers. In the management of affairs, he was

‡ ARABSH. Continuat. Hist. Timûr, p. 83—88.

(*) A. D. 1404; which date must be wrong. Our author seems to have antedated facts a whole year.

(†) Rather *Khodadâd*.

(C) *Tumân Âge*, the second empress.

a afflicted by *Berendîk*, *Argûn Shâh*, and one *Kajuk*, through whose hands every thing passed, under his controul. Mean time *Sheykh Nûro'ddin* and *Khodadâd* continued their ravages; and became at length masters of the frontiers of *Turkestan*, with the territories of *Sayrâm*, *Nâsikand*, *Andakân*, *Ibojend*, *Shâh Râkbiya*, *Otrâr* (D), and *Segnâk*, besides other cities and provinces in those parts. Sometimes, crossing the *Jibân*, they wasted the country of *Great Bukhâria*: but could never get any footing there; for *Kalîl Soltân*, in his turn, passed that river, and always put them to the route^b.

When the *Mungls* first heard that *Timûr* was marching towards them with an army capable of forcing its way through all opposition, they immediately took flight, dispersed themselves over the country, and retired, some into castles, others to the tops of inaccessible mountains. The inhabitants of *Djibî* (E), and those to the north, withdrew likewise into deserts: but, as soon as they heard of *Timûr*'s death, and the troubles which ensued in his dominions, they took heart; and, returning to their respective countries, resolved to take advantage of the present opportunity. The *Mungls* first took the field; and, falling upon *Esbâra* and *Asikol* (or *Afîghul*), over-ran the provinces, till they became neighbours to *Khodadâd*, whom they obliged to deliver up all the places taken from them by *Timûr*, and then made an alliance with him.

MEAN time *Pîr Mehemed*, cousin-german of *Kalîl Soltân*, to whom *Timûr* had bequeathed the succession, departing from *Kandakâr*, with a numerous army, towards *Samarkant*; sent to let *Kalîl Soltân*, and all the great lords, know, that, as his grandfather had appointed him for his successor, he thought it strange that any person should seize the capital of the empire, which belonged only to him, and oppose his accession to the throne. In answer to this message, *Kalîl Soltân* alleged, "that, in this conjuncture, the sovereignty was to be held either by inheritance or acquisition. If by the former, that his father *Mirân Shâh*, and uncle *Shâh Rûkh*, had a better right than either of them, and he might hold of them either by grant or deposition (F). If by the latter, that he (*Pîr Mehemed*) could have no pretensions, as being at a distance, while himself was in possession: that, as to his grandfather's will, it was of no signification; for that he became master of so many countries himself by force, and actually divided them, during his life-time, among his sons and grandchildren: that as *Pîr Mehemed* had *Kandakâr* for his share, it was fit that he (*Kalîl Soltân*) should hold what he had conquered; especially as the principal persons of the state had acknowledged him for their sovereign: that however, if his father and uncle allowed of his competitor's pretensions, he would no longer dispute the point with him."

THE lords, on their part, returned an answer to the message of *Pîr Mehemed*, without either allowing or contesting his demand; only *Abdo'l-wâl*, the chief doctor in all *Great Bukhâria*, declared in express terms, "that although *Pîr Mehemed* was the appointed successor of *Timûr*, yet Heaven had not favoured his cause; for that, if fortune had designed him for the empire, he would have been near the capital at *Timûr*'s death: that therefore his best way would be, to rest content with what God had ordained him, and not put it to the hazard, by invading the property of another, lest he should lose the substance in following the shadow." These answers were sent: but *Soltân Kalîl*, judging his cause stood in need of stronger arguments, raised a powerful army, and sent it against *Pîr Mehemed*, under the command of his cousin *Soltân Hussayn*; accompanied by *Kajuk*, *Argûn Shâh*, *Allâbdâd*, and other principal *Gete* commanders. In the month of *Zu'l-kadeh* 807 they set forward; and, being arrived at *Bilk*, the general pretended to be sick, and sent for all the commanders, as if to consult about the war. When they were assembled at his house, he fell upon them furiously; ordering those, whom he had placed for the purpose, to spare none who resisted. On this occasion *Yusef*, an eminent commander, who had been lieutenant at *Samarkant* in *Timûr*'s absence, was slainⁱ.

UPON this success, *Soltân Hussayn*, who was rash and violent, passionate and flashy, declared himself sovereign, and got the people to acknowledge him for such. As to the officers, they were at their wit's end, and knew not what to think on this occasion: however, *Allâbdâd*, recovering his senses, called out to let him know he had some good advice to give him. Then taking him aside, told him, "that he was absolutely devoted to his service: that *Kalîl Soltân* had no title to the sovereignty; and that if he (*Soltân Hussayn*) had but acquainted him with his intentions, he would have disposed matters intirely agreeable to his wishes." *Hussayn*, deluded by these and the like speeches, from thenceforth put confidence in him; and first advised with him, if he should put to death his companions. *Allâbdâd* made use of several

^b ARAESH. Continuat. Hist. Timûr, p. 88—94.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 94—103.

(D) Written *Anzar* in our copy, by some mistake in placing the diacritical points.
(E) Or *Dajlî Kijjak*.

(F) The *Persian* historians say, *Shâh Rûkh* confirmed him in the possession of the countries to the north of the *Jibân*.

plausible reasons, to shew that it was better not to do it; and knew so well how to ply him with flattery on the weak side, that he quite diverted him from that design; yet advised him, for his better security, to keep them in fetters.

Deferted, and
flies.

SOLTAN *Hussayn* followed his counsel; and, having taken an oath of fidelity from them, turned back towards *Samarkant*. At the same time he sent to acquaint *Kalil Soltân*, that he was coming to claim a share of his uncle's dominions, as well as the rest, and challenged him into the field. Then taking a new oath of his commanders, set them at liberty, and restored them to their respective posts. *Kalil Soltân*, who, before this, had been informed by *Allâhdâd* of the condition they were in, immediately set forward to meet *Hussayn*; who, with his usual imprudence, gave the command of his right wing to *Allâhdâd*, and that of his left to his two companions. When the two armies met, and were ready to engage, all those commanders went over to *Kalil Soltân*: so that his competitor, finding himself abandoned, fled into *Khorassân*, to his cousin *Shâb Rûkb*, where he died soon after, whether a natural death, or by poison, is not known^{*}.

Pir Mehemed
defeated.
Hej. 808.
A. D. 1405.

MEAN time *Pir Mehemed* continued his march, and came at length to *Nakshab* (G), where, soon after, *Kalil Soltân* advanced against him with all his forces; and, after a bloody battle, fought on the second of *Ramazân* 808, put him to flight, and took all his family prisoners. This victory got him a great reputation, and seemed to establish him on the throne; while *Jalâlo'ddawlet*, son of Soltân *Abmed*, of *Bâghdâd*, who had been delivered out of prison by *Kalil*, laid hold of the juncture, and made his escape to *Irâk*, which, it was said, had thrown off the yoke of the *Jagatays*. On the other side, *Pir Mehemed*, being returned to *Kandabâr*, raised fresh forces; and, repassing the *Jibûn*, resolved once more to try the force of arms. But his troops turned their backs almost as soon as the signal was given for battle; and he fled himself for safety to a neighbouring castle called *Shaduman* (H). As the enemy immediately invested the place, and he had not men enough to defend it, he caused the common people to mount the walls; who, being accoutred with sham armour, made for the occasion, were taken for soldiers by the besiegers. This artifice was of service for some time: but, being at length discovered, he found there was no way left for him but to ask quarter; which was granted: and both parties came to an agreement, under oath, to relinquish all claim to each other's territories, and live together in amity for the future.

Gives up his
claim.

His country
usurp'd.

PIR MEHEMED, upon this, returned to his own dominions: but had not been there long, before *Pir Alitâza*, his Wazîr, who had been with him in both his expeditions, rebelled against him, and took the field with those of his party. *Pir Mehemed* marched against him with his troops; but was defeated, and taken prisoner. After which, the rebel Wazîr, to sound the great men of the state, told them in ambiguous terms, "that, the affairs of the world being in great confusion, there appeared manifest signs that the last day was at hand: this," says he, is the time of antichrists; the deceivers and impostors bear the sway. *Timûr* is gone, who was the lame deceiver. This is the time of the bald impostor: after whom, the blind deceiver will come. If the bald must reign, I am he." As nobody returned an answer to his satisfaction, he summoned the governors of provinces, to see what he could do with them; but, although he applied to them in a very humble manner, they paid no regard to his suit; giving him to understand, that each of them thought himself as deserving of the sovereignty as he. The Wazîr, finding that he could not gain his point, without any more ado, repaired to the Soltân of *Herât*: but *Shâb Rûkb*, instead of giving him a kind reception, punished him for his perfidy; and afterwards marched to conquer the country of *Kandabâr*, which submitted to him without making any opposition¹.

Kara Tatars
revolt.

IT was in the same year that the *Tatars* of *Rûm*, who were put into the hands of *Argûn Shâb* (I), took the field, and attempted to break their captivity. They crossed the *Jibûn* over the ice; and left *Karazm*, in order to return to their own country: but the inhabitants every-where opposing their flight, and being no better united among themselves than the troops of *Irâk* were before, the same fate happened to them; that is, they remained dispersed through the country.

AFTERWARDS *Idekas* (*), descending from the north with an army as numerous as the sands, entered the provinces of *Khowarazm* (or *Karazm*), of which *Mîsfika* (K) was then governor. This man, affrighted at the approach of the *Tatars*, abandoned the country, and left it to the invader; who then advancing with his cavalry towards *Bokhâra*, ravaged the neighbouring territory, and returned, after having chased the *Getes* (L), and put them in great

* ARABSH. Cont. Hist. Tim. p. 103—108.

¹ Ibid. p. 109—119.

(G) Called also *Nasf*, and *Kârshi*.

(H) *Khafr Shaduman*, or the castle of *Shaduman*.

(I) These were the *Kara Tatars*, spoken of before, P 565.

(*) Or *Idekû*, made Khân of *Kipjâk* by *Timûr*. See P 449.

(K) He was appointed governor by *Timûr* in 1391.

(L) By *Getes*, or *Jetab*, here are to be understood the forces under *Kalil Soltân*.

fear. He gave the government of *Karazm* to one named *Ankas*; after which, these parts remained in peace.

WHILE *Kalîl Soltân* was employed with his forces against *Pîr Mebemed*, *Khodadâd* and *Sheykh Nûro'ddîn*, taking advantage of his absence, approached *Samarkant*: but, not daring to attack the city, which shut its gates against them, they ravaged the neighbouring lands, and then withdrew. *Kalîl*, at his return, gave his troops a little rest; and then set forward, with a numerous army, to ravage their territories in his turn. On his arrival at the *Sibân* (or *Sîr*), *Shâh Rûkbîya* and *Kojend* surrendered immediately. He then turned towards *Tâshkunt*; in pursuit of his two enemies, who still fled before him, waiting for an opportunity to surprise him, which at length had like to have happened: for, one night, at a place called *Sar-bekbân*, advancing alone before the baggage, they, on notice given by their spies, who were always in his army, sent out a troop to meet and take him: but, luckily, a party of his cavalry, who were separated from the rest, coming up at the same time, he escaped that imminent danger; after which, the enemy dispersing themselves through the deserts, he gave over the chase, and returned to his dominions ^m.

MEAN time, as the friendship between *Khodadâd* and *Sheykh Nûro'ddîn* was not very solid, they fell at variance, each aspiring to the sole command. At length the latter, retiring toward *Sagnâk*, made himself master of it; and soon after, sent to ask *Kalîl Soltân's* pardon for his past fault, desiring to be restored to his favour. *Kalîl* readily granted his demand; and, to assure him of his good-will, sent him *Tumîna*, one of *Timûr's* wives; after which, they continued in friendship during his reign. But, after *Shâh Rûkb* had established his power in *Samarkant*, *Shâh Mâlek* went to *Sagnâk*, under pretence of paying him a visit, and renewing their antient friendship. Mutual oaths of sincerity having been taken, *Sheykh Nûro'ddîn*, at the request of the other, came out of the castle on horseback to give him an interview. After they had embraced, and talked a while in an amicable manner, *Shâh Mâlek* retired to his troop; where he staid till his men went and paid their respects to *Sheykh Nûro'ddîn*. Among the rest, there was one *Argudak*, a very big and strong man, whom *Shâh Mâlek* had engaged to perpetrate his design. When this person came up, he kissed *Nûro'ddîn's* hand; but at the same time, seizing him by the neck, pulled him off his horse; and, throwing him on the ground, cut off his head in sight of all his people. When *Shâh Rûkb* heard of this treacherous action, he was greatly grieved; and cursed *Shâh Mâlek*, whom he reproached in bitter terms. As for *Argudak*, he ordered him to be bastonadoed severely in public; and was a long time before he would see either of them. ^{treacherously slain.}

IN the month of *Safar* 810, *Kalîl Soltân* sent a party of soldiers, under the command of *Allâhdâd*, and some other captains, to rebuild *Termed*, which had lain in ruins ever since the time of *Jenghîz Khân*. These commanders, dividing the work among them, not only raised the walls to a height not to be scaled; but also built houses, and other places, fit for inhabitants, within the space of fifteen days. After this, they gave notice to the descendants of the antient possessors, to come and dwell in the new city (M): but these people, having settled themselves in the gardens and plains of the old town, which was about a league distant, chose rather to continue where they were. Hereupon *Allâhdâd* caused proclamation to be made through the country, for peopling the city; granting the property of the houses to those who first should take possession of them: by which means, in a little time, *New Termed* was filled with inhabitants, and soon became a flourishing city. ^{Termed rebuilt. Hej. 810. A. D. 1407.}

As soon as *Shâh Rûkb* heard of this proceeding, he sent a troop also under *Marzab*, brother of *Jebûn Shâh*, with orders, in like manner, to rebuild the castle named the fort of the Indians, which stood in the extreme end of *Khorassân*, on the *Jibûn*, opposite to *Termed*. The fort was finished without any interruption from *Allâhdâd*, who always lived in peace and friendship with *Marzab*. ^{power.}

AFTER this, Soltân *Abmed* and *Kara Yusef* returned amicably to *Irâk Arabi*; and, while the former re-established himself at *Bâghdâd*, the latter made war upon the *Getes* (N): from whom he conquered the province of *Azerbejân*, after he had defeated their armies, and slain the *Mîrza Mirân Shâh*, as will be set forth hereafter. As for *Persian Irâk*, it was at peace under the sovereignty of *Pîr Omar*: but one of his near relations, named *Eskânder*, rebelled against him, and seized the throne, after defeating, and taking him prisoner. Hereupon

^m ARABSH. ubi sup. p. 96. and 120—122.

(M) The old city was built on an eminence, which commanded the neighbouring country, and the *Jibûn* ran at the foot of the rock on which its walls were built; but

the new city stood on a flat, and at a distance from the river. *Arabshâh*.

(N) So *Arabshâh* terms those whom others call *Jagatays*, that is, the troops of *Timûr*, and his descendants.

Shâb Rûkb marched to attack the usurper; whom, having seized, he put to death, and took possession of his dominions. By this conquest all *Ajem* (O) fell under the power of *Shâb Rûkb*, who enjoyed the whole without a rival; his father having, in his life-time, cut off all the princes of note in that large country, who might have given him any disturbance^m.

Affairs of
Irâk.

THERE seems to be some mistake in this account of *Arabshâb*, with relation to the affairs of *Persian Irâk*; at least, it does not agree with the memoirs or extracts which we meet with from other authors. It has been observed in the reign of *Timûr Bek*, that he had invested his third son *Mirân Shâb* with the government of *Azerbeïjan*, *Râm* (or *Anatolia*), with *Syria*, as far as *Egypt*: but, on that prince's losing his understanding by a fall, he, in 1404, transferred that grant to *Omar Mirza*, second son of *Mirân Shâb*; with this farther authority, that the governments of *Persian Irâk* and *Pârs* (or *Proper Persia*), then in the hands of *Rustem*, and his brother *Pîr Mehemed*, should be subject to him. On *Timûr's* death, while *Kalîl Soltân* and *Pîr Mehemed* were struggling for the succession, *Omar* attacked his elder brother *Abûbekr*, who, in 1403, had *Bâghdâd* and *Irâk Arabi* granted him; and, having surprised him at *Soltânîya*, in *Persian Irâk*, took him prisoner: but *Abûbekr* made his escape, and, gathering forces, obliged *Omar Mirza* to fly to *Shâb Rûkb*, in *Khorassân*. *Shâb Rûkb*, to make him amends for the loss of his dominions, gave him *Astarabad* and *Mazanderân* for his support: but, being of a restless temper, *Shâb Rûkb* was constrained to bring him to reason by force of arms. *Omar* fled, designing to get to *Samarkant*: but, being pursued by the Soltân's troops, he was overtaken at the river *Morgâb*, some leagues to the north of *Herât*, where he was slainⁿ. The *Pîr Omar* of *Arabshâb* is, doubtless, the *Omar Mirza* of the *Persian* historians. That author seems to have mistaken *Ali Eskânder*, son of *Omar Sheykh* (to whom, in 805, *Timûr* gave the government of *Hamadân*, and the adjacent territories^o), for *Abûbekr*, brother of *Omar Mirza*; and the death of *Eskânder* for that of *Omar*. Our extracts from the *Persian* historians do not say *Shâb Rûkb* seized *Omar's* dominions, either on the flight or death of that prince; yet, as we find him in possession of *Persian Irâk*, at the time he took possession of the countries beyond the *Jibûn*, it may be presumed that he became master of it one of those times.

Troubles at
Samarkant.

ABOUT this time all the strangers, who had for many years past flocked to *Samarkant*, began to abandon it, on account of the scarcity and dearness of provisions. Some retired, with leave, to their respective countries: others went away by stealth. At length, plenty returning, the inhabitants enjoyed the sweets of peace: but this tranquility did not long subsist. *Kalîl Soltân* had married *Shâdi Mulk*, the relict of *Amîr Sayfo'ddîn* before-mentioned; and so deoted on her, that he let her do whatever she pleased, and transacted nothing without her advice. This princess had an ancient servant, named *Bâbâ Termes*, a person of mean descent, with squinting eyes, and a face full of pimples, rude and ill-bred. As, on her advancement, her domestics shared in her good fortune, *Bâbâ Termes*, who was the chief of them, became a great man. From the management of his mistress's affairs, he, by degrees, rose to the most important employments of the state; and at length disposed of all things at pleasure, without any regard either to *Allâbdâd* or *Argûn Shâb*, whose orders he often set aside.

Soltân Kalîl
betrayed.

THESE two lords, enraged to be treated in such a manner by this upstart, on consulting how to remedy the evil, could think of no better expedient, than to make their case known to *Khodadâd*, and advise him to march his forces towards *Samarkant*; assuring him that he might do it, without the least danger. *Khodadâd* accordingly set forward, marching slowly till he came to *Ourataba*. As soon as *Kalîl Soltân* heard of this movement, he assembled a numerous army, and sent it against the enemy, under the command of *Allâbdâd* and *Argûn Shâb*. These generals took the field: but, instead of fighting the rebels, they sent for more forces; and at length intreated *Kalîl Soltân* to come himself in person, as the surest means to repulse the enemy. The deluded prince, suspecting no treachery, immediately set forward with his courtiers; of which *Allâbdâd* gave notice to *Khodadâd*: who thereupon marching in the night, came up with *Kalîl Soltân's* train, near *Soltânîya*, a little city built by *Timûr*; and surrounded them, before they were apprised of the danger^p.

Is taken pri-
soner.

THE prince and his attendants did not fail to make a valiant defence: but, as they were only a handful of men, they were soon defeated; and, after most of them had been slain, *Kalîl Soltân* fell into the hands of his enemy, who carried him to his camp. When he was arrived there, *Khodadâd* protested, with the most solemn oaths, that he had no design to hurt him in the least; and that he would soon give him an incontestable proof of his sincerity. In the mean time he desired *Kalîl Soltân* to send orders to *Allâbdâd*, and those he commanded

^m ARABSH. ubi sup. p. 122—128.
Mirza.

^o See before, p. 570.

ⁿ D'HERBEL. bibl. orient. p. 20 & 693. art. Abubekr & Omar

^p ARABSH. ubi sup. p. 129—135.

(O) That is, the country of the barbarians; so the *Arabs* call *Irân*, or *Persia* at large.

a to surrender, without making any resistance; which was accordingly done. *Khodadâd*, being by this means become master of all the forces of the country, began his march towards *Samarkant*, without taking notice of *Allâbdâd*, and those of his party; who now, too late, found that he was deceived in his hopes, and ruined beyond redress. This revolution happened in the year 812.

As soon as *Khodadâd* arrived at *Samarkant*, he turned every thing upside down, and let *Khodadâd* nothing remain which had been established. He made his son, named *Allâbdâd*, to assume the title of *Soltân* (P), before witnesses; and, in short, intirely changed the state of affairs. When this news was brought to *Shâb Rûkb*, he was greatly moved; and, resolving to revenge the affront done to his father's house, issued orders for assembling all his forces. Mean time b he detached *Shâh Mâlek*, with a powerful army, to stop the progress of the rebellion; and followed himself soon after, with the rest of his troops. *Khodadâd*, on advice of this formidable march, knowing himself not able to resist such a power, and fearing either to be deserted, or delivered up by his followers, thought it best to provide for his safety in time. Accordingly, after he had seized all the treasure he could find, and packed up as much rich furniture as he could conveniently carry off, he set out for *Andekbân*; leaving *Allâbdâd*, *Argûn Shâb*, and *Bâba Termes*, shut up in the castle of *Samarkant*, not caring to embarrass himself with their company.

BUT, although he took *Kalil Soltân* along with him, he left his dearly-beloved *Shâdi Mulk* Flies from Samarkant, behind, whom he had reduced from her state of grandeur to a very low condition. After his departure, the people, being left without a commander, took care of their own interests the best they could. *Allâbdâd* and *Argûn Shâb* were desirous to march out, and meet *Shâb Rûkb*, who now approached the city: but *Abdo'lwâl*, followed by the rabble, would not permit them. This doctor had great authority among the populace; and, during the short interregnum, disposed of things at pleasure. He continually incensed the people against *Allâbdâd* and his associates, till such time as *Shâb Mâlek* and *Shâb Rûkb* arrived. As soon as this prince drew near *Samarkant*, the citizens went out to meet him; and, with joyful acclamations, conducted him into the city, where he quickly set things in order. As to *Allâbdâd* and his colleagues, he caused them to be seized, and put to death, after they had undergone the most cruel torments: only *Bâba Termes* was respited for some time longer, that he d might receive the punishment in this life due to his crimes. But he eluded their design: for one day, pretending that he had hidden treasure in a certain place, when he came to a deep pond, which lay in the road, he on a sudden wrested himself out of the hands of his guards, and jumped into the water, where he was drowned in their sight^a.

WHEN things were a little settled, *Shâb Rûkb* went to visit the tomb of his father; where he caused all the funeral ceremonies to be performed as had been done before. After this, he ordered most part of the rich moveables, the arms, and other things of value, which were in the sepulchre, to be carried into the magazines; plundering the treasures, and searching the most secret places for hidden wealth. At length his officers seized on *Shâdi Mulk*, and made her suffer a thousand indignities: they tortured her, to discover her effects; and, when they e had gotten all from her, led her in chains through the streets, shouting after her as an infamous woman. Mean time *Khodadâd*, being come to *Andekbân*, entered into an agreement with *Kalil Soltân*, and promised never to do him any injury for the future; assuring him withal, that this disgrace had never happened to him, but through the perfidy of *Allâbdâd* and *Argûn Shâb*. He urged this discovery as a proof of his sincerity; and, though he put the prince in mind of his attempt to poison him, yet declared he was so far from revenging it, that he would do his utmost to re-establish him in his dominions.

AFTER this *Khodadâd* caused the Kotbah to be made in the name of *Kalil Soltân*, throughout *Khodadâd Turkestan*; and then, leaving him at *Andekbân*, departed, in order to demand succours of the *Mungls* (Q) in his behalf. The *Mungls*, as hath been observed before, had, on the death f of *Timmûr*, come to an agreement with *Khodadâd*: they likewise sent ambassadors, with rich presents, to *Kalil Soltân*; who received them with great civility, and dismissed them loaded with favours. As this amity was strictly cultivated afterwards with the *Mungls*, as soon as *Khodadâd* arrived among them, they seized his person, and sent advice thereof to *Kalil Soltân*; acquainting him, "that they were ready to obey his commands, either in putting *Khodadâd* " to death, as the author of his present misfortunes; or sending by him the succours which " he had desired in his name." *Kalil Soltân*, in answer to this message of the *Mungls*, set

^a ARAESH. ubi sup. p. 135—141.

(P) Perhaps it should be Khân; for *Kalil* had also made a Khân, to keep up the appearance of a succession of the line of *Jenghîz Khân*.

(Q) The *Persian* historians say, that *Khodadâd* called

in *Shamâ Jebân*, king of the *Mungls*, to take possession of *Kalil Soltân's* dominions: but that the *Mungl* prince punished the traitor, and sent his head to *Shâb Rûkb*. *D'Herbel. bibl. orient. p. 770. art. Schah Rokh.*

forth the miserable condition to which that Amîr had reduced him; adding, “that he now a placed him (the prince) as a buckler before him, to ward off the strokes of his own bad fortune.” Then he told them, “that, as they knew better than he what designs *Khodâdâd* had in view; he therefore left it to them, to act in the affair as they should judge most expedient.”

Kalîl Soltân
resigns.

His death.

On the receipt of this answer, the *Mungls* immediately cut off that commander's head, and sent it to *Kalîl Soltân*; who thenceforward continued on the frontiers of *Turkestan*, amusing himself with composing elegies, in *Persian*, on the absence of his beloved *Shâdi Mulk*, in terms capable of moving the very rocks. At length, no longer able to support his uneasiness, he marched with his troops towards *Samarkant*, and put himself into the hands of his uncle. *Shâh Rûkh* received him with honour; and, without speaking of the evils that were past, delivered up to him the chief object of his affections. After this, leaving at *Samarkant* his son *Olugh Bek*, to govern that province, he returned to *Khorassân*; carrying with him *Kalîl Soltân*, to whom he afterwards gave the command of the country dependent on *Ray* (R): but he did not enjoy that settlement long; for he soon after died, by means of a dose which his uncle caused to be given to him privately; and, by his death, put an end to the troubles in which the country had been involved. *Shâdi Mulk*, unable to bear this new affliction, thrust a poignard through her throat; and was buried at *Ray*, in the same tomb with her unfortunate consort ^r.

^r ARABSH. ubi sup. p. 141—145.

(R) The *Persian* historians say, that he gave him the provinces of *Persian Irâk* and *Azerbejân* in exchange for the provinces to the north of the *Jibûn*, with which he

invested *Uluk Beg*, or *Oluk Bek*. *D'Herbelot*, bibl. orient. p. 770. art. *Schah Rokh*.

C H A P. VII.

The reign of Shâh Rûkh.

2. Shâh
Rûkh.

A. D. 1402.

Omar takes
Irâk.

BY this conquest, or rather voluntary submission, of *Great Bukhâria*, *Shâh Rûkh* became peaceable possessor of the greater part of the empire of his father *Timûr*: for, besides that large region, he was master of *Karazm*, *Khorassân*, *Kandabûr*, and part of *Hindûstân*, *Forjân*, *Mazânderân*, *Persian Irâk*, *Pârs*, *Kermân*, and, in short, all the country of *Irân*, or *Persia* at large, as far as the province of *Azerbejân*, which was then in subjection to *Kara Yûsef*, the *Turkmân*^a. Hence it appears that *Shâh Rûkh*, when *Kalîl Soltân* resigned the succession to him, was not possessed of much above half of his father's empire to the south of the *Jibûn*, or *Amû*: though it must be confessed, that the countries to the west of *Persian Irâk* were not intirely subject to that conqueror; who, in 805, divided them among the three eldest sons of *Mirân Shâh*; *Abûbekr*, *Omar*, and *Kalîl Soltân*, just now mentioned. To the first he gave *Arabian Irâk*; *Omar* was invested with *Azerbejân*, *Rûm* or *Anatolia*, and *Syria*, as set forth in the reign of *Kalîl Soltân*; who had for his share *Armenia*, *Arrân*, *Georgia*, and *Trabizond*. It may be proper, therefore, in this place, to inquire how the dominions granted to these three princes came to be lost.

WHEN *Timûr* made a grant of *Arabian Irâk* to *Abûbekr*, it was then in the hands of *Kara Yûsef*; who, on his return from *Syria*, whither he had fled from the arms of *Timûr*, had seized it, on some disgust against Soltân *Abmed*, whom he drove out of the province^b: but *Abûbekr*, advancing with a superior force, obliged the *Turkmân* to abandon *Irâk*; and rebuilt *Bâghdâd*, according to his grandfather's directions. After *Timûr*'s death, *Omar Mirza*, coveting to join his brother *Abûbekr*'s territories to his own, made war upon him; and, having surprised him in the city of *Soltâniya* (in *Persian Irâk*), took him prisoner. By this means *Irâk* fell into the hands of *Omar*, with the city of *Bâghdâd*, its capital^c. Soon after, Soltân *Abmed*, whom, with *Kara Yûsef*, the Soltân of *Egypt* had set at liberty, on receiving news of the death of *Timûr*, got privately into *Bâghdâd*, with some of his friends, in disguise; and, exciting a sedition against *Omar*'s governor, the people drove out the latter, and proclaimed *Abmed* Soltân.

^a ARABSH. p. 146.
Aboubekr & *Omar Mirza*.

^b See hereafter.

^c *D'HERB.* bibl. orient. p. 20, & 693, art.

^a MEAN time *Abûbekr*, escaping out of prison, raised forces, and drove *Omar* out of his dominions, which he soon became master of; and, while he was employed at the siege of *Ispâhân*, towards the end of the year 803, the Amîr *Ibrâhîm*, coming out of *Shîrwân* (A), seized the city of *Tauris*: but was soon obliged to quit it on the approach of Soltân *Abmed*, who was thus re-established in all his dominions. However, *Ibrâhîm* having, in 809, reduced *Ispâhân* (B), soon obliged *Abmed* to quit *Tauris*, and retire to *Bâghdâd*; and, *Omar* being soon after slain in *Khorassân*, by the troops of *Shâh Rûkh*, *Abûbekr*, by his death, remained in peaceable possession of *Tauris*. But this prince, though brave, was unfortunate, and did not long enjoy either his own or his brother *Omar*'s territories: for *Kara Yûsef* (who, as soon as he was freed from his *Egyptian* bondage, had, with his *Turkmâns*, seized great part of *Arabian Irâk*, and *Al. Jazîreh*, or *Mesopotamia*), taking advantage of the divisions which reigned among those princes, entered *Azerbejân* with fresh and warlike troops, in order to conquer it. *Abûbekr* hereupon advanced with his forces to repel the invader; and, 810, fought two battles A. D. 1407. with the *Turkmâns*, on the banks of the *Euphrates* (C): both which he lost; and, in the first, his father *Mirân Shâh*, who accompanied him in that expedition, was slain.

AFTER the last defeat, *Abûbekr* fled to the province of *Kermân*, and from thence to that of *Sajestân*, or *Sistân*; where having raised forces, he set out to return, with design to make head against the *Turkmâns*, and drive them out of *Azerbejân*: but, in his way back, he was killed (D). Mean time *Kara Yûsef* went on with his conquests; and, in two or three years, made himself master of that province. Then, leaving *Tauris* in a good posture of defence, he marched against *Kara Ozman Bayandîrî* (of the white sheep dynasty), who was then possessed of *Diyârbekr*: which, on the other's approach, he abandoned. During his absence, Soltân *Abmed*, not able to bear the loss of *Azerbejân*, which he considered as his patrimony, in 812 he set forwards; and, the next year, surprised *Tauris*, without meeting any resistance. *Kara Yûsef* no sooner received advice of this ill turn which the Soltân had done him, than he marched against him with a puissant army, and overthrew him two leagues from *Tauris*; in such a manner, that *Abmed* had scarce time to hide himself in a garden: where, being discovered, he was put to death, at the instigation of the lords of *Irâk*, who were incensed against him, in the same year 813.

AFTER this, in 815, *Kara Yûsef*, entering *Georgia*, slew *Constantine* the king; and brought *Sheykh Ibrâhîm*, king of *Shîrwân*, prisoner to *Tauris*. From what has been said, it appears, that this *Turkmân* made himself master of great part of the countries which *Timûr* had given to his grandchildren *Omar Mîrza* and *Kalîl Soltân*; who seems to have abandoned his, to secure the succession at *Samarkant*. And it may be presumed that the rest of them returned in subjection to their former lords; as *Syria* to the Soltân of *Egypt*, and *Rûm* (or *Anatolia*) to the *Othmân* emperors; or else were seized by the neighbouring princes. However that was, *Kara Yûsef*, extending his conquests eastward, took *Soltâniya*, *Kasbîn*, and other cities in *Persian Irâk*: while *Shâh Rûkh*, though desirous to resent this injury, as well as revenge the death of his brother *Mirân Shâh*; yet, being employed about other affairs, was not at leisure to oppose him till the year 821; when he set out with a powerful army, to attack his dominions. As soon as this news was brought to *Kara Yûsef*, who was then marched toward *Antâb*, a city of *Syria*, near *Hâlep*, he desisted from that enterprise, and turned back to meet the Soltân: but died on the way, at *Ojân*, or *Ujân*, near *Tauris*. Others say, that he defeated the *Turkmân* in three battles. After his death, in 824, Amîr *Eskânder*, son of *Kara Yûsef*, continued the war against *Shâh Rûkh*; by whom being overthrown in *Diyârbekr*, he retired towards the *Euphrates*, while the victor marched to *Tauris*: but, being denied entrance by the inhabitants, and thinking his stay would be to no purpose, returned to *Khorassân*; upon which *Eskânder* came back to his capital.

IN 828 this prince advanced to *Soltâniya*, and took it; of which *Shâh Rûkh* being informed, he marched again to *Tauris*, where he routed *Eskânder*, who retired towards *Rumestân* (or *Ana-*

^c MIRKOND & KONDAMIR ap. D'Herbel. p. 20, & 150, art. Aboubekr and Avis; also TEIXEIRA, p. 321. ^d Ibid. ^e D'HERBEL. p. 150, & seq. art. Avis. ^f TEIXEIRA, p. 321.

324.

(A) This seems to be *Sheykh Ibrâhîm*, king of *Shîrwân*, spoken of lower down: but indeed there is so great defectiveness and confusion either in the original authors, or those who have give us the abstracts, that 'tis scarce possible to make the history of any of these princes consistent either with that of the rest, or with itself.

(B) Perhaps *Ibrâhîm* is put here, by mistake, for *Abûbekr*; or was an assistant to the latter, who, we find, but a little before besieged the same city.

(C) Probably in the neighbourhood of *Bâghdâd*, or *Hellâ*: yet *Teixeira* (from *Mirkond*) p. 324, mentions a

battle fought near *Nakshirwân* (near the river *Arrâs*), which *Abûbekr* lost; whereupon the city of *Tauris* fell into the hands of *Kara Yûsef*.

(D) This is according to *Teixeira*, who has given an abstract of *Mirkond*'s history: but *D'Herbelot*, who quotes both *Mirkond* and *Kondamir*, in the article of *Abûbekr*, says, he died in *Sajestân*, after having raised forces to no purpose: yet, in that of *Kara Yûsef*, relates, that the *Turkmân* first slew *Abûbekr* near *Nakshirwân*, and afterwards his father *Mirân Shâh*. This disagreement must proceed from inadvertence in the extracter.

tolia). For all this, *Shâb Rûkb* could not make himself master of that city. Hereupon he returned to *Khorassân*, to recruit his army; and then marched back to *Ray* in *Irâk*, which he took. There *Jebân Shâb*, brother of *Eskânder*, coming to wait on, was reconciled to, him, and received the investiture of *Azerbeijân*, for which he became his tributary. On this grant, he armed against *Eskânder*, and defeated him; who, flying to *Alexjâk*, was there killed by his own son in 841. Although the reign of *Shâb Rûkb* has been written in great detail by the oriental historians (E), and is full of great events; but little more relating to that prince has yet come to our knowledge.

A. D. 1437. and other acts. NOTWITHSTANDING *Pîr Mehemed Jebân Gîr* was appointed *Timûr*'s successor, and *Kalîl Soltân* actually possessed the capital of his empire, with the provinces north of the *Jibân*, for four years together; yet *Shâh Rûkb* is by historians reckoned the immediate successor of that conqueror, and the beginning of his reign put in 807. The year after, he rebuilt the famous fortress or castle of *Herât*, where he then reigned, named *Ektiaro'ddîn*, which his father had destroyed, and employed 7000 men about that work: he likewise re-edified the walls of the city itself, and those of *Marû*, which had lain in ruins ever since the time of *Jenghîz Khân*.

A. D. 1404. When named. THIS prince is called by historians *Mîrza Shâb Rûkb*, or *Shâb Rûkb Mîrza*; also *Shâb Rûkb Bahâdr*, or the valiant. He was named *Shâb Rûkb* by his father *Timûr*, because he received the news of the birth of this prince at the time when he was playing at chess; and had made the stroke which the *Persians* call *Shâb Rûkb*, that is, when the *Rûkb*, which we call the *Tower*, and some the *Knight*, has given *Chec* to the king.

His death, Hej. 850. A. D. 1446. and sons. SHAH RUKH died in the year 850, in the city of *Ray*, or *Rey* (in *Persian Irâk*), after he had lived seventy-one years, or thereabouts, and reigned forty. He had five sons; *Ulug Beg*, who succeeded him, *Abû'l Fetah Ibrâhîm*, *Baysankar*, *Soyûrgatmîsh*, and *Mohammed Jûki*. All these princes, excepting the eldest, died during the life-time of their father. *Abû'l Fetah Ibrâhîm* governed *Pârs* (or *Proper Persia*), for the space of twenty years, and died in 838. This prince left in *Shîràz*, the capital, several monuments, which have preserved his memory: among others, a famous *Madrasah*, or college, which bears the name of *Dâr al Safû*, that is, the house of joy and pleasure. There are extant several little poems, as well as inscriptions, of this prince's composing; and it was to him that *Shârifo'ddîn Ali Yezdi*, who is reckoned the most elegant of all the *Persian* historians, dedicated the history of *Timûr*, intitled, *Dbâffer*, or *Zâffer Nâmeb*, that is, the *Book of Victories*, which was written by his order, in the year 828, of which we have given the abstract.

MIRZA BAYSANKAR, or *Baysangor*, who died the year before his brother *Ibrâhîm*, left three sons; *Mîrza Alâo'ddawlet*, *Soltân Mohammed Mîrza*, father of *Yadighiar*, and *Mîrza Babr Abû'l Kassim*, *Soyûrgatmîsh* commanded in the country of *Gâznab* and the *Indies*. He died before his two elder brothers, in the year 830.

MIRZA MOHAMMED JUKI, the fifth and last sons of *Shâb Rûkb* mentioned by historians, died in 848, two years only before the death of his father ^a.

The reign of Ulug Beg, his son Abdo'llatîf, and Soltân Abdo'llah.

3 Ulug Beg. Hej. 851. A. D. 1447. UPON the death of *Shâb Rûkb*, in 851, the empire of *Timûr* fell again into division: for his three grandchildren, the sons of *Baysankar*, his third son, seized each a share. *Alâo'ddawlet*, the eldest, possessed himself of *Khorassân*: *Mohammed*, the second, kept *Persian Irâk* and *Pârs*, of which he was governor; and *Abû'l Kassim Babr* did the like by *Jorjân* and *Mazînderân*: so that nothing remained to *Mîrza Mohammed Jûki*, surnamed *Ulug Beg*, or the great lord, eldest son and successor of *Shâb Rûkb*, excepting the countries to the north of the river *Jibân* (or *Amû*) and *Turkestân*; which he had governed for near forty years before; that is, during the whole reign of his father in those countries.

As soon as *Alâo'ddawlet* heard of the death of his grandfather, he seized on *Herât*, the capital of *Khorassân*, under pretence of commanding there in behalf of his uncle *Ulug Beg*. He there found great treasures, which he plundered; and detained as prisoner the person of *Abdo'llatîf*, *Ulug Beg*'s eldest son, who was yet very young. Hereupon *Ulug Beg* sent ambassadors to his nephew, to treat of peace, and get *Abdo'llatîf* out of his hands. But this peace lasted but a short space: for *Ulug Beg*, not being able to suffer *Alâo'ddawlet* to remain in possession of *Khorassân*, to which he had better pretensions himself, advanced the year following, with his two sons, *Abdo'llatîf* and *Abdo'lazîz*, at the head of a powerful army, to attack him; and meeting him at *Morgâb*, fourteen parasangs from *Herât*, gave him battle. *Alâo'ddawlet*, not

^a D'HERBEL. p. 770. art. Schah Rukh.

(E) His history was written at large by *Shârifo'ddîn Ali*, author of the history of *Timûr Bek* (see vol. ii. p. 428.); also by *Abdo'lrazzak bin Jalâlo'ddîn Jûzi al Somarkandi*; a translation of which was expected from the hands of the late M. Galland, but never appeared. See D'Herbel. bibl. orient. p. 770. art. Schah Rukh.

a able to withstand the shock of his uncle's arms, was defeated, and retired to his brother *Bâbr*; while *Ulug Beg* entered triumphantly into *Herât*, and ascended the throne of his father *Shâh Rûkb*.

HOWEVER, he did not remain long in peace there: for the two brothers, *Alâo'ddawlet* and *Bâbr*, having assembled a considerable army, resolved, if possible, to drive him out of *Khorassân*. *Ulug Beg*, on this advice, marched from *Herât* against them, and forced them to abandon *Astaraবাদ*, which they had already mastered; and obliged them to take shelter with their other brother, *Soltân Mohammed*, who reigned in *Persian Irâk*. *Ulug Beg*, content with having put them to flight, returned also to *Herât*, where his presence was very necessary: for, in his absence, the inhabitants of the suburbs of that great city had revolted, and placed at their head *Tar Ali*, the *Turkman*, son of *Eskânder*, and grandson of *Kara Yûsef*, mentioned in the reign of *Shâh Rûkb*, with a design to make themselves masters of *Herât*: but the victorious prince returned time enough to chastise them for their rebellion, and gave the pillage of the suburbs to his troops. This was in the year 852; after which, he returned to his royal city of *Samarkant*. Hej. 852.
A. D. 1448.

THE absence of *Ulug Beg* soon gave *Mîrza Bâbr* an opportunity to come again to *Astaraবাদ*, and from thence to *Herât*; whose inhabitants, in resentment for the plundering of their suburbs, opened their gates to him. This misfortune was succeeded by a greater: for, not long after, *Abdo'llatif* rebelled against his father, and marched to reduce *Bâlk*. *Ulug Beg*, willing to bring his son to reason, advanced, with his troops, towards that city: but *Abdo'llatif*, instead of submitting himself, went, at the head of an army, to meet his father, and gave him battle. *Ulug Beg* was defeated; and, being taken prisoner, was put into the hands of *Abbâs*, who, after some formal proceedings against him, at length put him to death, in the year 857. Slain by his son.

THIS prince, whose end was so unhappy, was yet endowed with great qualities. For, besides being very courageous, he applied himself to study the sciences, and particularly astronomy. It is under his name and authority, that the tables, intituled *Zij Ulug Beg*, were composed, at *Samarkant*, by *Ali Ebn Gayâtho'ddîn Mohammed Jamshîd*, surnamed *Al Kûshji*, and by *Salâho'ddîn Kâzi Zâdeh al Rûmî*, the greatest astronomers of their time. This latter, who had been *Ulug Beg*'s master, dying before the work was finished, the whole burden fell upon the former. The work, intituled, (A) *Mârifat al Tawârîk*, which makes a part of the astronomical tables, calls this prince *Soltân al Hind wa al Sind*, that is, king of the two Indies (B), and gives him forty-one years of reign; although he properly reigned no more than two years after the death of *Shâh Rûkb*. *Kondamîr*, *Al Jannâbi*, and *Ebn Yûsef*, qualify this prince with the surnames, or titles, of *Al Mâlek al Saïd*, *Kurkhân*, and *Sâheb Kerân*; all which *Timûr* bore, and left them as hereditary in his family.^a A learned prince.

ULUG BEG was succeeded by his unnatural son *Abdo'llatif*; who, to his parricide added fratricide; having also caused his brother *Abdo'lazîz* to be put to death, in order to secure himself on the throne; which yet he did not enjoy longer than six months; at the end whereof, his own soldiers shot him to death with their arrows.^b 4. Abdo'llatif.

AFTER the death of *Abdo'llatif*, *Abdo'llah*, son of *Ibrâhîm* (C), son of *Shâh Rûkb*, took possession of his dominions. This prince succeeded his father *Ibrâhîm* in the sovereignty of *Pârs*, or *Proper Persia*, in the year 1438, with the consent of his uncle *Shâh Rûkb*: but being, at length, driven out of his dominions, by his cousin-german *Mohammed Mîrza*, son of *Bay Sangor*, son of *Shâh Rûkb*, he fled to his uncle *Ulug Beg*, at *Samarkant*; who received him very well, and gave him his daughter in marriage. He seems to have continued in that city during the remainder of the lives both of *Ulug Beg* and *Abdo'llatif*; which gave him an opportunity, on the death of the latter, to seize the throne: but he possessed it no more than one year; for, being twice attacked by *Abûsaïd Mîrza*, he was the last time overthrown in battle, and slain, in the year 855; as will be more distinctly set forth in the following reign.^c 5. Abdo'llah.
A. D. 1451.

^a TEIXEIRA, p. 317. D'HERBEL. p. 83. 414. art. Alaeddin & Ulug Beg.
p. 318. D'HERBEL. p. 8. art. Abdallah.

^b Id. ibid; ^c TEIXEIRA.

(A) It has been published by Mr. John Greaves, with a Latin version, under the title of *Epochæ Celebriores*.

(B) Rather, literally, of *Al Hind* and *Al Sind*; which are two different parts of *India*.

(C) He is elsewhere said to be the son of *Ulug Beg*. See D'Herbelot, art. *Abûsaïd Mîrza*, p. 34; and Teixeira; hist. Pers. p. 318.

C H A P. VIII.

The reign of Abusaid Mîrza.

6. Soltân Abu-
sâid Mîrza.

ABUSAID MIRZA, the son of *Mohammed* (A), the son of *Mirân Shâh*, son of *Timûr*, was in the army of *Ulug Beg*, when he made war on his son *Abdo'llatîf*, on the banks of the river *Amû*, and seemed to be in very good understanding with that prince. But, having an ambitious mind, and enterprising head, he took the occasion of that war, and the troubles which ensued in the city of *Samarkant*, to discover the design which he had for a long time nourished, of making himself the chief of a new party, and master of some provinces. With this view, he joined his forces to those of *Il Argûn*, one of the most powerful lords of the country, and marched with him to *Samarkant*; where *Abdo'lazîz*, another son of *Soltân Ulug Beg*, commanded for his father; but this latter, not thinking himself strong enough to oppose such considerable troops, abandoned the city, and retired to *Jabar*, or *Chaar Divar*, that is, *the four walls*; where he judged himself in more security.

Secures
Bokhâra.

As soon as *Ulug Beg* received this advice, he immediately quitted the *Amû*, to go and relieve his capital; and, by that means, left the way open to his rebel son *Abdo'llatîf*, who did not fail to pass the river, and follow at his father's heels. That prince, having become master of *Samarkant*, after his parricide, in 854, *Abusaid* was no longer in a condition to undertake any thing: and therefore was obliged to retire to the camp of *Il Argûn*. But *Abdo'llatîf*, considering him as a thorn in his foot, found means to draw him out of that post, and take him prisoner. However, his confinement did not continue long: for he made a shift, soon after, to escape to *Bokhâra*; where, being informed that *Abdo'llatîf* was dead, and *Abdo'llah* had succeeded him, he managed matters so well, by his intrigues, that he made himself master of *Bokhâra*, and of the country belonging to it. After which, he began to declare war openly against *Abdo'llah*, and marched towards *Samarkant*: but, being met by the Soltân, he was defeated, and constrained to fly at a great distance into *Turkestan*. This happened in the year 854.

A. D. 1450.

Ascends the
throne.

THE year following, *Abûsâid*, strengthened by the powerful assistance of *Uzbek Khân* (of *Kipjâk*), returned, to attack *Abdo'llah*, from whom he took several castles; and, at length, came to a bloody battle, in which the Soltân being slain, *Abûsâid* became the peaceable possessor of all the provinces to the north of the *Amû*, which belonged to *Ulug Beg*. However, this victory cost *Samarkant* very dear: for the *Uzbeks*, or soldiers of *Uzbek Khân*, having entered the city, treated the inhabitants very roughly, and behaved as masters. Hereupon *Abûsâid* made use of artifice to drive them out: for going alone, and in a plain dress, to the gate, he there discovered himself to the burghers (who guarded it), unknown to the *Uzbeks*; and entering the city, presently made himself master of the principal posts: which done, he obliged the unruly guests, partly by force, and partly by presents, to quit the place, and retire home with their leader.

A. D. 1456.
Enters Kho-
rassân.

In the year 862, Soltân *Bâbr*, one of *Timûr*'s grandsons, who reigned in *Khorassân*, being dead, and his son *Mahmûd* on the throne; *Abûsâid*, who had, for a long time, meditated the reduction not only of that province, but of all *Irân*, or *Persia* at large, without delay put himself in a condition to accomplish his design. He intrusted part of the execution to the care of *Sheykh Mîr Haji*, governor of *Bâlk*, and advanced with his army towards *Herât*. *Abmed Yessawî*, who commanded there in behalf of Soltân *Ibrâhîm Mirza*, having considered, for some time, whether he should defend the city, or retire into the citadel, called *Ektiâro'ddîn*, at length resolved on the latter. *Abûsâid*, having thus become master of the city, and in vain summoned *Abmed* to surrender, gave several assaults upon the castle; but was always repulsed, and made no progress in the siege.

Niretû for-
tress lost.

AT this juncture, some evil-minded persons having informed him, that Soltân *Ibrâhîm Mirza* had sent couriers to the Soltânâ *Jaurshâd*, his mother, and held a secret correspondence with her; he, in a transport of anger, hastily gave orders to put her to death. Immediately after this, *Shîr* (or *Mîr*) *Haji* arrived in the camp, having left one he confided in to guard the strong castle of *Niretû*. But there happened an accident in his absence, which made him

^a D'HERBEL. p. 34, & seq. art. Abousâid Mîrza.

(A) If he was the son of *Mirân Shâh*, he must have been born after the death of *Timûr*: for *Mirân Shâh* had no son named *Mohammed* at that juncture. But the ori-

ental historians commit frequent mistakes in giving the genealogies of princes, as has been observed with regard to *Abdo'llah*, the predecessor of *Abûsâid*.

a repent the having quitted it : for a bold daring fellow coming one evening to the gate of this fortress with a flock of sheep, so far gained upon the guard, by his talk, that they permitted him to enter, and lie that night in the place. But the first watch was no sooner past, than the man, who was furnished with ropes and hooks, enabled several of his associates to mount the walls. These soldiers immediately ran to attack the governor, whom they wounded in several places ; and, having, at the same time, seized on the guard-house, became, at length, masters of the castle.

ABUSAID having received this ill piece of news, and apprehending withal that the children of Soltân *Abdo'llatif* were preparing for war, in order to recover their father's dominions, quit-
ted, at length, the city of *Herât*, and took the road to *Bâlk*. He sent, however, one of his
b generals before him, with the best part of his army, to disperse the troops which those young princes had assembled in the neighbourhood of that city. As these princes, named *Abmed* and *Jûghi*, were rash enough, with their new-raised troops, to hazard a battle against well disciplined forces, they suffered for their ill-conduct : for *Abmed* was killed in the action, and *Jûghi* had much ado to escape.

THIS expedition being finished, *Abûsaïd* went to pass the winter at *Bâlk*. But he was not long there in repose : for *Alao'ddawlet*, and *Mîrza Ibrâhîm*, his relations, cut out new work
for him : and *Jehân Shâh*, the *Turkmân*, son of *Kara Yûsef*, advanced, from *Azerbejdân*, into *Khorassân*, committing horrible ravages all the way he went. *Abûsaïd* was obliged, in those
c unlucky conjunctures, to quit *Herât* ; which most of the inhabitants, not thinking themselves secure against the fury of the *Turkmâns*, had already abandoned, on the news of their approach. They had now encamped six months about that city, when *Abûsaïd*, having assembled all the forces of his dominions, marched to fall upon them at the river *Morgâb*. *Jehân Shâh*, surprised at this motion, sent *Pir Budak*, the bravest of his sons, with a body of troops, to reconnoitre the Soltân's army ; but he was repulsed vigorously, to the very camp of his father. The *Turkmân*, having at the same time received news from *Azerbejdân*, which made him very uneasy, resolved to return to that province. Accordingly, he sent away his heavy baggage before, and then dispatched *Sayd Ashûra* to the Soltân, with proposals of peace ^b.

ABUSAID insisted, at first, that *Jehân Shâh* should rest content with *Azerbejdân*, and yield
up to him all which he possessed in *Persian Irâk* and *Khorassân* : but, after several negotiations,
d it was agreed, that the *Turkmân* should remain master of *Irâk*, and not enter into *Khorassân*, beyond the city of *Semnân* (in *Komes*), which was to serve as a frontier to both dominions. After the conclusion of this treaty, made in 863, the enemy took their route for *Irâk* : but committed such cruel ravages where-ever they passed, that they scarce left a house standing. Upon their retreat, *Abûsaïd* made his entrance into *Herât* ; where commerce was again restored, the want of which had caused a great scarcity in that city. To ease the inhabitants, therefore, both of that capital and the province, which had suffered extremely during the stay of the *Turkmâns*, he sent his army into *Great Bukhâria*, keeping with him no more than 2000 horse for his guard.

THE princes *Alao'ddawlet*, *Mîrza Ibrâhîm*, and *Mîrza Sanjar*, his relations, who had ter-
e ritories bordering on his, the limits of which they were desirous to extend, seeing the Soltân in a disarmed state, entered into a confederacy among themselves, to attack him. However, unprovided with troops as he was, he made no difficulty to meet them, with the few men he had, between *Saraks* and *Marû*. But his courage was luckily seconded by fortune : for, when he was upon the point of engaging, two of his commanders arrived, with fresh forces ; and, by their assistance, the confederate princes were defeated, in so signal a manner, that some of the runaways never stopped till they got to *Samarkant*. *Sanjar* was taken prisoner, and put to death : the other two princes escaped : and *Abûsaïd* returned triumphantly to *Herât* : where having no weighty affair upon his hands, he resolved to re-take the strong castle of *Niretû*, which had been lost by surprise, as hath been before related ; and this he very easily accomplished,
f by means of the intelligence which he had in the place.

ABOUT the same time *Mîrza Ibrâhîm*, who, after his defeat, had fled to *Damegân*, having gathered fresh troops, marched towards *Tûs* (or *Mashhad*), in hopes to repair the loss he
had lately sustained, and take that city by stealth : but death, which surprised him on the road, rendered all his designs abortive, and delivered the Soltân from a competitor, who, for a long time, disputed with him the empire of *Timûr Bek*. In the same year, *Abûsaïd* had a son by his queen, the daughter of *Alao'ddawlet*, whom he named *Shâh Rûkb* ; and, towards the end of it, *Shâh Mahmûd*, son of Soltân *Bâbr*, whom the *Turkmâns* had obliged to fly into the province of *Sejestân*, was killed in a battle, which he fought in *Hindûstân* ^c.

IN 864, *Abûsaïd*, receiving advice, that Soltân *Hussayn*, son of *Mansûr*, son of *Baykâra*,
g son of *Omar Shейkh*, son of *Timûr Bek*, was advanced as far as *Sebzwar*, pillaging and ravage-

^b D'HERBEL, p. 35. art. Aboufaïd Mîrza.

^c Ibid. p. 36.

Reouts Soltân
Hussayn.
Hej. 869.
A. D. 1454.

ing all before him ; sent a body of forces, under the conduct of the Amîr *Ali Pârî*, and *Hafsan Shейkh*, towards *Mazânderân*, which belonged to *Hussayn*, and followed himself with the rest of his army. In fine, a cruel battle was fought between those two monarchs, in which *Hussayn* having been entirely defeated, *Abûsaïd* was received into *Astarabâd*, capital of the country, and proclaimed Soltân. This prince, after he had passed some time feasting in that city, gave the government to his son *Mabmûd*, and set out for his imperial residence of *Herât* : but, before he got thither, he met with a great alarm ; for *Kalil Hendûgha*, who commanded in *Sajestân*, in the time of Soltân *Bâbr*, took the occasion of the Soltân's absence to present himself before *Herât*, which he imagined would yield to him, without striking a stroke : but the inhabitants putting the city in a posture of defence, formed a body of troops, with which they vigorously repulsed *Khalîl*, and made him return to his own country. a

*Khalil
Hendûgha
submits.*

Hej. 865.
A. D. 1460.

ABUSAID, who was informed, while in *Mazânderân*, of *Khalîl*'s enterprise, made great marches, in order to relieve his capital : but finding the city in as good condition at his arrival, as when he left it, rewarded the fidelity of the inhabitants ; and then marched towards the province of *Sajestân*, to punish the rashness of *Khalîl* : who not having forces sufficient to resist so powerful an army, had recourse to his clemency : and, having sworn obedience to him, the Soltân pardoned his offence, without taking him from his government : however, he made him dependent on *Shâh Yabia*, who was descended from the ancient kings of the country. In 865, *Mîrza Alâ'oddawlet*, who, after losing the battle before-mentioned, had retired towards the coast of the *Caspian* sea, to *Mâlek Yansûn*, died a natural death ; and his corpse was conveyed from thence to *Herât*, where it was interred in the college built by his mother the Soltâna *Jawhershâd*. b

Peace with
Jûghi.

At the same time, *Abûsaïd* being informed, that *Mîrza Mohammed Jûghi*, son of Soltân *Abdo'llatîf*, ravaged the plains of *Great Bukhâria*, he marched with his army, and passed the *Jibûn* (or *Amû*), to reduce this young prince to his duty : but he was no sooner arrived at *Samarkant*, than *Jûghi*, unable to keep the field against him, went and shut himself up in the city of *Shâh Rûkbîya* (B), where *Abûsaïd* proposed to besiege him ; and must needs have forced him to surrender, if the war, which Soltân *Hussayn* had declared in *Mazânderân*, had not obliged him to abandon his enterprise, and make peace with *Jûghi*. *Hussayn* had taken the field a second time, and besieged *Astarabâd*, capital of *Forjân* (C), where *Abûsaïd* had left his son *Mabmûd* governor. This prince sallied out of the city, with all his forces, and gave the enemy battle ; which, although it cost *Hussayn* much blood, was not fortunate to him ; for he lost the victory, and was obliged to fly into *Khorassân*, from whence his father had already sent to his generals, to guard that frontier. Soltân *Hussayn* entered triumphing into the city of *Astarabâd*, where, for a time, he enjoyed the fruits of his conquest in repose : but, imagining that the wars of *Great Bukhâria*, in which *Abûsaïd* was engaged, would afford him time enough to make himself master of *Khorassân*, he marched with his army into that province, leaving *Abdo'lrahmân Argûn* to govern *Mazânderân* and *Forjân*, which then composed one state. c

*Hussayn
attacks
Herât.*

THE generals of *Abûsaïd*, on advice of this motion of the enemy, judging that they were not able to withstand him in the field, resolved to fortify *Herât*, and defend that city. Soltân *Hussayn* did not fail to appear before it with his army ; but not with design to besiege it : for he did not believe that the inhabitants either would or could defend themselves. However, finding, after he had waited eleven days, encamped at *Bâghzagun*, that there was no likelihood of their surrendering, he laid siege to *Herât* in form. He then battered the walls, and attacked the place with his best troops, for twenty days : but was always repulsed, by the bravery of the garrison. Mean time, *Abûsaïd* being on his way to relieve the city, *Hussayn* was obliged to raise the siege, and marched to the river *Morgâb*, to dispute the Soltân's passage. Yet, his troops being dispersed for sake of spoil, and his officers divided in their opinions, he did not think fit to wait there, but turned back for *Astarabâd*, by the way of *Sarkas*, or *Sarakhs*. d

Expelled his
kingdom.

THIS retreat, though made without any loss on the part of *Hussayn*, proved a great victory to *Abûsaïd*, who, driving his enemy continually before him, obliged him to quit *Astarabâd*, to avoid being besieged ; and, consequently, to abandon the provinces of *Mazânderân* and *Forjân*, whose inhabitants, already half revolted, went out to meet the victor. *Abûsaïd*, having thus a second time become master of these provinces, put to death *Hendûgha*, and his sons, whose disloyalty he had often experienced ; and committed the government of *Astarabâd* to his son *Mabmûd*, whom *Hussayn* had expelled. He returned afterwards to *Herât*, in 866 ; e

^a D'HERBEL. art. Aboufaïd.

(B) Our readers will find some farther account of this war, in the history of the *Uzbek Khâns*, inserted hereafter.

(C) 'Tis before said to be the capital of *Mazânderân* :

so that it must be considered as the chief city of *Mazânderân* in general, and of *Forjân* in particular, which may be supposed a part of *Mazânderân* at that time.

a where he punished with death *Moezo'ddîn*, president of the Diwân, or council of that city, who had not obeyed his orders during his absence.

AND now, having no enemy to divert him, he, in 867, set forward to reduce *Mohammed Jûghî*; who, during his absence, had fortified *Shâbrûkbîya* to such a degree, that it was looked on as impregnable. He passed the *Jibûn*, after some stay at *Bâlk*; and, being arrived at *Samarkant*, made great preparations for the siege of *Shâbrûkbîya*; which resisted a whole year, against all his forces. At length, *Mohammed*, unable to hold out any longer, sent a person of great authority to the Soltân's camp, to obtain honourable conditions for him: but *Abûsaïd* obliged him to surrender at discretion, and sent him prisoner to *Ektiâro'ddîn*, the castle of *Herât*, where he remained till his death. The Soltân entered *Shâbrûkbîya* in 868; and soon after returned to *Herât*, which suffered greatly by the plague that same year^e.

b HE had not been long in this city, before he received advice, that Soltân *Hussayn* had made a second irruption into *Khorassân*. Against this prince he sent a powerful army, under the conduct of his principal generals; but they were entirely defeated in battle; so that had not *Hussayn* been deserted by his best troops, and principal officers, who revolted from him, which obliged him to return to *Karazm*, he would have pursued his victory very far, and involved *Abûsaïd* in no small difficulties. But this unexpected retreat of his enemy restoring his affairs to a settled state, he, the next year, went to winter at *Marû*; and, finding himself in profound peace, in 870, he celebrated the circumcision of the princes his sons, with great magnificence, and diversions, which continued for five months. But the next year, while he passed the winter at *Marû*, he received advice of the death of *Jebân Shâh*, the *Turkmân*, which was the occasion of a new war: for this Soltân, who was of the family of the *Black Sheep*, having been slain in battle against *Hassan Beg*, or *Uzun Hassan*, Soltân of the dynasty of the *White Sheep*^c, his son *Hassan Ali*, who succeeded him, implored the assistance of *Abûsaïd*.

THIS prince, led by ambition no less than generosity, thought he ought not to lose so fair an opportunity of opening a way to the conquest of *Irâk* and *Azerbejdân*. However, being willing to consult *Nâsro'ddîn Obeydo'llah*, who was reckoned the ablest man of his time for advising in great affairs, he sent for him from *Samarkant* to *Marû*, where he then was in winter-quarters; and, after a conference with him, resolved to undertake the war against *Hassan Beg*. Pursuant to this resolution, he, in the year 872, decamped from before *Marû*, and marched to attack the provinces of *Irâk* and *Azerbejdân*. When he arrived on the frontiers of this last province, as he had a very great army, he detached several bodies, who penetrating into *Irâk* and *Pârs*, made themselves masters of all the places through which they passed. Mean time, *Hassan Beg* sent several ambassadors, to demand peace of him: but although *Abûsaïd* received them with great civility, and dismissed them with presents for their master; yet his answer always was, that *Hassan Beg* should come himself to his camp, and that he then would let him know his intentions. At length he entered the country, resolving to pass the summer at *Karabâgh* (D): but the *Turkmân* prince knew so well how to cut off his provisions and forage, that his army began to dwindle in a short time. So that, fearing to be besieged all at once, he fled back, with a very few men: for the greater part of his troops were already dispersed, and the rest had gone over to the enemy. When *Hassan Beg*, who watched the Soltân's motions, found he was gone, he sent two of his sons in pursuit of him, who took him prisoner, and brought him to their camp^e.

HASSAN BEG received *Abûsaïd* with a great deal of humanity, and was disposed to save his life: but, having deliberated in his council what was proper to be done with him, all his officers, particularly the Kâdhi, or Kâzi, of *Shîrwân*, were for putting him to death; and the rather, as *Hassan Beg* had already acknowledged the Mîrza *Yadighiar*, son of *Mohammed*, son of *Baysankor*, for the lawful emperor and successor of *Timûr*, in the provinces to the south of the *Jibûn*. Thus this powerful prince lost his life, in the year 873, through his own fault, and for refusing to make peace, so often sued for by the enemy. *Hassan Beg*, however, hindered his tent to be plundered, and preserved the honour of all the ladies of his Saray; after which, he commanded the officers of *Khorassân* to acknowledge *Yadighiar* for their sovereign (E).

ACCORDING to the *Nigbiârîstan*, and *Al Jennâbi*, this prince extended his dominions, which, at first, consisted of *Khorassân*, and the countries to the north of the river *Jibûn* (or *Great Bukhâria*), from *Kâshgar* in the east, to *Tauris* in the west; and from *Kermân* in *Irân*, and *Multân* in *Hindustân*, to *Karazm* on the east side of the *Caspian* sea. The same authors add, that he was surprised, and slain, in an ambuscade laid for him in the mountains of *Kara-*

^e D'HERBEL. p. 37. art. Aboufaïd.

^f See hereafter.

^g D'HERBEL. p. 37. art. Aboufaïd.

(D) Called also *Karabâgh Arrân*, a delightful place, on the river *Aras*, in the province of *Arrân*.

faïd's assisting *Hassan Ali* against *Hassan Beg*; and this is, probably, what made *Abûsaïd* refuse to make peace with the *Turkmân*.

bâgh, near *Tauris*, after he had lived forty-two years, and reigned twenty ^b. But according a to *Mirkond*, he was put to death by *Tadigbiar*, to whom he was delivered up ⁱ.

His sons.

SOLTAN *Abûsaïd* left behind him eleven sons; and, as the fall of the empire of *Timûr* is ascribed to the time of his death, it will be expedient for our readers to know what became of such a numerous posterity. The names of these eleven princes were, Soltân *Abmed*, Soltân *Mahmûd*, Mîrza *Mohammed*, Mîrza *Shâb Rûkh*, Mîrza *Ulug Beg*, Mîrza *Omar Sheykh*, Mîrza *Abûbekr*, Mîrza *Morâd*, Mîrza *Khalîl*, Mîrza *Veled*, Mîrza *Omer*. It must be observed, that all these princes bore the title of Soltân, although most of them did not reign as sovereigns.

Mohammed and Shâh Rûkh.

THE Mîrzas *Mohammed* and *Shâb Rûkh* fell into the hands of *Hassan Beg*, and remained a long time prisoners in *Irâk*; from whence at length escaping, they passed some years in the same province, in a miserable state. At the end of which, in 899 of the Hejrah, of Christ 1493, departing to go into *Khorassân*, *Shâb Rûkh* died, in the country of *Sâri*, and was interred at *Herât*: but his brother *Mohammed* was taken prisoner by Soltân *Hussayn*.

Soltân Ahmed.

SOLTAN *Mahmûd*, when the *Turkmâns* became masters of *Abûsaïd*'s camp, made his escape to *Herât*. But could not stay there long: for Soltân *Hussayn*, son of *Mansûr*, having reduced *Khorassân* under his obedience, in a short space of time, *Mahmûd* was obliged to take refuge with his brother *Abmed*, who reigned at *Samarkant*, in *Great Bukhâria*. There he was very well received, and lived for a while in great harmony with his brother: till, by the solicitations of those he conversed with, he went out one day, under pretence of hunting, and made all the haste he could, with those of his party, towards the springs of the *Jihûn* (or *Amû*); where he seized the province of *Badagshân*, and the adjacent country.

Soltân Mahmûd: His sons.

AHMED dying in the year 899, Soltân *Mahmûd* joined the dominions of his brother to his own: but he did not enjoy them long: for he died the same year, and left four sons; viz. *Massûd*, *Baysankor*, *Ali*, and *Veis*.

Massûd.

SOLTAN *Massûd* succeeded his father: but his brothers, *Baysankor* (who was governor of *Samarkant*) and *Ali*, rebelled against him, he seized the latter, and caused a hot iron to be passed before his eyes: however, as the operation did not take away his sight, he fled to *Bokhâra*, and, having gathered some troops, retired for shelter to Soltân *Hussayn*, in *Khorassân*. On the other side, *Baysankor*, unable to hold out longer against *Massûd*, left *Samarkant* in disguise, and fled to *Konduz*, a city on the *Jihûn*, and belonging to *Badagshân*, accompanied by the Amîr *Khostrû Shâb*, who was one of Soltân *Massûd*'s enemies. This prince, being thus delivered from his two brothers, enjoyed the sovereignty of *Great Bukhâria* peaceably, at *Samarkant*, till the year 905.

Hej. 905. A. D. 1499.

MEAN time, Soltân *Ali* continued at the court of Soltân *Hussayn*; who took so great an affection for him, that he gave him his daughter in marriage, with a very considerable portion. After this, he furnished him with an army, to dispute the patrimony of his ancestors with his brothers *Massûd* and *Baysankor*. *Ali* accordingly entered *Great Bukhâria*, and made considerable advances: but, when he was on the point of succeeding in his enterprise, he unhappily gave ear to the envoys of *Khostrû Shâb*: who pretending to obey him in every thing, deluded him so much with his fair speeches, that he fell into the snare, which frustrated all his designs: so that he was obliged to return to his father-in-law Soltân *Hussayn*.

Bayfankor.

WHEN *Khostrû Shâb* had ruined the affairs of Soltân *Ali*, by his artifices, he determined to get rid of *Baysankor*, who continued at *Konduz*, by the snares which he laid for him also; and having at length compassed his design, he, by that prince's death, became master, not only of *Konduz*, but also of *Baklân*, *Hejjâr*, and the whole country of *Badagshân*.

Veis.

As for Mîrza *Veis*, or *Weis*, fourth son of *Mahmûd*, he was all the while in *Turkestan*; whither, to avoid these troubles, he had, from the beginning, retired to his relations by his mother's side.

Ulug Beg.

ULUG BEG, the fifth son of *Abûsaïd*, obtained from his father the government of *Kâbul* and *Gâzan*, with the *Indies*; which provinces he was master of in Hejrah 899. A. D. 1493, finished his history.

Omar Sheykh.

OMAR SHEYKH, sixth son of *Abûsaïd*, became, by his father's death, sovereign of the country of *Andekân*; which he possessed till the year 899, when he broke his neck, by a fall from the top of a pigeon-house. He reigned with the reputation of a very good prince; and was succeeded by his son *Babôr*, or *Bâbr*, founder of the empire of the *Mungls*, who reign at present in *Hindustân*.

Abûbekr.

ABUBEKR, seventh son of *Abûsaïd*, had for his share, during his father's life, the country of *Badagshân*; which he possessed also after his decease: till, falling out with Soltân *Hussayn*, he was taken prisoner, in a battle fought between them, and put to death, in the year 884 of the Hejrah, of Christ 1479*.

^b D'HERBEL, p. 34—37.

ⁱ TEIX. p. 318.

* D'HERBEL. ubi supra, p. 38.

- ^a SOLTÂN *Morâd*, the eight son, for some time governed the provinces of *Kermesîr* and *Kan-Soltân Morâd*. *dakîr*; and, when his father *Abûsaïd* became master of *Irâk*, he advanced, by his order, to seize the province of *Kermân*: but, receiving advice on the road of his defeat, and death, he returned to his first government. After this, *Yûsef Tarkhân* revolting against him, he had recourse to the protection of Soltân *Hussayn*, who sent him, under a good escort, to his brother *Abmed*, at *Samarkant*. However, he did not stay long there: for, not meeting with a very favourable reception, he soon after returned to Soltân *Hussayn*'s court, where he received all sorts of good treatment; but at length, in 880, he was accompanied by the officers of that A. D. 1475. prince to the castle of *Niretû*; and from that time we have no account of him.
- ^b MIRZA Soltân *Kalîl*, the ninth son of *Abûsaïd Mirza*, remained at *Herât* during his father's Soltân *Kalîl*. unfortunate expedition against *Hassan Beg*; so that Soltân *Hussayn* having, with a great army, subdued *Khorassân*, he was obliged to put himself into the hands of that conqueror, not being in a condition to defend the city against his forces. *Hussayn* sent him into *Great Bukhâria*, where his brother *Abmed* reigned: but, *Kalîl* taking upon him to act as master as soon as he entered the country, *Abmed* sent one of his generals, with some troops, to curb his insolence; so that he was soon after slain in an engagement on this occasion.
- SOLTÂN *Veled*, tenth son of *Abûsaïd*, passed his days in a private condition, among the Soltân *Veled*. oriental *Turks* of the tribe of *Erlat*; till he died at length of poison, infused by one of his domestics in his drink.
- ^c SOLTÂN *Omar Mirza*, youngest son of *Abûsaïd*, was at *Samarkant* at the time of his father's Omar *Mirza*. death: but, *Abmed* being obliged to banish him from his court, on account of some disturbances which he excited there, he retired to his brother *Abûbekr*, who was then encamped near *Marû*, at such time as Soltân *Hussayn* entered with his army into *Khorassân*. *Abûbekr* opposed the invader's progress: but having been defeated and slain, *Omar* retreated toward *Abiurd* or *Bawerd*, and *Nessa*; where being taken by some of *Hussayn*'s officers, he was sent prisoner to *Herât*, and shut up in the castle of *Ektiâro'ddîn*; from whence, in 883, he was conveyed to the castle of *Niretû*; after which, we hear no more of him^k.

The reign of Soltân Ahmed.

- ^d AFTER the death of *Abûsaïd*, his eldest son Soltân *Abmed*, of whom some account has 7. Soltân been already given, succeeded him at *Samarkant*, in the country of *Mâwara'nâbr*, now Ahmed. called *Great Bukhâria*, and reigned twenty years: at the end of which he died, in the year 909ⁱ, of Christ 1493.

The reign of Soltân Bâbr.

- ^e THE Mirza Soltân *Bâbor*, or *Bâbr*, was the son of *Omar Shейkh*, sixth son of *Abûsaïd* 8. Soltân *Mirza*, according to *Kondamîr*; but to others, the fourth. By the death of his father, in Bâbr. 894, as has been already related, he became sovereign of the country of *Andekhân*; and, on the death of Soltân *Abmed*, in 899, ascended the throne of *Great Bukhâria*: but five years after, viz. in 904, *Shay Beg Soltân*, invading that region with an army of *Uzbeks*, from beyond the river *Sibûn*, or *Sîr*, drove him out of his kingdom, and took possession of it; so that afterwards no prince of the race of *Timûr* reigned there. *Bâbr*, after his expulsion, retired to *Gaznen*, or *Gazna*, and thence into *Hindûstân*, where he made considerable conquests; over which he reigned till the year 937 of the *Hejrab*, of Christ 1530^m. But as we shall have occasion to speak of his actions more at large, when we come to treat of the race of *Timûr* who reigned in *India* under the name of *Jagatays* and *Great Mogols*, we shall say no more of them at present.

^k D'HERBELOT, ubi supra, p. 39. Abûsaïd Mirza & Miran Shâh.

ⁱ TEIXEIRA, p. 319.

^m D'HERBELOT, p. 38. 163. art:

C H A P. IX.

Of the princes descended from Timûr, who reigned in Khorassân, and other parts of Irân, after the death of Shâh Rûkh.

AS the empire fell into division and confusion after the death of *Timûr*, the like happened *State of Irân*. on that of his son *Shâb Rûkh*: so that, excepting the twelve years during which *Abûsaïd* held *Khorassân*, that province, with some neighbouring countries, was possessed by other princes

princes descended from *Shâb Rûkb*, and not by those who were his immediate successors in *Great Bukhâria*. a

BAYSANKER, son of *Shâb Rûkb*, dying in 837, during his father's life-time, left three sons; *Rokno'ddin*, *Alâo'ddawlet*, *Soltân Mohammed*, and *Abû'l Kâssef Bâbr*; who all made a great noise in the world. *Shâb Rûkb*, on *Baysanker's* death, gave his father's employment to the eldest, and only pensions to the other two princes.

Alâo'ddawlet seizes Herât. As soon as *Alâo'ddawlet* heard of the death of his grandfather *Shâb Rûkb*, he seized on the city of *Herât*, capital of *Khorassân*; under pretence of commanding there in behalf of his uncle *Ulug Beg*, who reigned at *Samarkant*. He there found great treasures, which he plundered; and seized the person of *Abdo'llatif*, son of *Ulug Beg*, whom he kept prisoner for a considerable time: but *Ulug Beg*, having passed the *Amû* with a powerful army from *Great Bukhâria*, defeated, and obliged him to fly to his brother the *Mîrza Babr*. These two princes joined their forces, and marched to oppose their uncle; who, judging the match to be equal, left them in possession of *Herât*, and returned to *Balk*. b

Bâbr possessed of Jorjân. A. D. 1446. SHAH RUKH being dead in 850, *Mîrza Bâbr*, who then governed the province of *Jorjân*, entered that of *Khorassân*; where his brother *Alâo'ddawlet* had already seized *Herât*, and encamped with his forces near the city of *Tûs* (or *Mashhad*), near the sepulchre of the *Imâm Ali Rîza*. But, by the mediation of friends, hostilities were prevented between the two brothers; and the country of *Kabushân* appointed the boundary between their dominions, in 851: after which, *Bâbr* returned to *Astarabad*, the capital of *Jorjân*.

Opposes Ulug Beg. THE year following, *Bâbr*, having received advice that his uncle *Ulug Beg* was in arms on the borders of *Bastâm* and *Damagân*, and had already passed the bridge named *Pul Ibrîshîm*, or the bridge of silk, to attack his brother *Alâo'ddawlet*, sent *Kalîl Hendûgha*, one of his generals, to follow the *Soltân*; and marched himself, with his best troops, towards *Herât*, in order to intercept his passage to that city. As this march obliged *Ulug Beg* to quit *Khorassân*, *Bâbr* soon made himself master of *Herât*, which his brother *Alâo'ddawlet* had already abandoned; where he exercised great violences towards the inhabitants. But they were revenged on him some time after: for *Yâr Ali*, the *Turkmân*, having advanced to besiege him, the citizens delivered one of their gates to his enemy, and obliged him to fly to the castle of *Ektiâro'ddin*; which he pillaged, and abandoned not long after. *Yâr Ali*, seeing himself master of such a potent city, imagined the war was entirely over, and thought of nothing but diverting himself: when the troops of *Bâbr*, which still hovered near *Herât*, found an opportunity, about three weeks after, to seize a gate; and surprising *Yâr Ali*, in the midst of his debauch, brought him before *Bâbr*, who ordered his head to be struck off in the public market-place. c

Imprisons Alâo'ddawlet. BABR, being thus become master of *Khorassân*, gave the city of *Tûn* to his brother *Alâo'ddawlet*, who had not appeared since his flight from *Ulug Beg*; but a while after, having conceived some jealousy of him, seized him, with his son *Ibrâhîm*, and then sent them prisoners to *Herât*. After this, giving himself up to pleasures, and neglecting affairs, his officers committed many disorders in the city: but the revolt of *Shâh Hussayn*, in the province of *Sajestân* (which depends on *Khorassân*, roused him out of his slothful humour; and, causing him to take arms, he marched against the rebel with such expedition, that, not being prepared to encounter him, he submitted to pay an annual tribute. Mean time the *Amîr Hendûgha*, dissatisfied with the hasty temper of *Bâbr*, went at the head of several malecontents, and seized the city of *Astarabad*. *Bâbr* immediately set forward with his forces, and gave him battle; which at first proved adverse, and fatal to *Soltân Abûsaïd*, who commanded his army; but at length *Ali Behâdr* his second general, slew *Hindûgha*, and obtained a complete victory. d

Flies to Mohammed. AT this time *Alâo'ddawlet* escaped from prison, and fled to *Irâk*, to his brother *Mohammed*; who, on the death of their uncle *Shâb Rûkb*, seized on that province, together with *Pârs* (or *Proper Persia*); and, still gaining ground every day, was advanced as far as the borders of *Khorassân*. *Bâbr* met him with a considerable army, but was intirely defeated by his two brothers, and obliged to take shelter in the castle of *Omâd*; while *Mohammed* entered into *Herât*, and delivered the *Mîrza Ibrâhîm* to his father *Alâo'ddawlet*. *Bâbr* some time after quitted *Omâd*; and, by the way of *Abiurd*, or *Bawerd*, marched towards *Astarabad*, knowing that the inhabitants were discontented with the *Amîr Hâjî Janashirîn*, whom *Mohammed* had made governor. The latter met him at *Tûs*, and fought an obstinate battle, but lost it; and, being taken prisoner, with several officers, all were put to the sword. *Soltân Mohammed*, who had advice of this march, hastened to support his general; but hearing, by the way, that he was defeated, made such expedition with three hundred horse only; that he surprised *Bâbr* in his camp, and obliged him to fly back to the castle of *Omâd*. e

Recovers Herât. THE victor, however, that the enemy might not perceive the fewness of his troops, retired also to his former camp; where he was astonished not to find one of his soldiers, who on a

^a D'HERBELOT, p. 83, art. Alaeddoulat.

^b Ibid. p. 160. art. Babor.

a false report of his defeat, had all dispersed themselves. At the same time he was informed, that his brother *Alâo'ddawlet*, whom he had sent to *Kermasîr* (in *Kermân*) before the battle, taking advantage of *Bâbr*'s second retreat to *Omâd*, had repaired to *Herât*, and been admitted by the inhabitants. This news much surprised *Mohammed*; who, seeing that all the advantages he had gained by the war, served only to exalt *Alâo'ddawlet*, quitted *Khorassân* in disgust, and returned to *Irâk*. *Bâbr* no sooner heard of his brother *Mohammed*'s retreat, than he left *Omâd*, and marched to attack *Herât*; which *Alâo'ddawlet* quitting on his approach, he for the second time entered that city: but, not content with this conquest, he marched to *Balk*, whither his brother had fled; and, driving him out of that city also, pursued him into the mountains of *Badakshân*, till he was able to proceed no farther for the snow. Thus he became master of *Balk*, *Konduz*, and *Baklân*; where having left governors, he returned to *Herât*: but was greatly surprised, at his arrival, to find that *Avîs Beg*, whom he intrusted to guard the castle of *Ektiâro'ddîn*, had revolted.^c

As this fortress is so situated, that there is no entering the city without passing through a corridor which communicates with it; the Soltân, instead of undertaking to force a place which was capable of making great resistance, thought of a stratagem, which succeeded to his wish. For he sent an order to the governor, forbidding him to stir out of the castle when he should make his entrance into the city: then sending forward his whole band of music in the evening, he mixed with them some of his bravest officers. These men, being arrived near the city, gave out that the Soltân was come. On this news, *Avîs* immediately sent his son into the corridor, to receive him, and followed close himself, having left his brother in the fortress, which he kept shut up: but *Sheykh Mansûr*, one of the pretended musicians, fell first upon the son of *Avîs Beg*, whom he stabbed, and his companions did the like by the father; after which, *Bâbr* found no difficulty to get the castle surrendered to him. At the same time being informed, that his brother *Alâo'ddawlet* lay concealed in the tent of *Eskânder Beg*, which was in the rear of his camp, he had him taken from thence, and put under a strong guard.

In 855 Soltân *Bâbr* went to pass the winter at *Astarabâd*, and made some stay afterwards at *Bastâm*; where being informed that his brother *Mohammed* prepared to make war upon him afresh, he sent an ambassador to obtain a peace at any rate. Soltân *Mohammed* seemed not inclined to grant it him: for he pretended that part of *Khorassân* belonged to *Irâk*: that the money which was coined there ought to bear his impress; and that his name should be mentioned in the public prayers. However, *Bâbr* consented to all these demands, rather than incur a war; and, quitting *Bastâm*, went into the country of *Mazânderân*. Mean time *Mohammed*, disregarding the treaty which he had made with his brother, marched with his army towards *Khorassân*, and advanced as far as the city of *Esferayn*. *Bâbr* was extremely troubled at this violation of the treaty; and, gathering what troops he could in haste, marched towards his brother; who met him at *Kaburân*, where was fought one of the most bloody battles that ever was recorded. The two Soltâns performed prodigies of valour; and victory for a long time seemed doubtful on which side to declare. But at length *Mohammed*, being carried too far by his courage, found himself on a sudden surrounded, and taken prisoner.^d

Bâbr, having by this means gained this important victory, caused *Mohammed* to be put to death without remorse; and having thus got rid of his youngest brother, he ordered the eyes of *Alâo'ddawlet*, the eldest, whom he kept prisoner, to be put out: but the persons who were appointed to do that work, in pity to this prince, moved the hot iron before his eyes in such a manner, as not to deprive him of sight. After this, *Bâbr* believed he should have no more disturbance from his brothers; and marched towards the province of *Pârs*, to take possession of it, as belonging to him by the death of *Mohammed*. The great lords of the country came to pay him homage; and he entered triumphantly into the city of *Shîrâz*. But he was scarce arrived, when he received advice that *Jehân Shâh*, the *Turkmân*, son of *Kara Yûsef*, had entered *Persian Irâk* with considerable forces, and already laid siege to the city of *Kom*. This news made him leave *Shîrâz*, the government of which he gave to *Mîrza Sanjar* (A), one of his relations, to discharge his fury on the *Turkmân*, when he was stopped by more unwelcome tidings from *Herât*; viz. that his brother *Alâo'ddawlet*, assisted by the *Amîr Yadi-gbiar Shâh*, and several of his near relations, was in the field in quest of him.

On this advice, judging it of more importance to preserve *Khorassân* than *Irâk*, he returned to *Herât*, by the way of *Yezd*, where he left the *Mîrza Kalil*, son of *Jehân Ghîr*, to command: o'ddawle..

^c D'HERBELOT, p. 161.

^d Ibid. p. 161.

(A) We are told by D'Herbelot, in the article of *Sanjar Mîrza*, that he was the son of *Alâmâd*, son of *Bayera*, son of *Omar Shейkh*: but as *Bayera*, or *Baykera*, was the

grandson of *Omar Shейkh*, by *Ali Esfânder*, possibly *Bayera* may be a mistake of the press for *Bayera*, who was the seventh son of *Omar Shейkh*.

but, before he arrived, the Amîr *Pîr Darwîsh*, and his other generals in *Khorassân*, had pacified the troubles, by obliging *Alâo'ddawlet* to retire to *Ray* (in *Kubestân*, of *Persian Irâk*). *Bâbr*, having thus restored peace to his dominions, thought of nothing but taking his pleasure; when, in 857 (B), *Sanjar*, and the other lords whom he had left at *Sbîrâz*, being put to flight by *Jebân Shâh*, arrived at *Herât*. Hereupon he set out to carry the war into *Irâk* and *Azerbejân*, which the *Turkmâns* had made themselves masters of. Being come to *Astar-abâd*, he staid the time of *Ramazân* fast: but, when he was ready to march forward, he received advice from *Bâlk*, that Soltân *Abûsaïd*, who reigned in *Great Bukhâria*, had passed the *Jibûn*; and, having defeated and slain his generals, was encamped near that city.

Marches against Abûsaïd. *BÂBR*, reflecting on this occasion, as he did before, that it was of more importance to preserve *Khorassân* than subdue *Irâk*, left the *Turkmâns* at liberty to pursue their conquests, and marched back to *Herât*.

WHEN he arrived at *Morgâb*, news was brought that *Abûsaïd* had repassed the *Jibûn*: but this did not hinder him to proceed towards *Great Bukhâria*; which he entered, by fording that river at *Kondûz* and *Baklân*. *Abûsaïd*, finding himself thus pressed, sent ambassadors to him with proposals of peace: but, without hearing them, he continued his march till within a league of *Samarkant*; where several considerable persons waiting on him, to dispose him to an accommodation, he gave them no other answer, than *that he had come too far to return so hastily*. For all this, after losing a great number of officers as well as soldiers, without gaining any advantage in forty days siege, he hearkened to terms of peace: the chief conditions of which were, that the *Jibûn* (or *Amû*) should separate the two dominions, and prisoners be exchanged.

Pacifies Sajeistân. *Hej. 859.* *A. D. 1454.* AFTER this agreement, *Bâbr* returned to *Herât*, where he took his repose till 859; when finding that *Shâh Hussayn*, who had become his tributary, did not act well either by him, or the officers whom he sent into the province of *Sajeistân*, ordered the Amîr *Kalîl Hindûgha* to reduce that prince to reason. *Kalîl* ordered matters so well, that *Hussayn* was obliged to take flight, in which he lost his life by the snares which one of his own domestics laid for him; and thus *Kalîl* became master of all the country which bears the name of *Nimrûz*, that is, *the south*, as well as that of *Rostâm*, from the famous commander *Rostâm* (C), who was a native, and the governor thereof. At the same time *Bâbr* gave to the Mîrza *Sanjar* the government of *Marû* and *Mokhân*. Soon after, some lords of *Mazânderân*, whom he had imprisoned in the castle of *Omûd*, slew the governor, and took the field: but were quickly reduced to obedience by *Jalâlo'ddin Mahmûd*, governor of *Tûs*.

Bâbr dies. *Hej. 860.* *A. D. 1455.* IN 860 *Bâbr*, having recovered from a dangerous fit of sickness, retired to this last city for change of air; and went to visit the tomb of Imam *Rîza*, from whom *Tûs* has taken the name of *Mashhad Mokâddes*, that is, *the holy sepulchre* (D). Here he made presents worthy of a great prince; and, besides his devotion, spending whole days in the mosk, abstained from wine. But next year, 861, forgetting his resolution, he fell to drink wine as formerly; so that, falling in a passion with an officer one day, while taking the air in a chair after a debauch, his health changed all on a sudden, and he died next morning in the apartment of his women. This prince was much regretted by all his subjects; and interred under a dome by the side of Imam *Rîza*. The physicians, having examined his body, had some suspicion that poison had been given him: but good men judged that his death might have been caused by a particular miracle wrought by their Imâm. They ascribe to this prince ten years of reign, from his beginning to bear sway in *Forjân*: but properly he reigned no more than seven years in *Khorassân*, *Mazânderân*, and *Tokbarestân*.

Mahmûd Mîrza. HE was succeeded in his dominions by his son the Mîrza *Shâh Mahmûd*; who (in 862), being obliged by the *Turkmâns* to fly into *Sajeistân*, was the next year killed in a battle which he fought in *Hindowestân*, as hath been before related in the reign of *Abûsaïd*; who, by this means became master of *Khorassân*, which he held till his death.

Yadighiar Mîrza. THE race of *Bâbr* being thus extinct, as well as that of *Alâo'ddawlet*, there remained only the Mîrza *Yadighiar*, or *Yadighar*, son of their brother *Mohammed*, late Soltân of *Persian Irâk* and *Pârs*. It does not appear where this prince retired to immediately on the death

^c D'HERBELOT, p. 162.

(B) This same year, we are told that Sheykh *Babao'l Haquo'ddin Omar* died at the city of *Hafara*, in great reputation for sanctity; and that *Bâbr* immediately went to visit his children, gave orders for his funeral, and even carried the coffin on his shoulders part of the way.

(C) By the country of *Nimrûz* is to be understood the provinces of *Sajeistân*, or *Sistân*, and *Makrân*, which bear that name also; and, by the country of *Rostâm*, seems to be meant the province of *Zablestân*, where *Rostâm* was

born, and of which he was governor. He is the great champion of the *Persians*, in the times which they reckon fabulous.

(D) Rather, the holy place of martyrdom; which *Mashhad* signifies, *Rîza* having been slain there.—We omit two or three superstitious passages related by the *Mohammédans*, who are no less visionaries than other people.

a of his father: but, in 873, we find him at the court of *Hassan Beg*, or *Uzun Hassan*, prince of the dynasty of *the White Sheep*, who had the year before put an end to that of *the Black Sheep*, by the death of *Jebân Shâh*. *Hassan Ali*, son of *Jebân Shâh*, having prevailed on *Abû-saïd* to make war in his favour against *Hassan Beg*, the Soltân, in the year above-mentioned, marched towards *Karabâgh*; where being overthrown by the joint forces of the *Turkmân* and *Yadighiar Mîrza*, *Hassan Beg* caused the officers of *Khorassân*, who were in *Abû-saïd*'s army, to acknowledge *Yadighiar* for their lawful emperor, and successor of *Timûr*, as he had himself done before, probably in resentment of *Abû-saïd*'s assisting his rival *Hassan Ali*. Hej. 873. A. D. 1468.

YADIGHIAR, after this, the same year, went and besieged *Astarabâd*: but he was opposed in his enterprise by Soltân *Hussayn*, already possessed of *Khorassân*, who relieved that city, and defeated his troops. *Yadighiar*, on this repulse, retreated to *Hassan Beg* at *Tauris*, who the next year assisted him the second time, and gave him troops, with which he routed *Hussayn*, obliging him to fly towards *Fariâb* and *Bâlk*. By this victory *Yadighiar* became master of *Khorassân*: but he gave himself up so intirely to his pleasures, that he quite neglected his affairs, and took no more precautions than if he had no competitor for his dominions. This insensibility furnished *Hussayn* with leisure to wait an opportunity to attack him unexpectedly; which he found soon after: for, surprizing him in the midst of his debauches, with only a thousand horse, he slew him in the year 875; and this prince was the last of the family of *Shâh Râkb*^f, who reigned in *Khorassân*. Râkb's Khâssân.

HUSSAYN MÎRZA was the son of *Mansûr*, or *Almansûr*, son of *Baykarab*, son of *Omar Soltân* *Shaykh*, second son of *Timûr*. He was surnamed *Abû'lghâzi*, on account of his victories: but we have little more to add concerning them, than what has been already related in the foregoing reigns. After the defeat and death of *Yadighiar Mîrza*, his near relation, in 875, he ascended the throne of *Khorassân*, in its capital *Herât*. But this conquest did not procure him a settled repose: for he was engaged in several wars with the *Uzbek Tatars*, who made frequent incursions upon his territories; and had already driven *Mîrza Bâbr* out of *Great Bukhâria*, of which they were become masters. Against these new-comers, he obtained some signal victories, and designed to have expelled them: but he died by the way at *Wadekîs* (D), in 911, after a reign of thirty-six years over all *Khorassân*. This prince, who was a lover of virtue and the sciences, left several children behind him^g. Hej. 875. A. D. 1470.

d BADIO'ZZAMAN (E) and *Mozaffer*, two of *Hussayn*'s sons, reigned both together at *Herât*, after their father's death, but did not long enjoy his dominions: for, being invaded by *Shaybeg*, Khân of the *Uzbeks*, and not able to oppose him, they abandoned the country to their enemy. *Bâdio'zzamân* went first to *Kandabâr*, and thence to *Trushîs*; from whence he returned, with what forces he could gather, to attack the *Uzbeks*. But, being overthrown, he fled to *Shâh Ismael Sofî*, who then reigned in *Persia*; who gave him lands about *Tauris* for his support, besides ten Sharîfins in gold every day for his table. *Bâdi* continued in this situation for seven years, till 920; when Soltân *Selîm*, emperor of the *Turks*, having taken *Tauris* from the *Shâh*, he was carried to *Constantinople*, where he died, in 923^h. As for *Mozaffer*, he died in 915, in the mountains of *Khorassân*, whither he had fled for fear of *Shaybeg*ⁱ. Bâdio'zzamân.

c THERE still remained two of *Timûr*'s posterity, *Abû'l Mahân Mîrza* and *Ghîl Mîrza*. These princes joined themselves with *Dhu'l Nun Argûn*, prince of *Kandabâr*; who, marching against the *Uzbeks*, in support of their right to the empire of *Timûr*, carried them along with him: but he was slain in battle; and the two princes being taken, and put to death, an end was thus given to the empire of *Timûr*'s descendents in *Khorassân*, after they had reigned there for the space of fourscore years^k. Abû'l Mahân.

^f D'HERBELOT, p. 470. p. 321. D'HERE. p. 464.

^g TEIXEIRA, p. 320. D'HERBELOT, p. 464. ⁱ AL JANNABI ap. Poc. supp. ad hist. dynast. p. 57.

^h TEIXEIRA, ^k Ibid.

(D) A mistake, perhaps, for *Badekîs*.

(E) *Badia al zamân*, or, as it is pronounced, *Badio'zzamân*, signifies the wonder of the age.

BOOK XI.

The history of the Shâhs reigning in Persia.

INTRODUCTION.

Of the Sofian family, and origin of the Shâhs.

Family of Ismael.

THE founder of this dynasty in *Persia* was *Ismael*, surnamed *Sûfi*, or *Sofi*; of whose family, or descent, it will be proper to give some previous account. The father of this remarkable person was *Sheykh Hayder*, or *Haydr*, the son of *Soltân Juneyd*, the son of *Sheykh Ibrâhîm*, the son of *Sheykh Ali* (A), the son of *Sheykh Mûssa*, or *Mûssa* (B), the son of *Sheykh Sefi* (C), who was the thirteenth descendant in a right male line from *Ali* (D), the son-in-law of the prophet *Mohammed*; if the *Persians* may be believed, who have the greatest veneration for this family (E).

Sheykh Safi.

WHEN *Timûr Beg*, or *Tamerlan*, returned into *Persia*, after the victory obtained over *Ilde-rim Bâyezîd*, he carried with him a multitude of people out of *Karamania*, and other parts of *Anatolia*, all whom he intended to put to death on some remarkable occasion; and, with this resolution, he entered *Ardevîl*, or *Ardebîl*, a city of *Azerbejân*, about twenty-five miles to the east of *Tabrîz*, or *Tauris*, where he continued for some days. At this time there dwelt in that city a person named *Sheykh Safi*, or *Sefi* (F), reputed by the inhabitants a saint, and, as such, much revered by them. The fame of *Safi's* holy life and virtue moved *Timûr* to covet his friendship; and, with that design, he visited him often in person. When he was about to depart from *Ardevîl*, he went to take leave of the *Sheykh*; and, as a token of his esteem, offered to grant him whatever favour he should ask.

A glorious action.

SHEYKH SAFI, who had been informed of the conqueror's design to put the captives to death, laying hold of this occasion, made it his request that he would spare the lives of those unfortunate men. *Timûr*, desirous to oblige him, not only granted their lives, but delivered them up to him, to dispose of as he thought fit. The *Sheykh*, when he had them in his possession, made the best provision of clothes, and other necessaries, that he was able, and then dismissed them, to return into their respective countries. This great instance of universal benevolence so far gained the hearts of those people, and their compatriots, that, in token of gratitude, they repaired in great numbers to see *Safi*, bringing him presents; and this so frequently, that few days passed on which he was not visited by many^a.

Soltân Juneyd.

NOR did this respect cease with the life of those who had received it from him: but their posterity continued to pay the same acknowledgment to the race of *Safi*, till the days of *Soltân Juneyd* (G), his third grandson; who lived in the days of *Jebân Shâh*, the son of *Kara Yûsef*, third prince of the *Kara Koyunlu* dynasty. This prince, growing jealous of the great authority which *Juneyd* was arrived at, by the vast number of such attendants, both horse and foot, who continually waited on him, ordered him not to receive the visits of such multitudes of people. *Juneyd* resented this injunction heinously; and, to avoid a second more disagreeable

^a TEIXEIRA, c. 48. p. 337. D'HERBEL. p. 503. art. Ismail Schah.

(A) He is called also *Khosrowajeh*, or *Khojeh Ali*.

(B) Named also *Shâdro'ddin*.

(C) Also *Safio'ddin*.

(D) By the branch of *Husfeyn*, second son of *Ali*; which is that of the twelve Imâms, according to the *Persians*. D'Herb. art. *Haider*.

(E) See, on this occasion, Sir *John Chardin's* voyages

to *Persia*, &c. tome ii. p. 227. We make use of the *Paris* quarto edition, in three volumes.

(F) *Safi*, or *Sefi*, signifies *chaste*; and hence *Moslofa* is derived. Some call it, from hence, the *Safawi* race, or family.

(G) Called also *Abûl Kâsem al Kazzarini*.

a message, went away with his devotees from *Ardebîl* to *Diyârbekr*: where *Uzun Hassan Beg*, who then reigned there, received him very kindly, and gave him to wife his sister *Kadija Katûn*, who bore him a son named *Hayder*, or *Haydr*.

JUNEYD was very serviceable to *Uzun Hassan* for several years, particularly in his incursions into *Gurjestân*, which he frequently made under pretence of religion, compelling those whom he made prisoners to embrace it. At length, entering the kingdom of *Trabizond*, and killing the king, he some years after placed his son *Haydr* on the throne, who held it after his father's death. *Juneyd*, having enriched himself with the plunder which he had taken, in his several expeditions, from the *Georgians* and *Armenians*, went and settled in the province of *Shîrwân*. But his great wealth, added to the number of his adherents, with whom he was fortified on all sides, gave the people of the country so great a distrust, that they formed a conspiracy against him, in which he perished, with most of his followers^b.

AFTER *Uzun Hassan* had slain *Jebân Shâh*, and possessed himself of his dominions, *Haydr Sheykh Haydr* (H) removed to *Ardebîl*; where he married *Alemshâh* (I), the daughter of *Hassan*, his own cousin-german, by whom he had *Ali Pâtshâh* and *Ismael*, who was born in the year 892. The Hej. 892. next year *Hassan* gave *Haydr* some forces to make war on *Ferokzâd*, or *Farrokyâzar*, king of *A. D. 1486*. *Shîrwân*, who had killed *Juneyd* in battle, by the assistance of *Yakûb Beg*, the *Turkmân's* general: but, in attempting to revenge his father's death, he lost his life; and occasioned the destruction of almost the whole *Sofian* family (K), which was very numerous. All his sons were killed, excepting *Yar Ali* and *Ismael*, who were taken. *Ali* was afterwards put to death by *Rostam Beg*, as elsewhere is related^c; and *Ismael*, being set at liberty, fled to *Ghilân*, or *Khilân*, where he continued six years under the protection of the king (L), who was a friend to his father *Sheykh Haydr*^d: after which, leaving that country and his benefactor, he began to appear in the world on the following occasion.

^b TEIXEIRA, p. 338. D'HERB. p. 406. art. Giuneid. p. 339. D'HERB. p. 421, art. Haidar; & Pocock Suppl. p. 63.

^c See hereafter.

^d TEIXEIRA,

(H) *Hayder*, or *Haydr*, is one of the *Arab* names for a lion, and one of the surnames or titles of *Ali*; who is also called *Affad Allah*, or *the lion of God*. Hence the name of *Haydr* is frequently found among his descendants.

(I) The Christian travellers and historians say her name was *Martha*; and that *Uzun Hassan* had her by *Despina*, daughter of *Kâlo Jeannes*, emperor of *Trebizond*, who gave her to him for a wife, as is hereafter related. *Kæmpfer*, among others, says, that her name was *Martha*; but mentions not his authority. *Amœnitates exoticæ*, p. 9.

(K) *Haydr* was called also *Al Sûfi*, and *Sheykh Sûfiyat*: hence his descendants, who assumed the name of

Sûfi, were called *Sûfiyat* and *Haydariyat*, that is, *Sûfian* and *Haydarian*. The *Persians* say *Haydar* invented a new covering for the head, of a red colour, with twelve plaits round a cap, which he ordered his followers to wear. This is what is called in *Persia* the *Tâj*, or *Haydarian* crown; on which account the *Persians* are called *Kezîlbâsh*, or *red-heads*. See D'Herb. bibl. orient. art. *Haydar*, & Pocock suppl. hist. dynast. p. 63. However, *Mirkond* says, *Ismael* instituted the *Tâj*, after he had taken *Tauris* from *Alwand* in 907 of the Hejrah, according both to *Teixeira* and *D'Herbelot*, in the life of *Ismael*: by which may be understood, that he brought it more generally in use among all his subjects.

(L) *Olearius* calls him *Pîr Khâlem*, l. vi. p. 343.

C H A P. I.

The reign of *Shâh* Ismael Sofi.

d THERE was at this time, among the *Mohammedans*, an infinite number of people dispersed over *Asia*, who publicly professed the sect of *Ali*; and among these a particular party who followed that of *Haydr*, which *Sheykh Safi*, one of his ancestors, had brought into great reputation. *Ismael*, who had assumed the surname of *Sofi* (A), finding *Persia* was all in confusion, with the troubles occasioned by those of the *Ak Koyunlû* family; and hearing that there was a great number of the *Hayderian* sect in *Karamania*, a province of *Anatolia*,

(A) *Sofi* signifies properly, in *Arabic*, a man clothed in woollen, from *Sof*, or *Sûf*, which signifies wool. But there is more reason to believe that the word comes from the *Greek Sofos*: for the *Mussulmans* denote by it a sage, or philosopher, who lives separate and retired from the world, by a kind of religious profession. *Sofi*, therefore, signifies a religious *Mohammedan*, who is called also *Der-*

wîsh, or *Darwîsh*, both in *Turkish* and *Persian*; and, in *Arabic*, *Fakîr*. *Shâh Ismael*, from his ancestors, took the appellation of *Sofi*; whence many of our historians and travellers call the kings of *Persia* in general the *Sofi*, or *Great Sofi*. D'Herb. art. *Sofi*, p. 816. The *Turks*, in enmity and contempt, call him *Sheykh Ogli*, the *Sheykh's* son.

Subdues Shîr-
wân,
Hej. 906.
A. D. 1500.
and Azerbe-
jân,
also Persian
Irâk.

removed thither. There, having gathered 7000 of that party (B), all devoted to his family, in 906, when he was but fourteen years of age, he invaded *Shîrwân*; and engaging *Feroz-zad*, whom he considered as his father's murderer, with that handful of men, overthrew, killed him, and became master of his kingdom (C). Next year, marching from *Nakhsirwân* with his army to *Tauris*, where *Alwand* resided, that prince abandoned the country and fled.

Hej. 908.
A. D. 1502.

AFTER this, *Ismael* went to *Arzenjân*, and marched his army into the kingdom of *Zûlkâder* (D): but had no sooner turned his back, than *Alwand* returned to *Tauris*; to the relief whereof *Ismael* hastening, the other fled to *Bâghdâd*, and thence to *Diyârbekr*, where he died two years after, that is, in 908. *Ismael* staid at *Tauris*, but sent his forces into *Persia*, against *Morâd Beg*, the remaining *Turkmân* prince; who, being defeated, with the loss of 10,000 men, next year abandoned to him *Pârs* and *Kermân*. After this, *Ismael* went to pass the winter at *Kom*, in *Persian Irâk*; and from thence sent *Elias Beg* with an army against the city of *Ray*, or *Rey*, formerly its capital: but *Husseyn Beg Jelobi*, who lay in the way to meet him, coming to a battle, defeated and killed him. *Ismael*, on the news of this overthrow, set out immediately in quest of *Husseyn*, who thereupon retired to the strong fortress of *Firîzkûb*. This place the Shâh besieged; and, by cutting off the water, which was conveyed from without by aqueducts, obliged the enemy to surrender within the space of one month.

Conquers Pârs,

THIS war being over, in which, though it lasted so short a while, above 30,000 men perished, *Ismael* set out for *Khorassân*. But he had not advanced far, when *Reysb Mohammed Karrabi*, with some forces, possessed himself of *Yazd* in *Pârs*. *Ismael* turned back upon him; and, after a brave defence, took both the city and *Karrabi*, whom he caused to be burnt alive. This happened in the year 911: after which, *Ismael*, marching to *Shîrâz*, ordered by proclamation, that every man, who had been in the war against his father *Haydr*, should be put to death: on which occasion between 30 and 40,000 persons perished (*). In 914, while he wintered at *Turon*, Soltân *Husseyn Mirza*, king of *Khorassân*, died; and *Shaybek Khân*, the *Uzbek*, made himself master of his dominions, driving out his son *Bâdi Azzaman*, who fled to *Irâk* for protection.

Hej. 911.
A. D. 1505.
A. D. 1508.

Bâghdâd and
Irâk.
Hej. 916.
A. D. 1510.

ISMAEL, after this, marched his army into the country of *Rûmestân*, or the *Turks* (E); and, having given the government of *Diyârbekr* to *Mohammed Khân Estayalu*, in 916 (F) advanced to *Bâghdâd*, where *Bâribeg* commanded; who, on his approach, left the city, and fled along with *Morâd Beg*, the last of the *Âk Koyunlû Turkmâns*, into *Anatolia*, as elsewhere hereafter related. Thus that capital of *Arabian Irâk* fell into the hands of *Ismael*, although he lost a great number of men in passing the *Tigris* (G). Hence turning towards the province of *Khûzestân*, he took the city of *Shuster*, which is the capital; and, although it was the depth of winter, he afterwards marched his forces into *Shîrwân*, where he reduced the cities of *Bûkû* and *Dârhend* (H).

Defeats Shay-
bek.

Hej. 917.
A. D. 1511.

AT length, in the year 917, he marched into *Khorassân*, against *Shaybek Soltân Khân*, who, after the death of Soltân *Husseyn*, son of *Baykâra*, grandson of *Timûr*, had seized on that province. On his approach, the *Uzbek* retired to *Mârû*, or *Marwo*: but, being at last provoked to come to a battle, he therein lost it, with his life; the consequence of which was, the possession of *Khorassân* and *Mâwara'n-nâhr*. Two years after was born his son *Tahmâsp* (or *Tahmas*); and, in 920, *Selim I.* Soltân of the *Turks*, went and attacked *Arzenjân* on the *Euphrates*. *Ismael*, who was then at *Ispâhân*, the capital of *Persian Irâk*, to stop the progress of the *Othmâns*, set forward with his forces; and was met by *Selim* in the plains of *Chalderon* (I), near *Koy*: where *Ismael* being defeated, with the loss of 5000 men, retired to *Tauris*, and thence to *Kasbîn*. *Selim*, pursuing his good fortune, made himself master of *Tauris*; where, having staid a fortnight, he returned to *Amasia* in *Anatolia*. This year the *Kezilbâsh* slew *Morâd Beg* in *Diyârbekr*, and brought his head to Shâh *Ismael*. Next year *Selim* took the important fortress of *Kemâk* (K): he likewise subdued the country of *Alâedulet* and *Zulkâder*, with the territories

Defeated by
Selim I. who
takes Tauris,
A. D. 1515.

(B) These, according to *Teixeira's* extract, were the tribes of *Estayalu*, *Shambu*, *Takalu*, *Virsatlu*, *Rowbu*, *Zulkoderlu*, *Awksbâhr*, *Kayâr*, *Sûfiyah*, *Karayalak*, and many others.

(C) According to the *Persian* historians, after he had subdued *Azerbejan* and *Armenia*, he made war on the *Georgians*, whom he obliged to pay tribute. *Chard. voy. en Perse*, tome i. p. 125.

(D) Or *Dhulgâster* and *Alaedeulet*, in *Asia Minor*; 'tis part of *Kappadocia* and *Cilicia*.

(*) Unjust and bloody monster! unlike his ancestor *Sheykh Sefi*!

(E) Because the *Turks* are now possessed of the coun-

try of the *Romans*, or *Roman empire*, which *Rûmestân* signifies.

(F) *D'Herbelot*, in the article *Bâghdâd*, says it was taken in 1508, which is two years earlier.

(G) According to *Teixeira*, he lost 12,000 horse, out of 16,000, in swimming over the river; and, with the remaining 4000, took the city. *Hist. Pers.* part i. ch. 21. p. 35.

(H) Both situate on the shore of the *Caspian sea*; the last is commonly written *Derbent*.

(I) *D'Herbelot* has *Gialderan*, that is, *Jalderan*, which, says he, our authors name *Chalderan*.

(K) On the west side of the *Euphrates*, twenty-one miles south of *Arzenjân*, or *Arzerogan*.

a of *Hâlep*, or *Heppo*, in *Syria*. In 922 the Soltân possessed himself of *Diyârbekr* (L); after which, A. D. 1518. thinking the conquest of *Egypt* of more importance than that of *Persia*, he turned his arms on that side next year, and left *Ismael* in quiet: who, from the time of his defeat, never undertook any thing of consequence till his death, which happened in 930 (M); after he had lived thirty-eight years, and reigned twenty-four, reckoning from the defeat of *Ferokzâd*, king of *A. D. 1523. Shirwân*.

THIS prince was endowed with an unparalleled courage, and intrepid in the greatest dangers: terrible to his enemies, and a severe exacter of military discipline. Rather harsh and cruel, than mild of disposition. Ambitious to such excess, that he used often to say, *As there is but one God in heaven, so there ought to be but one king on earth*. As he took the name of *Sofî*, or *religious* (N), so he was exceedingly honoured by his subjects, whose enthusiasm or frenzy made them think him something more than man: nay, his soldiers would have ascribed to him some sort of divinity; but, as haughty as he was, he always rejected it (O), of which he once gave a signal instance: for, after gaining an important victory, when some saluted him by the title of prophet, others of angel, and others of God, finding that he was not able to dissuade them from paying him such impious homage, he commanded a pit of great depth and extent to be dug; and, throwing one of his shoes into it, ordered the man who loved him best to go fetch it out. No sooner was the word spoken, than some thousands, to shew their zeal, leaped in; and, the moment they were down, all the earth which had been dug out of it was thrown upon them; thus chastising their impious folly, by burying them alive.

c ISMAEL had four sons; *Shâh Tabmâsp*, *Aleas*, or *Elias Mirzab*, *Sam Mirza*, and *Babrâm Mirza* b. The *European* historians give a most confused and erroneous account (P) of the original of the family and empire of the Shâhs. What they have written concerning *Ismael*, and his successors, taken from the travellers, is no less incorrect and imperfect; the latter having only related what they had observed themselves during their travels, or received from the natives, without consulting the *Persian* authors, at least sufficiently for the purpose; altho' some of them (Q) might have been capable of doing it. *Olearius* has given us a brief account of the Shâhs, from their original, down to his own time; but it is so superficial and uncertain with regard to all of them, till *Shâh Abbâs*, as to be of very little service to us. Concerning *Ismael*, he informs us, that, after he had subdued some provinces of *Persia*, he marched into *Turky*, and defeated the Soltân: that afterwards he conquered *Arabian Irâk*, *Kûrdestân*, *Diyârbekr*, and *Armenia*, to the *Euphrates*: then, having secured his frontiers against the *Turks*, turned his arms eastward, and took *Kandehâr*, with the adjoining province, from the king of the *Indies*: that, after this, he went to *Kaswîn* (or *Kasbîn*) to be crowned: but, without staying longer than the ceremony required, proceeded to *Georgia*; and, having defeated the king, called *Simon Pâdishâh*, obliged him to pay yearly 100 bales of silk, by way of tribute.

b TEIXEIRA, D'HERBELOT, et Pocock, ubi supra.

(L) For the particulars of this conquest, see the reign of *Selim I.* in the *Othmân* history.

(M) According to *Olearius*, he died at *Kâsbîn*, and was buried at *Ardebîl*.

(N) *D'Herbelot* says, he affected to be thought a prophet, and even divine; seemingly with design to throw an odium on him on account of his religion: yet relates the story of the pit, bringing it in very incoherently. In which he seems to be less sincere than *Teixeira*: who, being a *Romanist*, would doubtless have been as willing as

the other to have told *Ismael's* impiety, had he seen any foundation for it in his author.

(O) *Olearius* says, that he was reputed to have been a great observer of justice; but to have made no difficulty to drink wine, and eat swines-flesh: nay, that, in derision of the *Turkish* religion, he kept a hog in his court, which he named *Bâyezîd*.

(P) See *Byzarrus rerum Persicarum historia*; the editor of *Krusinsky's* late revolution in *Persia*, &c.

(Q) As *Della Valle*, *Herbert*, *Olearius*, *Thevenot*, *Tavernier*, *Chardin*, *Kämpfer*, and a few more.

C H A P. II.

The reign of Tahmâsp I. and Ismael II.

2. Shâh
Tahmâsp.

Hej. 941.
A. D. 1543.

Actions and
death.

Hej. 983.
A. D. 1575.

Invaded by
Soleymân,

who retreats.

TAHMÂSP (A), the eldest son of *Ismael*, succeeded his father. He had several wars ^a in *Khorassân* against the *Uzbeks*; who, having seized *Karazm* and *Great Bukhâria*, which bound *Persia* on the north, became very troublesome neighbours: but that which he carried on against *Soleymân*², the *Othmân* emperor, was more considerable. *Soleymân*, having advanced with his forces to attack him in 941, at such time as he had another war upon his hands in *Khorassân*, he was obliged to return with his army to oppose the *Turks*: however, he avoided coming to a battle, on account of the great artillery which *Soleymân* had brought along with him. The Soltân, having entered *Persia*, laid siege to *Tauris*, and took it; but afterwards, without penetrating farther into the country, withdrew, and retired to *Kûra Amîd* (or *Diyâr-bekr*).

As soon as Shâh *Tahmâsp* was informed of this, he attacked his dunder, or rear-guard, ^b consisting of 17,000 men, which had been left, according to the custom of the *Turks*, to prevent their being surprised. In effect, he defeated this body of troops, and retook *Tauris*: but, *Soleymân* having marched back upon this news, the Shâh fled before him, and ruined his own country, to avoid being pursued ^b.

TAHMÂSP began his reign in the year 930; and died in 983, after he had reigned fifty-three years (B). He was poisoned by one of his wives, the mother of prince *Haydr*, out of an eager desire to set him on the throne after his father's death: but her design was frustrated by his sister, who bribed one of the officers belonging to the treasury to kill him, when he went to inquire what money his father had left behind him ^c.

He had two sons more, *Ismael* and *Mohammed*, who both reigned after him.

^c **T**HIS is all the account, relating to Shâh *Tahmâsp*, which has been transmitted to us from the oriental authors (C). *Olearius* says, that Soltân *Soleymân*, taking advantage of the weakness of Shâh *Tâbmâsp*, who did not inherit the virtues and great endowments of his father *Ismael*, recovered from the *Persians*, by his generals, all which they had taken from the *Turks*, excepting *Baghdâd* and *Wân*: that, two years after, he entered *Persia* in person, took *Tauris*, and besieged *Soltânîyah*; while *Tahmâsp*, who was at *Kaswîn*, had not courage enough to attempt raising the siege, which yet, by accident, was effected: for, in *March*, some few days before their *Newrûz*, or new-year's day, there fell such abundance of rain, accompanied with a violent storm, and the snow of the neighbouring mountains dissolving at the same time, all the valleys were overflowed, and the *Othmân* camp greatly incommoded thereby. This sudden inundation, joined to the colour of the water (which probably, from the nature of the ground thro' which it passed, was reddish), so frightened *Soleymân*, that he forthwith broke up his camp, and returned home. In his retreat, he destroyed all before him: but, being engaged by the *Persians* near *Betlis*, or *Bedlis*, was absolutely defeated. ^d

ACCORDING to the same author, the *Persians* spoke slightly both of his conduct and valour (D). They charge him with neglecting to administer justice to his subjects, and leaving the whole management of affairs to his ministers. They blame him for giving protection to *Humâyûn*, son of Soltân *Babr*, the *Mogol* of *Industân* (E), who was driven out of his kingdom; nor would deliver him up, when demanded by the usurper. But, in this, he did rather a commendable than blameable action ^d.

^a See hereafter, the history of *Soleymân*.
hamâsh.

Travels, l. vi. p. 345.

^b Turkish annals, ap. D'Herbelot, p. 1016. art. *Thahmâsh*.
^c EBN YUSEF, ap. Pocock Suppl. ad Hist. Dynast. p. 65.

^d OLEARIUS'S

(A) The *Persians* write *Tahmâsp*, and the *Arabs* *Tabmâsh*; which is corruptly named *Tamas*, and *Thamas*, in the *European* authors.

(B) *Olearius* says, he died 11th May 1576, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and forty-second of his reign, which is eleven years short. *Minadoi* also says, he died the 11th of May 1576.

(C) D'Herbelot seems to have taken the whole article of *Thamash* from Gaudier's translation of the *Turkish* annals, and Dr. Pocock's supplement to *Abûlfaraj*. Several of those relating to the *Turkmân* dynasties are in like manner transcribed from Pocock and *Teixiera*; yet he

could not have been without good originals, if he had consulted them.

(D) Yet *Chardin*, from the *Persian* historians, says, he was a prince of great courage and success. *Voy. en Perse*, tom. i. p. 125.

(E) *Olearius* makes sad work here, saying, he was the son of *Selim*; and that he fled to avoid the attempts of his uncle *Jelâlo'ddin Akbar*; whereas *Akbar* was his son, from whom he received no injury. He was driven out by the usurper *Shîr Khân*, the *Afghân*, or *Avghân*, who was his Wazîr, and restored by the help of *Tahmâsp*.

^a It has been already mentioned in the reign of *Ismael*, that *Georgia* was reduced to pay *Reduces* tribute by *Shâh Ismael*. That country, besides the kingdoms of *Kaket* and *Karthuel* (or *Kar-Georgia*, *duel*), was then divided among several feudatory princes, who were continually at war among themselves, which contributed most to the ruin of the whole. In the time of *Tabmâsp*, *Karthuel* (or the *Eastern Georgia*) was possessed by *Luarzab* (F); who left two sons, *Simon* and *David*, between whom he divided his dominions: but, as neither was content with his share, they went to war together, and both craved assistance of *Tabmâsp*. The youngest happening to apply first, *Tabmâsp* answered, that he would give him all his father's territories, provided he would turn *Mohammedan*. *David* consents; and joins the *Persian* army, consisting of 30,000 horse, which had already entered the country. From thence he is sent to *Kasbin*; and, as soon as *Tabmâsp* has him in his power, he makes the same offer to *Simon*; who, finding himself pressed by the *Persian* arms, surrenders himself, but without renouncing his faith. The *Shâh*, being now master both of the princes and their country, sends the elder prisoner to *Jenghâ* (G), near the *Caspian* sea; and makes the other governor of *Georgia*, changing his name from *David* to *Dawd Khân*; at the same time he made him and the *Georgian* lords take an oath of fidelity, and send him their sons for hostages.

SHAH Tabmâsp had, by several wives, eleven sons (H) and three daughters. Among the *Haydr* sons, there were three who survived the rest; *Mohammed* (who, on account of his weak sight, had given up thoughts of governing, and embraced a devout life, was called *Khodâbânde*, that is, *servant of God*), *Ismael*, and *Haydr*. As *Tabmâsp* had a particular affection for *Haydr*, it was his design to make him his successor; and, for that end, he gave him a share in the government during his life. When the *Shâh* was near his end, the great lords sent to *Mohammed*, whose right it was by birth, to accept of the crown; and, on his refusal, gave notice to *Ismael* (I), who was then a prisoner in the castle of *Kabak*, where he had been confined by his father, for having of his own head made incursions into the *Othmân* dominions, altho' he professed the *Turkish*, and hated the *Persian* sect. Mean time *Haydr*, who was but seventeen years of age, impatient to get into the throne, had the presumption to put the crown on his head, and appear in that posture before his dying father.

^c MORE effectually to carry his point, during *Ismael's* absence, he solicited his sister *Peria-konkonna*, who was older than any of her brothers, to make use of the interest which she had with the *grandees*, in his behalf. *Put to death*

^d THE prince's had already declared herself in favour of the elder brother; yet, fearing *Haydr* should proceed to violences, which might prevent her securing the crown for *Ismael*, if she opposed his pretensions, suffered him to assume the title of king; and, as such, he was acknowledged all over the palace. However, she had all the avenues so well guarded, that it was impossible for *Haydr's* friends to carry any tidings of it to the city: so that the young prince, beginning to distrust his sister's carriage, and apprehending their design was to sacrifice him to his brother's resentment, concealed himself among the women; till *Shamal* (K), a *Georgian*, his uncle by the mother's side, discovered him, and cut off his head^f.

^e CHARDIN VOY. en Perse, tom. i. p. 125. OLEARIUS, p. 345. MINADOI wars between Turks and Persians, p. 4.
^f OLEARIUS, ubi sup. HERBERT'S Travels, p. 198. MINAD. p. 6.

(F) Minadoi, and, after him, Olearius, calls him *Lavasp*.

(G) Minadoi says, the castle of *Kabaka*, between *Kasbin* and *Tauris*. Minad. wars between Turks and Persians, p. 4.

(H) Herbert says twelve, and gives the names; *Mahomet*, *Ismael*, *Ayder Cawn*, *Solyman*, *Emangoly*, *Mamut Ally*, *Musapha*, *Ally Cawn*, *Amet Cawn*, *Ebrâhym*, *Hamze* and *Izema Cawn*. Herb. trav. p. 198.

(I) Minadoi, p. 1. says, *Tabmâsp* appointed *Ismael* for his successor, who had been imprisoned for the fierceness of his courage.

(K) Herbert calls him *Sahamal Khân*; and says, *Haydr* enjoyed the crown but four days: that *Peria-konkonna* was a martial lady, and encouraged him to ascend the throne; yet, on his death, invited *Ismael*. Herbert's Trav. p. 198, & seq.

The reign of Ismael II.

^e ISMAEL, being thus raised to the throne from a prison (where he had been confined for 3. *Shâh Ismael II.* twenty-five years) by the management of his sister, to reward her for the favour, put her to death. However, he did not long survive his parricide; for he died the 13th of *Ramâzân*, in the year 985 (A), aged above fifty. His death was thought to be procured by poison Hej. 985. infused in treacle, which he took often, and in great quantity. Others say, that he was slain A. D. 1577; by some of the great lords, who went in to him dressed in women's clothes^a. He reigned one year and ten months.

^a POCOCK Suppl. p. 65. D'HERB. p. 505, art. *Ismail ben Thahmasp*,

(A) Olearius puts his death on the 24th of November 1577, which is near the mark; and postpones that of his sister to *Mohammed's* reign.

His great cruelty.

He is slain.

ISMAEL confirmed the proverb, that *the reign of a prince, who returns from exile, is always cruel and bloody*: for he began his reign with the execution of all the kindred and friends of *Haydr* (B), as well as of those who had advised his father to imprison him; pursuing such as he could not get apprehended, even as far as the frontiers of *Turky*, the religion of which he openly professed. To find out how the grandees were affected towards him, he caused a report to be spread of his death: but he appeared again too soon for those who had been so imprudent as to discover an aversion to his government; for he took away the lives of all such as he had the least jealousy of; and exercised so great cruelty, that his sister *Peria-konkonna*, not thinking herself secure while he lived, took care to make away with him: but this was done so secretly, that, when our author was in *Persia*, it was not known in what manner the inhabitants came to get rid of such a tyrant^b. According to *Minadoi* and *Herbert*, his sister, and four lords (C), dressed in women's apparel, entered his apartment one night, as if on a party of gallantry, and strangled him with a silken cord, on the 24th of *November* 1577^c.

^b OLEARIUS, ubi sup. HERBERT, p. 199. MINAD. p. 10.

^c MINAD. p. 12. HERBERT, *ibid*.

(B) *Herbert* says, he put to death eight of his brothers also. *Travels*, p. 199. *Minadoi* says the same; from whom both *Herbert* and *Olearius* seem to have taken their memoirs.

(C) *Khalil Khán*, *Amir Khán*, *Mohammed Khán*, and *Karbi Klán*.

C H A P. III.

The reign of Mohammed Khodâbandeh, Hamzeh, and Ismael III.

4. Shâh Mohammed.

ON the death of *Ismael*, *Mohammed Khodâbandeh* was sent for from *Khorassân*, of which he was governor; and, coming to *Kaswîn*, there ascended the throne. Besides the appellation of *Khodâbandeh*, which he obtained on account of his devotion, as has been already mentioned, he had also that of *Alzarir*, or *the Blind*, given him, because he wanted his sight (A); and it was for this reason that *Ismael*, who put to death all his other brothers, had spared him. *Ahmed ebn Yusef* says he reigned a good many years; *Teixeira*, *Minadoi*, and *Olearius*, but seven^a.

Peria-konkonna slain.

ACCORDING to the two last authors, they had a good deal of difficulty to prevail on him to accept of the crown (B); till he was made sensible, that both his person, and the kingdom, would be exposed to great danger, in case it passed to a strange family. However, he resolved not to assume it, but on condition that, before he made his entrance into *Kaswîn*, they brought him the head of *Peria-konkonna* (C); who having imbrued her hands in the blood of two of his brothers, might otherwise have it in her power to dispose of the kingdom to another: for this princess had prostituted herself to several lords of the court, particularly to *Amir Khán*, whom she had filled with hopes of ascending the throne.

His character. Hej. 986.

As soon as *Mohammed* took on him the reins of government, which was in the year 1578, he seemed studious to imitate those of his predecessors who had contributed most to preserve and exalt the glory of the state. This is what *Bizarrus* says of him: but the *Persians* affirm, that never any prince managed a sceptre with greater negligence and pusillanimity; inasmuch that, finding himself unfit for carrying on any military design, he spent all his time within the palace in gaming, and diverting himself with the ladies: that his enemies, the *Turks* on one side, and *Uzbek Tatars* on the other, taking advantage of his effeminacy, invaded *Persia*; and possessed themselves of several provinces, which continued in their hands so long as he lived^b.

Defeats the Turks.

For all this, at first the *Persians*, under this prince, gained some considerable advantages against the *Turks*. *Minadoi* relates, that, in the year above-mentioned, their general *Toko-*

^a POCOCK Suppl. p. 65. D'HERB. p. 613, art. Mohammed Khod. HERBERT, p. 199. MINAD. p. 15.

^b OLEARIUS, l. vi. p. 346.

(A) But it is not to be understood that he was stone-blind, though he is commonly by authors reckoned so: for we do not find, that his eyes were put out; and it is only said before, that his sight was very weak or bad; which is confirmed by *Herbert*, in his *Travels*, p. 198, who calls him the purblind king of *Persia*.

(B) *Herbert* says, that, on the murder of his eight

brothers, *Mohammed* began to stir to secure himself, and the people to flock to him. *Ibid*.

(C) As this seems to be the same princess slain by *Ismael*, there must be some mistake, or great uncertainty, in this particular among the *Persian* historians. *Periakonkonna* may not improperly be rendered *the fairy queen*.

^a *mak*, with only 20,000 men, in the *Kalderan* plains, defeated 100,000 *Othmâns* under *Mos- tafa Pâshâ*; and killed 30,000, with the loss of 8000 *Kizilbâsh*, of whose heads he made a monument, to scare their countrymen. *Minadoi* says, three thousand of them were the heads of prisoners; and that, ordering them to be laid in a heap, he sat on it while he gave audience to a young *Georgian* lord, who paid him a visit. But this insult was retaliated on the *Turks Khân*, as they passed the *Konak* (in *Georgia*), 30,000 of them parted with their heads, to raise a higher monument to the *Persian* valour. After this, *Arez Beg*, with 10,000 men, sur- ^{His general taken.} prising the *Tatars*, in their way from *Mazânderân*, where they had done great mischief, to join *Ozmân Pâshâ*, left by *Mosâfa* (in *Shîrwân*), he attacked and routed a great part of their army. But *Abdo'l Gheray*, the *Tatar* general (D), with some select troops, coming unexpectedly upon the backs of the *Persians*, turned the fortune of the day: for the latter, who were already half-tired, taking them for the *Turks* under *Ozmân Pâshâ*, were presently defeated; and their general *Arez Beg*, being taken, was afterwards hanged at *Shamakîya*.

^b *MOHAMMED KHODABANDEH*, quickly informed of the shameful death inflicted on *Arez Beg*, orders his son *Amîr Hamzeh Mirza* (the wonder of his age), to revenge the injury. ^{His death re- venged} The prince sets out forthwith from *Kaswîn* with 12,000 men; and, in nineteen days, comes up with *Abdo'l Cheray*, and his *Tatars*, on whom he falls with such fury, that, in two hours, they are put to the rout. This done, he enters *Erez*, puts the garrison to the sword, and hangs *Kaytas Pâshâ*, to atone for *Arez Beg*. Here likewise he recovered 200 pieces of cannon, ^{by Hamzeh Mirza.} which his grandfather *Tabmâsp* had lost to *Soltân Soleymân*. After this, hearing where the *Tatars* were encamped again, he comes on them suddenly with his nimble troops, cuts most of them in pieces; and, unhorsing *Abdo'l Gheray* himself, sends him prisoner to *Erez*, where the queen-mother lay. Mean time *Ozmân Pâshâ*, with his forces, enters *Shamakîya*: but the *Persian* prince hastes thither with such fury, that the amazed *Pâshâ* flies by night, and leaves the city to his mercy; vengeance, we should have termed it: for he set the houses on fire, and may be said to have quenched it with the blood of the inhabitants, to punish their treachery.

^c *THE Georgians* shook off the *Persian* yoke after the death of *Tabmâsp*; as did most of the ^{Affairs of Georgia.} provinces of *Persia* during the reign of *Ismael II.* and the four first years of *Mohammed Kbo- dâbandeh*, who sent an army into their country, to reduce it to his obedience. On the news of its approach, *David Khân* fled; and his brother *Simon*, who was in prison, taking that occasion to recover his possessions, turned *Mohammedan*, and was made governor of *Tiflis*, under the name of *Simon Khân*. This is the account given by the *Persian* historians, which is reconcileable enough with what *Minadoi* relates from report. According to this author, *Simon* was confined in the same prison with *Ismael*, who afterwards reigned the second of that name, where he continued for some time: but his reputation for courage and experience bringing him acquainted with *Ismael*, that prince afterwards contracted an intimacy with him, prevailed on him at last to change his faith, with a promise to get him released, and ^{Prince Simon released.} restored to his territories. Accordingly, on his ascending the throne, he released *Simon*: but was cut off before he had time ^f to restore him. However, *Mohammed Kbo- dâbandeh*, on *Simon's* application to him, made him *Khân* of *Georgia*; and forthwith sent him into that country, accompanied by *Ali Kûli Khân*, and 5000 horse, to oppose the designs of the *Turks*, which he frustrated on many occasions.

^f *THE war* with the *Turks* continued almost all the reign of *Mohammed*, who was much distressed for want of sufficient forces to encounter the enemy both in *Georgia* and *Persia*: so that, altho' his eldest son *Hamzeh Mirza* performed wonderful actions, defeating great armies of *Othmâns* with a handful of men, yet, prevailing by numbers, they gained many advantages; and at length, mastering *Tauris*, built a strong fortress in the middle of it, which was not recovered during this reign. But, as we have given the detail of these matters in the reign of *Morâd*, *Soltân* of the *Othmân Turks*, ^b we refer the reader thither for farther information.

^c MINADOI, p. 31. HERBERT, p. 200.

p. 125.

^b See hereafter.

^d HERBERT, p. 201.

^f MINADOI, l. iv. p. 135. OLEAR, p. 345.

^e CHARDIN, tom. i.

^z See the *Othmân* history.

(D) A young man, and brother to the *Khân* of *Krim*. *Herbert* relates of him the substance of what the reader

will find in the reign of *Soltân Morâd*, emperor of the *Othmân Turks*.

The reign of Hamzeh, or Hamza.

^g **M**OHAMMED KHODABANDEH died in the year of the *Hejrah* 993, and ^{5. Shâb Hamzeh.} of *Christ* 1584, leaving three sons; *Amîr Hamzeh*, *Ismael*, and *Abbâs*. *Hamzeh*, as ^{Hej. 993.} being the eldest, was crowned king of *Persia*; yet *Ismael*, envying the advancement of his ^{A. D. 1584.} brother,

brother, had the address to prevail on the chief lords of the kingdom to conspire his death; which was effected in the eighth month of his reign, in the following manner. He procured some assassins, who, dressed in women's cloaths, and covered with veils, according to the custom of the east, went one morning to the Shâh's chamber-door; and, pretending to the guards, that they were the wives of some Khâns, whom the king had sent for, readily obtained admittance to the apartment, where they murdered (A) the unsuspecting prince: but his death was soon after revenged upon the contriver of it^a.

Is assassinated. ACCORDING to *Minadoi*, *Hamzeb* was assassinated during his father's life-time, and in another manner. He relates that this *Mirza*, in July 1586, came to *Tauris*: but, instead of attacking the fort built there by the *Turks*, marched to *Salmâs*, against *Zeynel Bey*, the *Kîrd*, whom he defeated, as he did presently after the Pâshâ of *Rivân*: then, returning to *Tauris*, he gets together an army of 40,000 men, with design to attack the *Turks*, then advancing to the city; but that, by the treachery of *Ali Kûli Khân*, the enemy got into *Tauris*, and reinforced the garrison: that, at the same time, prince *Hamzeb* being informed of a conspiracy of several Soltâns to betray him into the hands of the *Othmân* general, he was obliged to abandon his design, in order to take care of his own safety: that, however, having driven *Ali Kûli Khân* out of the country about *Tauris*, he began to look upon himself pretty secure against his secret enemies; and repaired to *Ganjeb*, a city of *Arrân*, of which *Imâm Kûli Khân*, his friend, was governor, designing to march from thence to intercept the *Turkish* forces in their way to *Teflis*: but that, while he staid there to prepare for his expedition, he was stabbed by one of his eunuchs who guarded him, set on, as some supposed, by his brother *Abbâs Mirza*, governor of *Heri*, or *Herât*, in *Khorassân*; others supposed by his father *Mohammed*. *Minadoi*, on several occasions, suggests the enmity and attempts of *Abbâs* against *Hamzeb*, by mistake, perhaps, for *Ismael*, whom he does not once mention: besides, as that author, though a very curious and intelligent historian, was not in *Persia* at the time of *Hamzeb's* death, his authority must give way to that of travellers, who were in the country, and wrote after him.

Various reports.

^a OLEAR. Trav. l. vi. p. 347.

^b MINADOI, l. 9: p. 380. 387.

^c (A) The *Turks* say, he was killed, bravely fighting near *Salmâs*, in the year 993 of the *Hejrab*, which answers to 1585 of *Christ*: but this is contradicted by other

historians. See hereafter, in the reign of *Morâd III.* Soltân of the *Othmâns*.

The reign of Ismael III.

A. D. 1584.
6. Shâh Ismael III.

WHILE *Ismael* was employed in this fratricide, *Abbâs Mirza*, who had the government of *Khorassân*, was set out from *Herât*, capital of that province, in order to visit his brother *Hamzeb*: but hearing, on the road, of his murder, thought it more advisable to return to his place of residence, than put himself in the power of the author of it. The year following, while *Ismael* was in the province of *Kârabâgh*, *Abbâs* advanced as far as *Kaswîn*; where the frequent disputes, which happened between the people belonging to the two brothers, heightened the distrust they had of each other. *Abbâs* had with him, at that time, *Murshîd Kûli Khân*, whom, for his prudence and courage, *Mohammed Khodabûnde* had appointed that prince's tutor. *Murshîd*, knowing that *Ismael* would never pardon *Abbâs*, against whom he had spoken with great animosity, and that his own life depended on the safety of his master's, was resolved, if possible, to prevent the king, now actually on the march against his brother. To effect this, he drew over some of the great court-lords; who, in hopes of gaining the favour of *Abbâs*, bribed one of *Ismael's* barbers, named *Khûdi*, to cut his throat while he was shaving him. The lords, who were present when the fact was committed, to justify themselves, cut the assassin in pieces, and burnt him to ashes. Thus died Shâh *Ismael III.* after he had reigned eight months^c.

^c OLEAR. p. 347.

C H A P. IV.

The reign of Shâh Abbâs I. surnamed the Great.

^a **T**HE two preceding princes are, by some *European* historians and travellers, put in the number of the *Persian* kings; by others, not. The case may possibly be the same with ^{7. Shâh} Abbâs I. the oriental historians; but the misfortune is, our extracts from them here fail us: for *Mirkbond*, of whom *Teixeira* has given an abridgment, so far as relates to the *Persian* kings, does not reach so low down. *Abmed ebn Yûsef*, made use of by *Dr. Pocock*, in his supplement to *Abû'lfaraj*, wrote in the time of Shâh Abbâs the first (A): and *D'Herbelot*, as if, in them, his sources for the history of the *Sofian* family had failed him, under the title of *Abbâs*, says only, that there were two kings in *Persia* of that name, both well known to *Europeans*, by the relations of modern travellers. So that we are turned over to them, as the funds from whence we are to draw our materials for the reigns of Shâh Abbâs and his successors.

^b **A**BBAS had already, by his spirit and moderation, so far gained the affections of the *Per-* His tutor's
sians, that he ascended the throne with a general satisfaction. But the favour of *Murshîd Kûli* insolence
Khân, who had most contributed to his advancement, did not continue long: for, assuming the same authority over the king, as he had done before while only *Mîrza*, or prince, he created a resentment in *Abbâs*, which proved his ruin. One day, when the Shâh was going to give his opinion with relation to an important affair, which had been proposed; that lord had the insolence to tell him, before all the council, that he was not fit to speak about points of such a nature, as being above the reach of his years and understanding. *Abbâs* dissembled his resentment at that time; but considering, that, if such liberties were borne with, it would bring him into contempt with his subjects, he resolved to rid his governor out of the way.

^c **H**E disclosed his intention to three lords of his council, *Mahadi Kûli Khân*, *Mohammed Ustad* severely pu-
Shâbi, and *Ali Kûli Khân*: but as this was a matter of the greatest consequence to them, and nished.
they doubted even the reality of the Shâh's design, they endeavoured to dissuade him from it. He told them, it was his will that *Murshîd Kûli Khân* should die by their hands; and that, if they scrupled to give him that testimony of their zeal for his service, he should find means to be obeyed. Those grandees finding it would be dangerous to stand out any longer, followed the king into his favourite's chamber; who lying asleep on his back, *Abbâs* gave him the first blow with his sword, across his mouth; and the others seconded it, with each a stab: but *Murshîd Kûli Khân*, who was a very stout man, rising off his bed, put himself in such a posture of defence, as made them all afraid; and, doubtless, would have dispatched some of his murderers, had it not been for one of his grooms, who, coming in at the noise, with a battle-axe in his hand, the Shâh said to him: *I would have the life of Murshîd Kûli Khân, who is become my enemy; go, dispatch him, and I will make thee a Khân.* The groom obeying the king's command, went up to his master, and killed him. Next day, *Abbâs* put to death all the relations and friends of the deceased, to prevent any disturbances which their discontent might have raised against him; and, besides rewarding the groom with the dignity of *Khân*, made him governor of *Herât*, the capital of *Khorassân*.

^d **T**HIS happened in the first year of his reign. This monarch's first actions discovered his abilities for governing his kingdom, and that he had no occasion for a director. His thoughts were wholly bent on recovering the large provinces which the *Turks* and *Tatars* had taken from his predecessors. He began by declaring war against the latter, who had seized the finest part of *Khorassân* during his father's reign. Accordingly, having raised a powerful army, he entered that province, where he was met by *Abdallab*, Khân of the *Uzbeks* (B); who, at first, obtained some advantage over him, by reason the plague, and bad weather, kept the Shâh's forces from action. The two armies lay near six months in sight of each other: but, at last, *Abbâs* attacked *Abdallab Khân*, and forced him to retreat to *Mashhâd*. The Shâh continued three years in *Khorassân*; in all which time, the *Uzbek* was in no condition to disturb him in his conquests; and, when he attempted it, was so unfortunate as not only to be defeated, but taken, with his brother, and three sons, whose heads were all cut off (C), by the Shâh's orders ^a.

^a OLEAR. Trav. into Persia, l. vi. p. 347.

(A) Whom he made the immediate successor of *Mohammed Khodabandeh*, according to *Dr. Pocock*.

(B) Then possessed of *Great Bukharia*, of which *Samarcant* is the capital, where *Abdallab* reigned. See hereafter; and general collect. of voy. and trav. 4to. vol. iv. p. 524.

(C) This must be a mistake; for *Abdallab Khân* lived till the year 1597, subduing *Karazm*, after his expedition into *Khorassân* against Shâh *Abbâs*. See the places cited in the former note.

Removes to
Ispâhân.

ABBAS, on his return from *Khorassân*, went to *Ispâhân*, the capital of *Persian Irâk*, with a whose pleasant situation, and fertile soil, he was so delighted, that he transferred the seat of his empire thither. His next expedition was against the *Othmân Turks*. Understanding, by his spies, that the garrison of *Tabrîs*, or *Tauris*, were under no apprehension of an attack, he privately assembled a few forces, and, in six days, marched thither from *Ispâhân*, though it is usually eighteen days journey of the *karawâns*. Being come to the pass of *Shibli*, within four leagues of *Tabrîs*, where the *Turks* kept a party of soldiers, rather to receive the customs on commodities, than hinder the entrance of the *Persians*, he, with some officers, left the army, and advanced as far as the turnpike. The secretary of the custom-house, imagining them to be merchants, addressed himself, for the duties, to Shâh *Abbâs*: who told him, that the person with the purse was coming behind; and calling to *Dulfikar Khân*, bade him give the officer b some money. But, while the secretary was telling it, he ordered one of his followers to dispatch him: then, obliging the soldiers who kept that post to submit, entered the pass with his army.

Takes Tabriz. ALI PASHA, governor of *Tauris*, on this news, gathered what troops he could in the time, and went to meet the Shâh: but his forces, being much inferior to the *Persians*, were defeated, and himself taken. The citadel, built in the midst of the city by *Hassan Pâdishâh*, otherwise called *Uzun Hassan* (D), held out a month longer; and was then taken by some intelligence from within. From hence *Abbâs* proceeded to *Nakhjuan* (E), the garrison of which retired to *Irvân*, as soon as they heard of his being on the road: having demolished the citadel of that city, called *Kilshikalaban*, he followed them to *Irvân* (F), which he took, after a siege of c nine months. This conquest facilitated the reduction of all the neighbouring cities and provinces, excepting *Orûmi* (G), which being strongly situated on the point of a rock, he besieged eight months in vain. Finding therefore no hopes of becoming master of it by force, and that the *Kûrds* did him more injury than the *Turks* themselves, he sought the friendship of their chiefs by presents; and, among other advantages, promised them the plunder of the place, in case by their means it should be taken.

Perfely to the
Kûrds. THE *Kûrds*, who were a free independent people, and lived solely by rapine, embracing the offer, went over to the Shâh; and, by their assistance, the city was taken. *Abbâs*, having gained his ends, sent to invite them to dinner with him, with a design to cut them all off, fearing they might, another time, do the *Turks* the like piece of service they had done him. d For this purpose, a tent was set up, whose entrance had several turnings; so that those who, went foremost were soon out of sight of those who followed; and a little way within were placed two executioners, who dispatched the guests as fast as they entered.

Shirwân and
Kilân sub-
dued. FROM this fortress marching on, he became master of all the country between the rivers *Kûr* and *Arrâs* (H). Thence proceeding into *Shirwân*, he reduced *Shamakîya*, its capital, in seven weeks, with the whole province; the government whereof he bestowed on *Julfakar Khân*, his brother-in-law. The people of *Dârbend*, on this news, killed the *Turkish* garrison, and submitted to the conqueror. After this, he entered *Kilân* (I), and reduced the inhabitants, who, in the time of Shâh *Tabmâsp*, had thrown off their subjection: and, as near *Lankerân* there was a vast fen, or morass, which in a manner covered the whole province, and rendered d the entrance very difficult; he ordered a road, or bank of sand, to be made through it, from that town, and built *Khâns*, or inns, for the accommodation of travellers, in several parts (K) of the country b.

Turks enter
Persia. IT was the intention of Shâh *Abbâs* to sit still with the acquisitions he had made: but, about a year after, advice arriving, that the *Turks* were hastening, with an army of 500,000 men, towards the *Persian* borders, he assembles all the forces he could at *Tabrîs*; and orders the inhabitants of the frontiers to retire, with their cattle, into the walled towns, laying waste the country, that the enemy might find no subsistence. Mean time, the *Turks* having advanced,

b OLEAR. Trav. into Persia, l. vi. p. 347.

(D) In *Olearius*, *Ussum Kassan*.

(E) *Nakhchuan*, or *Nakshivan*, as others spell it.

(F) Called also *Iri-van*, *Eri-van*, *Revan*, and *Ri-van*, a noted city of *Arrân*, near the river *Arrâs*.

(G) Called also *Ormîya*, a city at the south-west end of the lake *Shûbi*, in *Azerbeijân*, about sixty miles to the south-west of *Salmâs*, on the same lake.

(H) The antient *Cyrus* and *Araxis*. The intermediate country is called *drân*, or *Arrân*, a fine and fruitful province.

(I) *Mazânderân* also, having combined with some parts of *Kilân*, or *Gheylân*, in 1593, rebelled against *Abbâs*, who, the next year, marched thither with 20,000

horse; and, in passing a river by swimming, lost 4000 men, and was in danger himself. *Teixeira*, p. 84. In his return from this conquest (which he soon effected, with the slaughter of 60,000 inhabitants), his general, by stratagem, drew *Mâlik Bahaman*, and his two sons, out of their impregnable fortress, seated on a rock, in the mountains bounding that province, at or near a village called *Rina*. *Herbert's Trav.* p. 187.

(K) As *Baindura Khân*, at the city of *Asiâra*; *Mortûsa Kûli Khân*, at *Kejker*; *Hayder Khân*, at *Tunkaban*; *Vizir Khân*, at *Rasht*, or *Rejst*; *Adam Saltân*, in the province of *Mazânderân*; and *Huſſeyn Khân*, at *Astara-bâd*.

a and encamped near *Tabrîs*, *Abbâs* caused it to be published through his army that such as were willing to serve as volunteers, should lift themselves apart, and receive for every *Turk's* head they brought him, fifty crowns. On this encouragement, above 5000 *Persians* lifted themselves, who every day made a prize of some heads, which were presented him, as soon as he rose: among the rest, a soldier, named *Babrâm Tekel*, brought him one morning five together; for which piece of service he was made a *Khân*.

At the end of three months, *Chakal Oglî*, the *Turkish* general, sent a kind of challenge to *Shâh Abbâs*, giving him to understand; that, if he had as much confidence in God, and the justice of his cause, as he would have the world believe, he should not be afraid of accepting a general engagement, which he thereby offered him. *Abbâs*, scorning to be braved by his enemies, gave him battle; which having lasted the whole day, the *Turks*, who had lost a great number of men, retreated in the night. When word was brought of this next morning, *Abbâs*, judging it might be a stratagem of the enemy, kept his army on a continual duty, for three days together, without so much as entering his tent himself in all that time. At length, being satisfied by the scouts, that the *Turks* were retired towards the frontiers, he advanced to the mountain *Sabend*: where *Mohammed Khân Kafak*, *Shâbirûkb Khân*, *Eskbar*, and *Yiskhân*, *Kurehibashi*, were all cut to pieces, for having given poison to the *Shâh*; who yet received no harm, by means of an antidote which he took immediately.

Two years after this, the *Turks* made another invasion, with 300,000 men, and besieged the fortress of *Irvân*, in the province of the same name: but were forced to raise the siege, and retreat. About two years after that, they besieged and took *Tabrîs*, under the conduct of *Morâd Pâshâ*, and kept it four months: within which time, there happened five pitched battles between the two nations, with little advantage to the *Persians*: yet, at length, *Shâh Abbâs* defeated the enemy, and recovered the city. On his return from this expedition, at *Ardebil* he ordered *Julfûkar*, *Khân* of *Shamûkbî*, to be killed; and gave his government to *Yûsef Khân*, an *Armenian* slave, who had long served him as a footman.^c

AFTER this, *Persia* enjoyed peace for twenty years successively: at the end whereof, the *Turks* entered the country again, with a powerful army, under the command of *Khalîl Pâshâ*, who was joined by several parties of *Krim Tatars*. The *Shâh* sent against them *Karchûkay Khân* (L), the most valiant and fortunate of all his generals, who wearied them out, and forced them to retreat, after several engagements; wherein he took prisoners, *Omerse Beg*, and *Shahin Keray Khân*, two *Tatar* princes, besides the *Pashâ's* of *Egypt*, *Hâlep*, *Arzerûm*, and *Wân*. The king, instead of treating them ill, not only presented each with a vest and excellent horse, but sent them back without demanding any ransom.

THIS war being over, *Shâh Abbâs* went into *Georgia*, where *Tamûras Khân*, son of *Simon* War in (M), had the confidence to enter the province of *Segghen* (N), situate in the midst of that country, and give him battle: but was forced to retreat, with great loss. While he staid in those parts, which was nine months, he paid his army nine musters together; and hearing that his soldiers spent most of their money in tobacco, he forbade the use of it, with such severity, that he ordered the noses and lips of those to be cut off, who were found to disobey his prohibition. A merchant, who, ignorant of that order, had brought several bags of tobacco into the camp, to sell there, was, by his command, set upon a heap of faggots, with his bags about him, and consumed to ashes.

AFTER the *Georgian* expedition, *Shâh Abbâs* went into *Kilân*, where he put to death his eldest son, through jealousy, raised by a trifling occasion. Besides 4 or 500 concubines, he had three wives, by whom he had as many sons, *Safi*, or *Sefi Mîrza*, *Khodabânde Mîrza*, and *Imâm Kûlî Mîrza*. The two latter had their eyes put out with fire (O), by his order, and were confined in the castle of *Alamût* (P), thirty leagues from *Kasvîn*. The eldest son, whose mother was a *Georgian*, having fallen in love with a beautiful *Chirkassian* maiden, presented to his father, by a *Shîrwân* merchant, begged her for a wife, and had by her a son, named *Sain Mîrza*, who afterwards reigned by the name of *Shâh Safi*.

THE over-severe, or rather cruel and tyrannical, government of *Shâh Abbâs*, was, by this time, grown so odious and insupportable to the grandees, that some of them had the boldness to cast a note into *Safi Mîrza's* chamber, importing, that if he would consent to the design they had in hand, he might immediately ascend the throne. *Safi*, abhorring to be an accomplice in

^c OLEAR. Trav. into Persia, l. vi. p. 347.

(L) In the original, spelled *Kartz Schuckai Chân*. Herbert calls him *Kurchiki Cazan*.

(M) This is, possibly, a mistake for *Alexander*; for so *Chardin* names his father, as will be seen lower down.

(N) Perhaps the same with *Zaghen*, whose capital, situate to the north of *Teflis*, is of the same name.

(O) By drawing a red-hot basin before them.

(P) Or *Al Mût*, that is, the castle of death, in the province of *Mazânderân*. It formerly belonged to the assassins, who reigned there, as before-mentioned.

his father's death, carried the billet to him; at the same time protesting his detestation of the proposal, and absolute dependence on his will. The Shâh, who dearly loved this son, expressed great satisfaction at the discovery, and commended his affection and piety: but he afterwards fell into such frights, as deprived him of all rest, and obliged him to change his bed-chamber twice or thrice a night. While his mind was possessed with such continual uneasiness, that he conceived he should never be free from it, so long as his son lived (Q); his fears were heightened, when he was at *Resht* in *Kilân*, by the false suggestions of a flatterer, that the prince, in conjunction with several great lords, had formed a new conspiracy against him^d.

put to death.

ABBAS resolving, on this new alarm, to put his son to death, would have had his general *Karchûkay Khân* to undertake the execution: but that brave old man, falling at the king's feet, said, he chose rather to be put to death himself, than imbrue his hands in the royal blood. The Shâh hereupon proposed the same to *Bebût Beg*; who, not being so scrupulous as the other lord, went immediately, and, meeting the prince on a mule, just come from a bath, accompanied only by a single page, lays hold on the bridle, and saying, Alight, *Safi Mirza*! it is the pleasure of the king thy father, that thou shouldst die; thereupon throws him down. The unfortunate prince, joining his hands, and lifting his eyes, cries out, O God! what have I done to deserve this disgrace? Cursed be the traitor who is the occasion of it. But, since 'tis God's pleasure thus to dispose of me, his will, and the king's, be done. He had scarce time to utter the words, before *Bebût* gave him two stabs with a dagger, and laid him dead on the place. The body was dragged to a fen not far off, where it continued above four hours.

Distractions thereupon.

WHEN the news of this murder was brought to the city, the people ran in multitudes to the palace, threatening to force the gates, unless the authors of it are delivered to them. The prince's mother, understanding that he had been slain by the Shâh's order, ran to his apartment; and, regardless of his furious disposition, not only reproached him, in severe terms, with inhumanity, but flew upon, and beat him with her fists. *Abbâs*, instead of being angry with her, was at a loss what to say for himself. But, at last, with tears in his eyes, spoke thus: What would you have had me do? news was brought me, that he had a design upon my life. There is now no remedy: what is done cannot be recalled. In effect, Shâh *Abbâs* himself had no sooner heard of the execution, than he repented of his rashness. He shut himself up for ten days, with a handkerchief over his eyes, that he might not see the light; lived a whole month on very spare diet; went in mourning a whole year; and ever after wore no clothes which might distinguish him from the meanest of his subjects (R). He likewise caused the place where the prince was killed to be made a sanctuary^e.

Lords poisoned.

THE first ten days of his mourning being over, he removed from *Resht* to *Kasvîn*; where he invited the Khâns, whom he any-way suspected, to a feast, with the flatterer who had made him jealous of his son: and causing poison to be mixed with their wine, saw them all die in his presence (S). The action of *Bebût Beg* was indeed rewarded with the office of *Darûga* of *Kasvîn*, and, some time after, with that of Khân of *Kesker*; but the next journey which the Shâh made to *Kasvîn*, he ordered *Bebût* to cut off his own son's head, and bring it him. The Khân was forced to obey; and coming back soon after, with his son's head in his hands, *Abbâs* asked him, How he did? Alas! my lord, answered *Bebût*, I think I need not tell you: I have been forced to kill my only son, whom I loved above all things in the world; the grief of which, I fear, will bring me to my grave. The Shâh replied, Go thy ways, *Bebût*, and consider how great must have been my affliction, when thou broughtest me the news of my son's death, whom I ordered thee to destroy. But comfort thyself, my son and thine are no more; and reflect, that, in this respect, thou art equal with the king thy master.

Bebût murdered.

NOT long after this, *Bebût* ended his life, on the following occasion. It happened that one of his domestics giving him water to wash after dinner, according to custom, poured it on so hot, that it scalded his hands. This so incensed the new Khân, that he threatened to have the offender cut in pieces. The slave, considering that he had no quarter to expect from a master, who had made no scruple to murder his prince, and his own son, conspired with some of his fellow-servants, and killed him, the night following, in his drink. Shâh *Abbâs* was not troubled at the loss of so hateful an object; and resolved not to have punished the murderers, had not

^d OLEAR. Trav. into Persia, l. vi. p. 351.

^e OLEAR. ubi supra, p. 352.

(Q) *Tavernier* calls this prince *Sofi Mirza*; and says, that the people's love gave his father jealousy; which was augmented, by his drawing the first arrow at a boar; it being a capital crime to shoot before the king: that, being his only son, *Abbâs* concealed his displeasure; but that, as soon as he had a son by a slave, he ordered first his eyes to be put out, and then his head to be cut off; which he afterwards lamented. *Tavernier's Persian travels*, l. v. ch. 1.

(R) This agrees with what *Herbert* observes, that, in 1628, when he gave audience to the *English* ambassador; he was dressed in a plain red calico coat, quilted with cotton.

(S) *Chardin* mentions, that being in a passion with *Ali Mirza Beg*, he slew him with his own hand, and confiscated his estate, giving his palace, which was a very fine one, to the *Dutch*. *Voy. tom. iii. p. 35.*

a the other lords represented, that, if they were not made examples of, none of them could think himself safe, after once giving his servants any threatening language^f.

HERBERT, who travelled into *Persia* in the reign of Shâh Abbâs, gives a different account of Abbâs, ^{by} this affair. He says, that Abbâs had four sons, the eldest *Ismael*, *Sofi Mirza*, *Kodabânda Soltân*, ^{cruelty} and *Emangoli*. The two first born of *Gordina*, daughter of *Simon Khân*: the two latter of *Martha*, daughter of *Skander Mirza*, both *Georgian Christians*. *Ismael*, giving jealousy by his delighting in arms, was poisoned. *Sofi Mirza* (who is the *Safi*, or *Sefi*, of *Olearius*), although extolled, at first, for revealing a conspiracy, was at length thrown down, and crushed to death by a *Kapiji*. *Emangoli* (or *Imâm Kûli*), upon being told by a witch, that he should not live long, grew fearful of his father's temper, and died of melancholy. *Kodabandâ Soltân*, surnamed *Sofi*, now the only son living, was a prince of great endowments; and had signalized himself so much in the wars, that his father doated on him, and the people admired him: but this popularity made Abbâs resolve to destroy him.

He was then on an expedition against the *Arabs*; at what time, falling in love with a prin- ^{towards his} cess of the same nation, he married her, and had by her, in a few years, two children, *Soffi* and *Fâtima*. Now Abbâs contrives to put his design in execution against his son. He begins, by putting to death *Magar*, an *Arab*, the prince's tutor, under pretence that he infused ambitious notions into him. On this news, the prince, who was then at war against the *Uzbeks*, leaves the camp, to know his father's reason for this execution; and is surprised to hear him say, It was for thy rebellion. *Soffi* protests his innocence: but Abbâs, to provoke him, aggravates the accusation. The prince, in the heat of his disorder, imagines he saw *Magar* strangling; and, drawing his sword, vows to rescue him. His father, then seeming to relent, bids him lay aside his weapon, and walks him into another apartment; where, after a while, pretending to be indisposed, he leaves him.

ABBAS was no sooner gone, than seven men, with bow-strings, enter the room, by a trap- ^{Safi's disfrac-} door, and attempt to seize him. But the prince, though unarmed, kills three of them; when, ^{tion.} being out of breath, they fasten on him, and fit the string to his neck. At this juncture the Shâh coming in, ordered them to bind him, and, before he could recover his senses, deprive him of sight, by drawing a red-hot iron before his eyes. All degrees of people were highly enraged at this act of cruelty. The prince himself grows desperate; and, not knowing how d to be revenged on the author of his misery, choaks his own daughter *Fâtima*, at a visit she ^{Poisons him-} made him in prison; thinking that way to afflict his father, who he knew doated on her. ^{self.} The princess his wife, who was present, imagined he had killed his child, through mistake, for somebody else, till she perceived him groping for young *Soffi*, in order, by destroying him also, to deprive his father of a successor: but the mother got him out of the way. The prince continued furious for two days; and the third, being no longer able to bear his misfortune, he put an end to it, with his life, by a dose of poison^g.

WE have been more particular in this article of history, to let our readers see, that natural affection sways not more with the *Persian* than *Turkish* princes; and how little certainty there is in the accounts which are brought from foreign countries by travellers. However, let which e will be in the right of the two here cited on this occasion, 'tis certain that *Sain Mirza*, afterwards called *Safi* (whence *Herbert's Soffi*), was the grandson of Shâh Abbâs, and succeeded him. To return therefore to *Olearius*:

ALTHOUGH the Shâh gave so many proofs of sorrow for his son's death, yet the prince's ^{The Shâh's} widow could not but believe he had a design to make away with her son *Sain Mirza*. So ^{jealousy.} that, for a long time, she kept him concealed, and would not suffer him to be brought to court, although his grandfather designed him as his successor; as the eyes of his two younger sons being out, they could not ascend the throne. The Shâh was reported to have had a great affection for the young prince; and yet, lest the vivacity of his spirit should revive in the people the affection for him which they had for his father, he ordered opium, about the f quantity of a pea, to be given him every morning, to dull his senses; but that, instead thereof, his mother made him frequently take treacle, and other antidotes against the poison, which she suspected might be given him^h.

ABOUT this time was conquered the kingdom of *Lâr*, comprising a considerable part of the ^{Lâr subdued.} province of *Pârs*, or *Proper Persia*, which had been erected into a sovereignty, in the year of the Hejrah 500, by the *Kûrds*. These took it from the *Arabs*, and held it till the year ^{Hej. 500.} 1612, when it was subdued by Abbâsⁱ; who having seized the king, put him to death, for ^{A. D. 1106.} offering violence to, and robbing, the *Karawâns* which passed that way^k.

^f Ibid. ubi sup. p. 335. ^g HERBERT'S Travels, p. 173, & seq. art. Lâr.

^h TEIXEIRA, Hist. Pers. part. ii. c. 48.

ⁱ OLEAR. ubi sup.

^k D'HERBEL, p. 511.

Affairs of
Georgia.

WHILE Shâh Abbâs was in *Kilân*, *Tamûras Khân*, taking advantage of his absence, entered again with an army into *Georgia*, and recovered all those places out of which he had been forced. Against him were sent *Ali Kûli Khân*, *Mohammed Khân Kasak*, *Mortûsa Kûli*, Khân of *Talish*, and several other Khâns; who brought word back, they found the enemy so advantageously posted, that they durst not set upon him. The Shâh punished their pretended prudence with death; and, next year, marched thither in person: protesting, at his departure, that, if he came back victorious, he would sell the *Georgians* at an abbâs, or fifteen pence, a head. Accordingly, having met with success, and brought off a great number of prisoners, at his return, a soldier went to him, with two abbâs's in his hand, and demanded two handsome young maids for them, which the king delivered to him. About this time, many *Georgian Christians* left their country to settle in *Ispâbân*¹.

Taymûraz
king of Kaket.

CHARDIN gives a more particular account of this expedition of *Abbâs* into *Georgia*, and the causes of it, from the *Persian* historians. The king of *Kaket* (T), named *Alexander*, had three sons, and two daughters. The eldest son *David*, famous for his courage, and misfortunes, under the name of *Taymûraz* (U) *Khân*, given him by the *Persians*, was an hostage at the court of *Persia*, and educated along with *Abbâs the Great*, who was nearly of the same age. As soon as *Alexander* was dead, his widow, a wise and beautiful princess, named by the *Georgians* *Ketavâna*, and *Mariâna* in the histories of *Persia*, wrote to *Mohammed Khodâbandeh*, desiring him to send *Taymûraz*, to succeed his father, and accept of his brother, as an hostage in his room. *Taymûraz* was accordingly dispatched for *Georgia*, after taking an oath of vassalage.

Luarzab king
of Karthuel,

SIMON, king of *Karthuel* (or *Karduel*), died at the beginning of the reign of *Abbâs*, leaving the crown to *Luarzab*, his eldest son, a minor, under the tuition of his first minister, named *Mebrû* by the *Georgians*, and by the *Persians* *Morâd*; who one day surprising the king in private with his beautiful daughter, on signifying his concern, *Luarzab* swore he would never have any other wife but her. However, the marriage was prevented, by the queen, and ladies of the country, who declared they would never pay the submission of subjects to a person of a mean family, as *Mebrû's* daughter was. The king alleged this as a reason to the father for not marrying her: but as the *Georgians* are very vindictive, he was advised to make away with *Mebrû*, to prevent his revenge. The design was to poison him, at a banquet; which being discovered by the page who gave him the cup, he rose up, under pretence of going to the vault, and made his escape to Shâh *Abbâs*, who was then at *Ispâbân*, on his return from the conquest of *Shîrwân*.

provokes
Abbâs.

MEHRU told the Shâh his case, and demanded justice of him, who, he said, was the true sovereign of *Georgia*. As a still surer way to be revenged of *Luarzab*, he used all his art to inflame *Abbâs* with love for that prince's sister, named *Darejân*, celebrated for her beauty by the *Persian* poets, under that of *Pebri*. *Abbâs* sent ambassadors to demand her. Answer was returned, that she had been promised to *Taymûraz*, king of *Kaket*. The Shâh, more inflamed by this refusal, sends a third ambassador, to renew the demand; writing, at the same time, to *Taymûraz*, not to espouse *Luarzab's* sister, and to come to court. *Luarzab*, provoked at these repeated and haughty instances, abused the ambassador, and dismissed him, without further answer. This was about the year 1610; at what time *Abbâs*, not being in a condition to execute his design against *Georgia*, dissembled his resentment; and as he was then sending a *Carmelite* missionary into *Europe*, to excite the *Christian* princes against the *Turks*, with whom he was at war, he ordered that frier to pass through *Georgia*, and exhort *Taymûraz* not to join with, or in any sort assist, his enemies.

A. D. 1610.

The Shâh's
policy.

A. D. 1613.

TAYMURAZ, either through credulity or fear, did as he was desired; and soon repented of it. For, in 1613, *Abbâs* left *Ispâbân*, with a design to invade *Georgia*: but, as he was full of artifice, he treated this war as an amorous intrigue. He said, that *Luarzab's* sister loved him, and had written letters to him: that she had even been promised to him: and that her brother was perfidious. At the same time, he had many *Georgians* among his troops; gave pensions to several of the great lords of the country; and corrupted others every day, by means of *Mebrû*. Some of the chief princes of the blood had turned *Mohammedans*, for sake of governments and places. He had in hostage two sons of *Taymûraz*, and a brother and sister of *Luarzab*. All things concurred to render the conquest of *Georgia* easy. He judged it would not be difficult, as matters were circumstanced, to sow divisions among the people, and make the kings jealous of each other. With this view, he wrote to *Taymûraz*, that *Luarzab* was ungrateful, a rebel, and a fool: that he was resolved to take the crown from him: and that if

¹ OLEAR. ubi sup.

(T) *Kaket*, as hath been observed before, is one of the two great provinces into which *Georgia* is divided, and *Karduel*, or *Karthuel*, the other.

(U) *Chardin* writes *Taimuras Khân*. In this prince's letters to the pope, inserted in the *Historia Armena* of *Galanus*, it is spelled *Theimuraz*.

a he (*Taymûraz*) would either seize or kill him, he should have the kingdom. He wrote in the same strain to *Luarzab*, against *Taymûraz*; and, at the same time, ordered his general *Lalia Beg* to enter *Georgia*, with 30,000 horse, and lay the country waste^m.

THE two kings finding, on an interview, that their ruin was determined, made a strict league; and, to cement it the stronger, *Luarzab*, in earnest, gave the admirable *Darejan* to *Taymûraz*: at which news *Abbâs* was so enraged, that he swore he would kill his hostages; and hastened his march, to be revenged on the kings who had offended him. *Taymûraz*, seeing the *Persian* general approach, and that part of his nobles were inclined to submit, sent his mother *Ketavâneb*, or *Mariâna*, to *Abbâs*, who was still at *Ispâhân*, to ask pardon for her son. As this princess was still handsome, though not young, *Abbâs* fell in love with her, or pretended to do so, at first sight, and offered to marry her, if she would turn *Mohammedan*. On her refusal, he imprisoned her, in a private house (X), and made eunuchs of her two grandsons, after forcing them to change their religion. This done, he departed for *Georgia*.

ABBÂS being entered the country with his army, which daily increased, by the accession of *Georgians*, through hope or fear; *Luarzab* resolved to oppose him, hoping to inclose the *Persians* in the woods, and there destroy them. In effect, the Shâh having marched twenty-five leagues forward, *Luarzab* divides his troops in two bodies, and shuts up the passage with heaps of wood, in such sort, that the *Persian* army could neither get forward nor backward. *Mebrû*, the general, perceiving the king greatly surprised, as if he thought himself betrayed, promised, in three days, to deliver him out of the embarrass, on forfeiture of his head. Accordingly, he ordered a road to be cut through the wood; and leaving the camp, which was blocked up by the *Georgians*, took only the cavalry. *Abbâs* would lead them himself; and, having crossed the wood, fell on the kingdom of *Kaket*: where he committed great cruelties, so far as to destroy the trees which nourished the silkworms; a damage not to be retrieved.

LUARZAB, on this news, thinking all lost, fled into *Mingrelia*: but *Abbâs*, knowing his conquest could not be thoroughly secure, while the kings were at liberty, wrote him a soothing letter; in which he told him, that he had no reason to fly, since his resentment was against the perfidious, the rebel *Taymûraz*; and that, if he would come to his camp, he would confirm him in the possession of *Georgia*; threatening otherwise to destroy it intirely, with fire and sword. *Luarzab*, to prevent this ruin, in love to his people, repairs to *Abbâs*; who loads him with favours, and sets him on the throne, with the greatest solemnity. This was to deceive the *Georgians*, and allure them to submit without fighting. Among the presents he made the king, one was a plume of precious stones, which he desired him always to wear on his head, as an ensign of royalty.

THE day on which *Abbâs* left *Tiflis*, he asked *Luarzab* to accompany him to the first encampment. *Luarzab*, who mistrusted no harm, went; and going to see the Shâh, without his plume, *Abbâs*, who had ordered one of his guards to steal it from him, asked him, where it was? the king answered, Somebody had stolen it. *Abbâs* seeming provoked that he should say it was stolen in his camp, ordered him to be arrested; but durst not put him to death, for fear of exciting a revolt in *Georgia*. However, he sent him to *Mazânderân*, in hopes the bad air would carry him off. That not having the effect, he was removed to *Sbirâz*. At length *Abbâs*, hearing that an ambassador from the Czar of *Russia*, at the instigation of the princes of *Luarzab*'s party, was arrived on the frontiers, to solicit his deliverance; to avoid either setting the king at liberty, or denying the Czar's request, ordered the governor of *Sbirâz* to make away with *Luarzab*, as if his death came by accident. It was pretended that he fell into the water, when a fishing; and *Abbâs*, in reporting this affair to the ambassador, seemed much concerned at that king's death.

THE brother of *Luarzab*, called *Bagrat Mîrza*, or the prince royal, who had before turned *Taymûraz Mohammedan*, was made governor of *Georgia* in his room; and an army left to oppose *Taymûraz*. This prince, having for a time carried on the war, by means of some small succours from the *Turks*, and neighbouring *Christian* princes, at length went to *Constantinople*, to solicit more powerful aid, which he obtained. A great army was sent in *Georgia*, which gave the *Persians* several defeats, and re-established *Taymûraz* in his kingdom of *Kaket*. But he did not long remain there (Y): for, as soon as the *Othmân* forces were withdrawn, *Abbâs* again.

^m CHARD. Voy. en Perse, tom. i. p. 125, & seq.

(X) She continued in confinement several years, and was then removed to *Sbirâz*; where, in 1624, she died, as 'tis said, under torments, to oblige her to turn *Mohammedan*, by order of Shâh *Abbâs*.

(Y) In *Galanus's Historia Armena*, we have letters from *Thimuraz*, or *Taymûraz*, to the pope; in one of

which he says, that his country had been under the *Persian* tyranny, grievously harrassed from 1514 to 1628. *Hist. Armen.* p. 142. And the missionary *Avitabilis* says, he at length gave Shâh *Abbâs* his daughter in marriage, and submitted to pay tribute. *Ibid.* p. 168.

returned to *Georgia*, and changed the face of affairs. He built fortresses through the country, ^a which he filled with *Persians*; and carried away above fourscore thousand families, most of whom he transplanted into the provinces of *Mazânderân*, *Armenia*, *Azerbejân*, and *Pârs*, or *Proper Persia*; settling in their room *Persians* and *Armenians*. However, to reconcile these people, if possible, by lenitives, he came to an agreement with them, on oath, for him and his successors, *That the country should not be charged with taxes; nor their religion changed: that their churches should not be demolished, nor meskûs built there: that their viceroy should be a Georgian, of the race of their kings, but a Mohammedan; and that one of his sons, such as would change his religion, should have the post of governor and grand provost of Ispâhân, till such time as he succeeded his father.* After this, the *Georgians* were quiet during the reign of *Abbâs* ⁿ.

Bâghdâd
taken.

MUCH about the same juncture, *Abbâs* received letters from *Bikirkeba* (Z), commander of the garrison of *Bâghdâd*, who, dissatisfied with the *Othmân* court, for refusing him the government of that city, on the death of the *Pâihâ*, whose lieutenant he was, proffered to deliver it up to the *Shâh*. *Abbâs*, on this proposal, immediately marched that way, with a good army: but, before he arrived there, *Bikirkeba*, having changed his mind, sent him word, that he had only powder and ball at his service. The *Shâh* was so provoked at the affront, that he vowed not to return without taking *Bâghdâd*, though it should cost him his life. Accordingly, having passed the ditch, after a siege of six months, and sprung a mine, at which work the *Persians* are very expert, he caused an assault to be given, and took the city by storm. *Bikirkeba*, being found among the prisoners, was sewn up in a raw ox-hide, and placed near the ^c highway, till the hide shrinking with the heat of the sun, put him to a painful death. But his son, making it appear that he was not concerned in his father's offence, had the government of *Shîrâz* bestowed upon him. ^b

The Turks
baffled.

THE year following, the *Othmân* emperor ordered *Hafis Ahmed Pâshâ* to lay siege to *Bâghdâd*: but *Abbâs* forced him to raise it, and continued eight months in sight of the *Turkish* army; till, being much diminished by sickness, as not so able to endure the heats as the *Persians*, *Hafis* was obliged to retreat to *Constantinople*. The *Shâh*, at his return from this expedition, began to build *Ferabâd*, in the province of *Mazânderân*, on occasion of a village named *Tahona*, situated on a pleasant river, which, not far from thence, falls into the *Caspian* sea.

A great over-
throw.

THE above-mentioned victory procured the *Shâh* only two years rest: for the *Soltân*, ^d desirous to recover *Bâghdâd*, sent *Khâlîl Pâshâ*, with an army of 500,000 men, to subdue it. *Abbâs* ordered *Karchûgay Khân* to march to the relief of the place, with a small but chosen brigade, while he followed himself with the rest of his forces. The *Persian* general, advancing to meet the *Turks*, harrassed them with continual skirmishes for six months together; and, when he had sufficiently tired them, at last gave *Khâlîl* battle; and, defeating, forced him to fly as far as *Neched*. On the first news of this victory, *Shâh Abbâs* left *Bâghdâd*, to meet *Karchugay Khân*; and, when near, alighting, said to him, *My dearest Aga*, by which name he always called him, *I have, by thy care and conduct, obtained so noble a victory, that I would not have desired a greater of God: come, get upon my horse; 'tis fit I should be thy lackey.* The general ^e was so surprised at this discourse, that he threw himself at his feet, intreating his majesty to look on him as his slave; and not expose him to the derision of every body, by doing him an honour which he could not possibly deserve. However, he was forced to mount, the king and the *Khâns* following on foot only seven paces.

SHAH Abbâs had many other wars against the *Turks*: but the most signal victory he ever obtained over his enemies, was the reduction of the city of *Ormûs*, which he took from the *Portuguese* six years before his death ^o.

Isle of Ormûz,

THE kingdom of *Ormûz*, or rather *Hormûz*, was formerly a dominion of pretty large extent, situate on the coast of *Kermân* and *Pârs*, where it first began, some time after the year of *Christ* 1000; and continued under a race of kings for about 600 years, the history of whom we shall give hereafter: but, by degrees, it fell to decay; so that its bounds were reduced to ^f those of the island of *Ormûz*, and some other isles adjacent to it, in 1507, when it was taken from its king by the *Portuguese*; from whom *Shâh Abbâs* took it in 1622, by the assistance of the *English*, who joined him, on the following occasion.

taken from the
Portuguese,

THE *Portuguese*, who had always disturbed the *English* trade in the *East Indies* from the time they first sailed thither, were resolved also to obstruct their commerce in the *Persian* gulf, whither some ships arriving in 1621, they were attacked by *Ruy Frera de Andrada*, and forced to return to *India* with the loss of their chief commander *Andrew Shilling*. There having augmented their naval force, from two ships to nine, they set out again to the *Persian* gulf;

^a CHARD, ubi sup. p. 127, & seq.

^o OLEAR, ubi sup.

(Z) Perhaps *Bikir*, or *Bekr Ky. baya*.

and, being come to *Kustak*, are informed by their factor, that the king of *Persia* was at war with the *Portugueses*; that his forces had been seven months besieging a castle, which *Ruy Frera*, on hearing of the Shâh's design against *Ormûs*, had built on the isle of *Kishmeh*, or *Kishom*, to secure the water with which *Ormûs* was supplied from thence; and that the *Persian* general required the assistance of the *English* against the *Portugueses*, as their common enemy, in case they expected to trade in *Persia*.

THE captains, *Waddel*, *Blyth*, and *Woodcock*, finding themselves in this dilemma, and that they could have no safe commerce in the gulf while the *Portuguese* had the dominion there, repaired to the camp of *Imâm Kûli Khân*, viceroy of *Shîrâz*, the chief commander in the expedition; and having obtained very advantageous conditions for the *English* nation (A), in January 1622 failed to *Kishmeh*; where, besieging the castle by sea, and lending some aid on shore, it was surrendered in six days by *Ruy Frera*, who was sent prisoner to *Surât*, along with three of the fleet. The other six ships went to *Ormûs*, where the *Persians* landed the 9th of February, and, with small loss, got possession of the town; while the *English* fleet battered the *Portuguese* galleons, five of which they sunk during the siege, which lasted ten weeks. The 17th of March, a breach being made, by blowing up part of the castle-wall, the *Persians* made an attack; but were repulsed, with considerable loss (B). After this, three breaches more being made by mines, on the 18th of April the general gave an assault with all his forces, and gained part of the castle: so that the *Portugueses*, being hard pressed, surrendered the place, with themselves, to the *English* on the 21st; in all, 2600 men; the cannon, in number an hundred and fourteen, 53 pieces mounted, and 92 of brass unmounted, were left to the *Persians*: excepting 10 of the latter, which the *English* took to supply those which were damaged in the expedition. The king of *Ormûs*, *Seyd Mohammed Shâh*, an Arab of *Maskat*, whom the *Portugueses* had lately raised to that poor dignity, with a pension of 140,000 rials, was delivered up, with all the *Mohammedans*, to the *Persians*.

ABOUT the end of the year 1629 (rather 1628) *Abbâs* took a journey to *Ferabâd*, in the province of *Mazanderân*, which was the place he most delighted in: but he there fell so ill, that, sending for four of the chief lords of his council (C) to his bed-side, he told them, that it was his will that his grandson *Sain Mirza* should succeed him in the throne, and assume his father's name. When they mentioned the prediction of the astrologers, that he should reign but eight months at most; the Shah made answer, *Let him reign as long as he can, though it was but three days: it will be some satisfaction to me, to be assured that he shall one day have on his head the crown which was due to the prince his father.*

As it was conceived that some poison had been given him, his physician ordered him the hot bath for eight days together, and a bath of cows milk for four days more; but these remedies availing nothing, he prepared for death, and appointed where he would be interred; yet, that the people should not know it, he ordered his funeral ceremonies to be performed at three different places at once; viz. *Ardebîl*, *Mashhâd*, and *Bâghdâd* (D). The general opinion in our author's time was, that his body was conveyed to the last city, and thence to the *Nechef* of *Kûfa*, near the sepulchre of *Ali*: for that, going to *Kûfa*, after the reduction of *Bâghdâd*, and looking at the *Nechef*, he said, he had never seen a more delightful place, and that he should wish to be there interred. He ordered that his death should be concealed till his grandchild was secured of the succession: and, the better to effect it, directed that his body should be exposed every day in the hall of justice, seated in a chair of state, with the eyes open, and back to the hangings; behind which stood *Yusef Aga*, who from time to time lift up his arm with a silken string, by way of answer to the matters proposed by *Temûr Beg*, on behalf of those who were at the other end of the hall. By this artifice, his death was concealed for the space of six weeks. According to *Herbert*, Shâh *Abbâs* died at *Kasbîn*, in the year 1628, just at his departure from the court; after he had lived seventy years, and reigned forty-three (E) over *Persia*, and fifty as king of *Herî* (or *Herât*, capital of *Khorassân*).

P PURCH. pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1785. HERBERT Trav. p. 115.
P. 177. 206.

9 OLEAR. p. 354.

† HERBERT,

(A) 1. The castle of *Ormûs*, with all the ordnance and ammunition, to go to the *English*. 2. The *Persians* to build another castle in the isle, if they pleased. 3. The spoil to be equally divided. 4. The *Persians* to be at half charges for wages, provision, powder, &c. 5. The *English* to be custom-free for ever in *Bander Gomrûn*. But the *Persians* did not keep their agreement with the *English*, who had no more than 20,000 pounds allowed for their service.

(B) *Monoxe*, the *English* agent, whose account of the *Ormûs* affair is given by *Purchas*, vol. ii. p. 1793. represents the *Persians* at that time as wretched soldiers, without either courage, discipline, or the least notion of the art of war.

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(C) Viz. *Isa Khân*, *Kurchibâshi*; *Seyol Khân*, *Tushmal*, or counsellor of state; *Temûr Beg*, *Ouwogli*, the lord high-steward; and *Yuseph Aga*, the chief chamberlain.

(D) *Herbert* says, it was reported that his heart, bowels, and body, were separated, and buried at *Majed Ali*, near *Kûfa*, *Kasbîn*, and *Ardebîl*; or, as others said, at *Kom*, for that few knew the certainty. *Travels*, p. 206.

(E) *Olcarius* says, he died in 1629, when he had lived sixty-three years, and reigned forty-five. But that *Herbert* is right, as to the years of his reign, appears from the chronology; and the year of his death is confirmed by *Chardin*, and others.

His character. THE *Persians* have a high veneration for Shâh *Abbâs*, and speak of him as the greatest prince their country has had for many ages past: nor can this be denied, if such instances of cruelty, as we have mentioned, were struck out of his character. He was wise and valiant, famous for great victories, and extending his dominions on all sides towards the *Indians*, *Turks*, and *Tatars*. He had a great sense of the miseries of the poor, and took a particular care for their subsistence. On this occasion, it was usual with him, after leaving any city, to return *incognito*; and, going to the market, examine their weights, the goodness of the bread, and other provisions, severely punishing fraudulent dealers. At *Ardebil* he ordered a rich baker to be put alive in a red-hot oven, for refusing to sell bread to the poor; under pretence that he was obliged to keep it for *Abbâs* and his soldiers, who, as he said, could never be satisfied.

Care for the poor.

HE commanded a butcher (F) to be fastened by the back to the hooks on which he hung his meat, for using false weights. He took a pleasure in bestowing in alms the sums which arose from public places; because he believed disposing in that manner of the money taken from the people, was not acceptable to the Deity. He could not endure those judges who took bribes; and severely punished such as were guilty of injustice or oppression. Coming to understand that a Kazi of *Ispâhân*, after he had taken presents with both his hands, to the value of about seventy pounds from each party, would have advised them to accommodate the matter between themselves; he ordered the offender to be set on an ass, with his face to the tail, which served him for a bridle, and his robe to be garnished with the intrails of a sheep newly killed; and, in that equipage, to take several turns round the Meydan, while an officer cried before him, that such was to be the punishment of a corrupt judge.

Severe justice.

ABBAS was too severe; but generally his executions were the punishments of injustice and oppression. The grand master of the ordnance was a person jealous even to fury: for, if any one in the neighbourhood appeared on the terrace of his house, as is customary during the hot days, that officer's eunuchs, who seemed to be on the watch on all parts of the garden, slew him with a musket, under pretence that he might, from his terrace, look in the women's apartment of their master's palace. Complaints of this being made to the Shâh, he bade the grand master take care what he did, and to keep his wives locked up in their chambers in the night as well as day, if he was afraid the eyes of his neighbours would discover them: but this advice was not regarded by the grand master. One of the king's officers, who unfortunately lodged near this jealous fury, happening at night to take the air on the terrace, was killed in the manner above-mentioned. His family, upon this, go in a body to Shâh *Abbâs*, to demand justice; and representing, that there were witnesses at his palace-gate, who could prove that more than twenty people in the neighbourhood had been murdered in the same manner, the king was exceedingly enraged; and said to some who were in waiting, *Go, kill that mad dog, his wives, children, and domestics; let not one soul of that accursed brood remain alive.* Which sentence was executed that instant, and all the bodies buried in a ditch at one end of the garden.

The innocent punished.

A sodomite executed.

To put to death so many innocents for the crimes of one guilty person, was certainly both cruel and unjust: but no-body, we presume, will think ill of the example which he made of a certain infamous wretch, who used to kidnap boys, in order to prostitute them. His practice was, to ply all day long at a certain stone which was set in the ground; and, when he saw any lad whom he liked, carried him off with a great deal of dexterity. Having kept the boy all night, next morning, at break of day, he carried him back, and left him in some bye-place, that he might not discover where he had been lodged. *Abbâs*, being informed of this disorder, and that neither the admonitions nor threats of the people in the neighbourhood were able to put a stop to it, sent some of his officers to seize the villain, and cut him to pieces on the same stone whereat he watched for his prey: which stone is still to be seen at the entrance of the magnificent karawân-seray built by that Shâh at *Ispâhân*.

Lady buried alive.

SCARCE any punishment could be too great for such a monster: but that which follows may seem too cruel, for a much slighter occasion. The ladies of the Harâm never go abroad but at night: they are usually carried in a sort of long hampers, or cradles, called *Kajaveh*, which is about two feet wide, and three deep, with an arched canopy over it, covered with cloth. A camel carries two of them, one on each side: the eunuchs help the ladies to get in; and then, drawing the curtains round about, give the camels to the guides, who fasten them by the tail, one to the other, seven in a file, and leads the first by the halter. It happened one dark

^s OLEAR. ubi supra, p. 356. See also TAVERN. Trav. l. v. c. 2. p. 203.
^a Ibid. p. 45.

^t CHARD. tom. iii. p. 39.

(F) *Tavernier* says, that, having bought six pounds of roast meat at a cook's, and finding it wanted forty-three drams of the weight, he ordered him to be roasted on a spit, in the market, near the oven in which the baker was baked, whose six pounds of bread wanted 57

drams. He was going to put to death the governor of the city, and three or four officers more, for suffering such oppressors of the poor; and indeed that would have been the effectual way to prevent such evils.

a night, while the court was in *Mazânderân*, that *Abbâs*, who travelled with his *Harâm*, took it in his head to go before. In his passage, he met with a string of camels stopped a little out of the road, and a *Kajaveh* leaning on one side; when, coming up to set it right again, he found the camel-driver in it, with the lady: at which being enraged, as well as surprised, he commanded them both to be buried alive on the spot. Since this time, the ladies of the palace, who were allowed to see the public spectacles without being seen themselves, have been deprived of that privilege ^w.

SHAH *Abbâs* studied all ways imaginable to establish wealth and good government in his dominions. As he was a prince of good genius, and very enterprising, in consideration that *Persia* was a barren country, where there was little trade, and consequently little money, he resolved to send his subjects into *Europe* with raw silks, to see what profit might arise from that commodity. His design was, to buy up all which was produced in his dominions, and dispose of it by his factors: at the same time he thought it necessary to engage the *European* princes in alliance with him against the *Turks*. He first sent to *Henry IV.* of *France*: but he died before the ambassador arrived. Three or four years after, he sent another to the king of *Spain*, accompanied with a *Persian* merchant, putting into their hands a considerable quantity of silk. The merchant would have sold the silk, as was the Shah's order, and bought a present for the king: but the ambassador, over-ruled by a *Portuguese Austin* frier, who was sent with them to be their guide and interpreter, resolved to present him with the bales of silk. The king of *Spain* thereupon asked him, *If his master took him for a woman, and had sent him so much silk to spin?* And Shâh *Abbâs*, on his return, in reward for the ill success of his negotiation, ordered his belly to be ripped up in the public market-place.

ABOUT fifteen years after, he trusted a considerable quantity of silk with a merchant's son, of *Ispâhân*, and sent him to *Venice*. When he came there, he took a stately lodging, and lived at a profuse rate. At length the senate, getting information who he was, thought fit to seize both him and the goods, before all were consumed, and sent notice to the king of *Persia*; who returned a most obliging answer of thanks, with a merchant to receive what silk was left. Shâh *Abbâs*, perceiving, by these trials, the little inclination of his subjects to trade, cast his eyes on the *Armenians* (G), who are sober, frugal, and patient to endure long journeys; who likewise, being Christians, were more fit to deal among Christians. Of these, he chose the most judicious; and intrusted with each a good many bales of silk, for which they were to pay, at their return, a reasonable rate, imposed by the Shâh, who allowed them the surplus-gains for their trouble and expences. These people, in a short time, became so expert in all branches of commerce, that at present they make voyages to *Tong-king*, *Java*, the *Philippine Isles*, and all parts of the east, except *China* and *Japan*.^x

THIS prince would not suffer an *Indian*, or *Banyan*, to live as a trader in his dominions; and with very good reason: for they are worse usurers than the *Jews*; their custom being to take up money at nine or ten *per cent.* for the year, and lend it out again on pledges at two and a half *per cent.* a month. However, they crept in during the reigns of *Sefi I.* and *Abbâs II.*; which was before in the possession of the *Armenians* of *Julfa*. This Shâh was not only desirous that all the commerce should be lodged in the hands of his subjects, in order to enrich them, and draw money into the kingdom; but would not suffer it to be transported thence, when it was in. He saw that the annual pilgrimages of his subjects to *Mekka* carried out abundance of his gold ducats; and therefore endeavoured to divert them from it, by establishing one at home at *Tûs*, where is the tomb of *Imâm Rîdha*, or *Rîza*, the last of the twelve *Imâms*, who was murdered there; from whence the place has the name of *Mashbâd*, or the place of martyrdom. This was the more easy to be done, as the *Persians* had always a great veneration for *Rîza*; and frequently resorted to *Mashbâd*, to pay their devotions at his sepulchre; over which hangs one of the legs of *Mohammed's* camel, esteemed a great relick. *Abbâs*, to effect his purpose, made the pilgrimage to *Tûs* himself, accompanied by his nobles; and, at his return, caused reports to be spread of great miracles wrought at the *Imâm's* tomb: ever since which time, *Mekka* has been less visited by the *Persians* than it was formerly.^y

THIS prince, besides building *Ferhabâd* in *Mazânderân*, as hath been already mentioned, adorned several of his other cities with magnificent structures. Among other noble works at *Ispâhân*, he built the royal mosk and palace. He likewise caused the mountains, thirty leagues from thence, to be cut through at an incredible expence, in order to augment the *Zenderûdb*, which runs through that city, by turning the stream of another river into it.^z

^w CHARD tom. iii. p. 57.

^z CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 4. 20, 22.

^x TAVERN. Trav. l. iv. c. 6. p. 158.

^y Ibid. l. v. c. 2. p. 202.

(G) Chiefly of *Julfa*, near *Ispâhân*, whither he had transplanted them from *Julfa* in *Armenia*, on the *Arrâs*. This was reckoned an act of cruelty in *Abbâs*; but our

author says the charge is unjust, for that they were then only poor labouring men; but that the king enriched them by commerce.

His policy.

WHEN *Abbâs* ascended the throne, *Persia* was divided among more than twenty princes, ^a who had usurped their territories, and whom he was obliged to reduce. This Shâh, to prevent the like division of the kingdom for the future, by degrees destroyed all the antient families; and, to render himself thoroughly absolute, and free from all restraint, reformed the troops, who were a check upon former kings, more than the janizaries are at present in *Turky*. These families, as well as the troops, were all of the race of the *Kurchi*, who are those *Turkmâns*, or *Tatars*, so famous for their great invasions and conquests; and who were linked together, for their mutual preservation, in such a manner, that they might be said to have been masters of the kingdom (H). The method he took to destroy their power, was, to fill his court and army with those people inhabiting *Georgia*, and other countries on the north-west end of *Persia*; so that, as their power increased, that of the *Kurchi* diminished. But he did not put the finishing ^b stroke to his design, by cutting off all the considerable men of that stock, because he stood in need of their assistance in his wars: that work was reserved for his successor *Safi*, who, during his whole reign, made torrents of blood flow from the chief men both in the government and the army ^a.

His person.

SHAH *Abbâs*, according to *Herbert*, who saw him at an audience at *Ferhabâd*, was of a low stature, but a giant in policy: his aspect quick, his eyes small and flaming. He had a low forehead, and brows without hair; a high and hawked nose, a sharp chin, and, after the mode of *Persia*, beardless; but his mustachios were exceeding long and thick, turning downwards ^b.

^a CHARDIN, tom. i. p. 210. 217.^b HERB. p. 206.

(H) These were the men, however, to whom his family owed their advancement to the throne of *Persia*; and who, for their services, were honoured with the red cap, whence they had the name of *Kezil-bâsh*.

C H A P. V.

The reign of Safi or Sefi I.

Shâh Safi I.

WHILE the death of *Abbâs* was concealed at *Ferabâd*, by exposing his body in the ^c court of justice, *Zeynel Khân* made haste to *Ispâhân*; and, taking with him *Khofrew Mirza Daruga*, of that city, went to the apartment of the princess, mother of *Sâin Mirza* (A), called *Taberik Kala*; and, after notifying to her the death of the Shâh, intreated her to put the young prince (B) into her hands. The mother, who had still the death of her husband before her eyes, believing it was only contrivance, and that they had an order from his grandfather to murder her son, locked herself up in her chamber; and made all the passages so secure, that the two lords, being afraid to lose the opportunity of executing the king's will, after they had lain three days at the door, sent the princess word, that, unless she gave them access, they should be forced to break it open. Upon this message, she yielded; and delivered to them the prince, with these words, *Go, child, to the same place where thy father is; here are* ^d *the murderers ready to dispatch thee*. But, when she saw those lords prostrate themselves, and kissing the prince's feet (C), her fright was changed into raptures of joy ^a.

His inauguration;

FROM hence the lords conducted the young prince to the royal palace, where they seated him in the *Divân Khâneh*, on a stone table, on which were as many carpets as there had been kings of *Persia* of his family: for every king, at his coming to the crown, has one of these carpets (called *Kalitse Adalet*, or *carpets of justice*) made for him; and having sent for all the lords who were about *Ispâhân*, they crowned him, kissed his feet, and wished him a long and happy reign. Immediately after his inauguration, he took his father's name of *Safi*, according to the desire of Shâh *Abbâs*; and bestowed on *Khofrew Mirza* the dignity of *Khân*, with the name of *Rustam*, which is that of one of the *Persian* heroes celebrated in their histories and ^e romances.

bloody disposition.

It is reported that Shâh *Sefi* (D) came into the world with his hands bloody; and that his grandfather *Abbâs* should say on the occasion, that this prince would often bathe his hands in

^a OLEAR. Trav. l. vi. p. 356. TAVERN. l. v. c. 1. p. 197.

(A) Rather *Shahin Mirza*, according to *D'Herbelot*. in his *Biblioth. orient*, art. *Safi*. *Shahin* signifies *Royal*.

(B) Then about sixteen years of age.

(C) At the same time they took off his clothes, and tore them, which is a mark of mourning in *Persia*; and, according to custom, put on him another plain garment,

which he wore till midnight; when, putting on his royal robes, they set him on the throne, and did him homage. *Tavernier*.

(D) He should have been named *Saffah*, which signifies *bloody* in *Arabic*, instead of *Safi*, or *Sefi*, *the chosen*.

blood

a blood. Accordingly, says *Olearius*, till the time of our embassy, his reign had been so sanguine, that *Persia* had not for many ages before seen so many executions: for, immediately on his coming to the crown, he followed the council of the chancellor, and made away with *Rustam Khân*, whom he had made generalissimo of the armies of *Persia*, and governor of *Teflis*, with several other lords. He likewise slew with his own hands, or ordered to be killed, all his relations, and other persons whom he had any suspicion of. By this means, he so accustomed himself to killing people, that he made it his practice, on the slightest occasions, to take away their lives. He began his cruelties with an only brother, tho' by a different mother, whose eyes he caused to be put out. *Khodabânde* and *Imâm Kûli Mîrza*, his uncles (younger brothers to *Sefî Mirza*), whom their father *Shâh Abbâs* had deprived of sight, and imprisoned in the castle of *Almût*, as before related, were, by *Sefî's* order, cast headlong from a high rock; for this reason, he said, *that, having lost the benefit of seeing, they were of no use in the world*. The next instance of his barbarity was in the person of his uncle *Isa Khân*, and his three sons, on the following occasion:

ISA KHAN was so much in favour with *Shâh Abbâs*, that, to demonstrate his esteem for him, he bestowed on him his daughter, by whom he had the three sons in question. This princess was very handsome; and so agreeable in her conversation, that her nephew, *Shâh Sefî*, was extremely taken with her company. Being one day with the king, she took the freedom to tell him, "she wondered that he, who was so young and vigorous, and had so many great beauties to command, could get no children; whereas she had three already by her husband." *Sefî* made answer, "that, having many years to reign, he hoped, as he was but young, he should have time enough to get heirs to inherit the crown after him." His aunt, desirous to carry on the jest, replied, "that ground, not well cultivated, rarely brought forth any thing;" imprudently adding, "You speak very well, my liege; but I fear me, that, after your death, the *Persians* will be glad to pitch upon one of my sons to succeed you." The *Shâh* was extremely nettled with the boldness and poignancy of the repartee; yet made a shift to dissemble it, and got from the room without the princess perceiving that he was incensed against her.

BUT next day opened a dreadful scene to her view; for *Sefî* commanded her three sons to be brought to him, the eldest twenty-two years of age, the second fifteen, and the third nine; and, having conveyed them into a garden, ordered their heads to be cut off. Not content with this butchery, at dinner-time he disposed the heads into one of the covered pots in which victuals are served up; and, sending for the mother, ordered them to be taken out one after another by the nose, and said to her, *See the children of a woman who bragged so much of her fertility! Go, thou art young enough to bear more of them*. The princess was so astonished at this horrid spectacle, that, for a while, she was not able to speak: at last, fearing his indignation, which was still in his eyes, might fall also on herself, she fell at his feet, kissed them, and said, *All is well, all is well; God grant the king a long and happy life!* This forced submission saved her own: but, as soon as she had left the room, *Sefî* sent for her husband *Isa Khân*; and, pointing to the heads of his children, asked him, *What he thought of that pleasant spectacle?* The *Khân*, who knew whom he had to deal with, smothering the tenderness of paternal affection, made answer, *That he was so far from being displeased at what was done, that, if his majesty had commanded him to bring the heads of his sons, he would have been the executioner himself; and that he would have no children at all, in case it was the king's pleasure that it should be so*. This abject flattery saved the brutish father's life at that time: but *Sefî*, reflecting that, after such treatment, *Isa Khân* could neither love nor be faithful to him, gave order for his head likewise to be taken off.

'Tis the greatest crime to be faithful to tyrants; for they hate their benefactors most. *Zeynel Khân*, who had contributed no less than *Isa Khân* to this monster's advancement, in the year 1632 performed an act of fidelity, for which perfidy to the public he deserved the death he suffered. The *Shâh*, having forced the *Turks* to raise the siege which they had laid to *Bâghdâd* in that year, encamped with his army near *Hamadân* (E). At this place, several lords, who were met together, reflecting on the executions with which the king had commenced his reign, said among themselves, "that since, in his tender age, he could commit so many cruelties, it was to be feared that he would in time extirpate all the grandees of *Persia*." *Zeynel Khân*, who was present at this discourse, went immediately to the *Shâh*, and gave him an account of what had passed in that plot; advising him to rid himself of those who had most credit among them, and so secure his own life.

SEFI, having received an information to which probably he owed his life, made this answer to the bringer of it: "Thy advice, *Zeynel Khân*, is so good, that I will immediately follow

^b OLEARIUS, ubi supra, p. 357.

(E) The ancient *Ametha* and *Ecbatana*, one of the capital cities of *Persian Irâk*.

“ it, and begin with thee ; for thou art the person of the greatest age, and most authority, a
 “ among them ; consequently must needs be of the conspiracy : in that also I shall follow the
 “ example of the king my grandfather, whose reign was neither safe nor happy till he had
 “ executed the person who had the same post of *Kurchi-bâshi*, which thou now enjoyest.”
Zeynel Khân, who, on hearing this ungrateful speech, it may be presumed, deeply repented of
 his officious zeal ; replied, “ that his majesty might reward him, for this proof of his fidelity,
 “ just as he thought fit : that, for his part, being arrived at the greatest age man could attain
 “ to, it would not trouble him much to have his life shortened by a few days ; but that possibly
 “ his majesty might one day be troubled, for having put to death one of his most faithful servants,
 “ when he came to reflect on the importance of the discovery, and the zeal he had shewn for
 “ his safety.” b

Slain for it.

THIS answer respited his execution, which had been resolved on by the king, who immediately went to his mother's tent (for, according to antient custom, she, and the other ladies of the Harâm, followed him in his expedition), to acquaint her with what had been told him. Next morning that princess sent for *Zeynel Khân* to her tent-door, to hear from him all the circumstances of the conspiracy : but, as soon as *Sefi* came to understand that the Khân had spoken to his mother, he was so incensed, that he went and killed him with his own hand in her presence. *Zeynel Khân* was certainly one of the most eminent men in all Persia, who owed his fortune to his good conduct, and the fidelity with which he had served Shâh *Abbâs* in several affairs of great importance ; one of which it may not be amiss to mention c.

An instance of

ABBAS, being to send a solemn embassy to *Labôr*, to adjust the differences between him and the *Great Mogul*, about the frontiers of *Kandabâr*, employed *Zeynel Khân*, as the person he reposed most confidence in : at his departure, recommending to him the most tender concern for his interest ; and that he should take care to do nothing which might be prejudicial either to his reputation or service. *Zeynel* promised to observe his commands ; and was as good as his word : for, at his audience, he refused to do Shâh *Jehân* reverence, by putting both hands first to the ground, and then upon his head ; but entered the hall with a grave pace, and only saluted the king with his *Sala Mâlek*. The *Mogul* was so concerned at this behaviour, that he sent to intreat him to alter it, and pay him the same respects which former ambassadors from his court had done ; backing his request with the offer of considerable presents : but finding *Zeynel Khân* inflexible, he ordered a door to be made in the hall of audience, d opposite to the throne, so low, that the ambassador could not enter without stooping, and thus be obliged to do him reverence. However, *Zeynel Khân* eluded this artifice, by going in backwards, so that his posteriors made the first appearance : which piece of disrespect so provoked Shâh *Jehân*, that he not only forbore making him the usual presents, which are of great value, but also forbade that he should be supplied with provisions at his expence. By this means *Zeynel Khân* was reduced to such extremities, that he was forced to sell his plate, and even what gold and silver there was on the furniture of his horses, in order to buy necessaries for subsistence. The *Great Mogul* sent likewise to complain of *Zeynel Khân's* behaviour, to Shâh *Abbâs* ; who indeed pretended to disapprove of his ambassador's conduct, but, not long after, shewed his satisfaction, by honouring him with the title of Khân, and bestowing on him the government of *Hamadân*, *Terkisin*, *Kulpajân*, and other cities. e

*The queen's
concerns.*

To return to his barbarous murder : the queen-mother, struck with horror at the action of her son, represented to him how much he was to blame for treating in such a manner one of his grandfather's most antient servants, and who had been a chief instrument in setting him on the throne. *Sefi*, for the present, seemed to be troubled for what he had done : but, if he had in reality any compunction at all, her lecture made no very lasting impression ; since, not many days after, the chancellor, the lord high steward, and even his own mother, according to circumstances, found no better treatment from him.

Execution of

ONE day, during the aforesaid expedition, when *Sefi* was encamped at the mountain *Sehend*, within a league of *Tauris*, the lord high steward, named *Ugûrlu Khân*, being to command the guard about the king, at which the chiefs are obliged to be personally present whenever the Shâh is in the field, he happened to go and sup with *Tabûb Khân*, the high chancellor ; who had also invited the *Dawâtter*, that is, the *Secretary of the Closet*, named *Hassan Beg*, and a certain poet. Towards the end of supper, the *Kishiji Bâshi*, or captain of the guard, whose name was *Mortûza Kûli Khân*, came to give *Ugûrlu Khân* notice, that it was time to come to the king's tent : but the chancellor, unwilling to dismiss his guests, told the *Kishiji Bâshi*, that *There was no necessity for Ugûrlu Khân's personal appearance ; and that the king, being but a child, would take no notice of his absence.* The captain insisted that the guard could not be set without the high steward, and repeated his instances for him to come away : saying, otherwise he should be obliged to complain to the Shâh. The chancellor, offended with this sort of f

a language, commanded his domestics to thrust *Mortûza Kûli Khân* out of doors; which they did, but so roughly, that he was hurt in the face ^d.

MORTUZA, incensed at this treatment, went, all bloody as he was, to the king, and gave ^{the great} him an account of what had passed at the chancellor's. *Sefî* ordered him to say nothing of it: ^{chance} but next day, being at dinner with the king, sitting in his usual place, the Shâh ordered him to approach; and said to him, *What does he deserve, who, eating the king's bread, and living by the pure favour of his master, is so far from paying the respect due to him, that he slights him?* The chancellor answered, *He deserves death.* The king replied, *Thou hast pronounced thy own sentence: thou art the person, who, living solely by my favour, and eating at my table, hast had the insolence to treat me as a child, in the discourse which passed yesterday betwixt thee and Mortûza Kûli Khân.* *Tabûb Khân* would have spoken in his own defence: but *Sefî*, not giving him time to say a word, ran him into the belly with his scimitar. The chancellor, as he fell, only cried out, *Ha Padishâh Aymayn.* At the same time the king commanded his Rika (F) to cut his head into little bits. *Sefî*, perceiving one of the pages, who, struck with horror, turned aside, not able to behold such an act of cruelty, said to him, *Since thy fight is so tender, it will be of no use to thee* (G); and commanded his eyes to be put out immediately.

THE execution of *Tabûb Khân* was soon followed by that of *Ugûrlu Khân*; whose head the ^{lord high} Shâh ordered *Ali Kûli Khân*, the *Diwân Beg*, or *President of the council*, to bring to him. ^{steward} *Ugûrlu Khân* had just stepped out of the bath, and was going to put on his clothes; when, seeing *Ali Kûli* come in, attended by two servants, he was startled, tho' the other's intimate; and said, *Woe is me! dear friend, I fear thou bringest me no good news.* *Ali Kûli Khân* made answer, *Thy fears are but too true, dear brother: for the king hath commanded me to fetch him thy head; the only way is, to submit.* Hereupon, without further ceremony, he closed with him, cut off his head, made a hole in one of the cheeks, thrust his finger thro' it, and so carried it to *Safî*: who, looking on it, touched it with a little wand, and said, *It must be confessed, thou wert a stout man: it troubles me to see thee in that condition; but it was thine own fault: 'tis pity, if it was only for that goodly beard of thine.* This he said by reason his mustachios were so long, that, going about his head, they met again at his mouth; which is reckoned a great ornament in *Persia*: his post was conferred on *Mortûza Kûli Khân*. *Hassan Beg*, who had also been at the ^{and others} chancellor's entertainment, received the like treatment: but the unhappy poet fared worst of all; for, being some time after falsely accused of putting these executions in verse, and singing them in the *Meydan*, he was carried to that place, where they cut off his nose, ears, tongue, feet, and hands, whereof he died some few days after.

Not long after, *Safî* sent for the sons of those lords, and said to them, *You see, I have de-* ^{Effects of} *stroyed your fathers; what say you to it?* The son of *Ugûrlu Khân* answered, without hesita- ^{slavery.} *tion, What does a father signify to me? I have no other parent but the Shâh.* This unnatural reply restored him to the estate of the deceased (H), which otherwise would have been confiscated: but the chancellor's son was reduced to great misery, and had not any thing allowed him of all his father had possessed; because he expressed more concern for his death, than satisfaction at what the king had done.

WHEN *Safî* was returned to *Kasvîn*, he summoned all the lords and governors of provinces ^{Ali Merdân} to court. They all obeyed this order, excepting *Ali Merdan Khân*, governor of *Kandahâr* (I), ^{Khân} and *Dawd Khân*, governor of *Kenjeb* (K); who thought it enough to assure the Shâh of their ^{revolts.} fidelity, by sending up one of their wives and children as hostages: but *Safî* did not look on that submission as sufficient. Hereupon *Ali Merdan Khân* revolted, and delivered up the fortress to the *Great Mogul*. *Dawd Khân* understanding, by the *Akhta*, or groom of the king's chamber, who had been sent to him, that it was dangerous for him to repair to court, resolved to retire into the *Turkish* dominions. The better to effect this design, he thought proper to

^d OLEARIUS, p. 359.

^e Id. ibid. p. 359.

(F) They are part of the Shâh's guards, who carry pole-axes, and often do the office of executioners; for, properly speaking, they have no executioners in *Persia*, at least at court, where any lord, or other person about the king at the time, is sent on the office.

(G) *Tavernier* says, the words were, *What! art thou afraid to punish the wicked?* on seeing the domestic turn his head when the executioner began to prick the eyes of the lord with the point of a pen-knife, *Trav. l. v. c. 4. p. 207.* *Abbâs I.* observing the *Portuguese* ambassadors turning away their eyes from a malefactor, whose belly he had ordered to be ripped open in his presence, said (by way of apology), that certainly those executions would be too horrible to be practised among Christians, who were rational people; but that they were absolutely

necessary among the *Persians*, who were beasts. *Thevenot*. *Trav. part. 2. chap. 11. p. 107.*

(H) *Thevenot*, in his travels, part ii. chap. 11. p. 98. mentions an instance of a son, who, at the command of this cruel prince, cut off the ears, nose, and then the head, of the aged lord his father; for which parricide the king gave him his estate. Perhaps, this is the same fact, told from a different report.

(I) *Safî* was jealous of him on account of his vast riches, which came to him by inheritance, as being descended from the ancient kings of *Kandahâr*, who were originally *Tartars*. His plate was all gold, and his palace as magnificently furnished as the king's. *Tavernier*. *Trav. l. v. c. 1. p. 198.*

(K) *Ganjeb*, or *Ganja*, a city of *Arrân*.

try: how his servants stood affected; and, finding that fifteen of them were unwilling to follow him, he caused them to be cut in pieces in his presence. Then wrote a very reproachful letter to *Safi*; and went away with all his wealth to *Taymíraz Khán*, a prince of *Georgia*, his brother-in-law: from whence he removed into *Turky*, where he was received with great friendship by *Soltán Ibráhím*. The king, to be revenged of both, sent their wives to the public stews; and exposed the son of *Dawd Khán* to the brutality of the grooms about court: reserving *Ali Merdan's* son, who was very beautiful, for his own use.

Imám Kúli
Khán,

SOME time after this, *Safi* sent orders to *Imám (L) Kúli Khán*, governor of *Shíráz*, and brother to *Dawd Khán*, to come to court. The Khán had notice sent him of the king's intention to put him to death: but he made answer, "that he could not be persuaded he should be so ill requited, after having done such considerable services for the crown (M): yet that, whatever might happen, he would rather lose his life, than be out of favour with his prince, and become a criminal by his disobedience." Pursuant to this imprudent resolution, he repaired to *Kasvín*, where the court then was: but was no sooner arrived, than his head was ordered to be taken off. This bloody tyrant did not intend to take away the lives of *Imám Kúli Khán's* children: but, while his eldest son, about eighteen years of age, was prostrate at the king's feet, which submission his friends had advised him to, a wicked flatterer told *Safi*, that the youth was not the son of the Khán, but of *Sháh Abbás*, who after getting one of his women with child, had bestowed her on the father.

and sons, slain.

THIS suggestion occasioned the death not only of the young lord, but also of fourteen of his brothers; who, being conducted to the *Meydán*, were all beheaded near the father's body. The mother made a shift to get away, with the sixteenth, into *Arabia*, to the prince her father, who resided at *Helbisa*, three days journey from *Basrah*, or *Balsara*. The bodies of *Imám Kúli Khán*, and his children, remained three days exposed in the *Meydán* to public view; till *Safi*, fearing that the lamentation, which the Khán's mother made there day and night, would occasion an insurrection, commanded them to be taken away^f.

The Khán's
fidelity.

THIS affair is related somewhat more particularly by a subsequent traveller; who informs us, that *Sháh Abbás* gave one of his own wives, whom he loved extremely, to *Imám Kúli Khán*; and that, when she left the *Harám*, it was thought she was three months gone with child: for, six months after she was bedded by the Khán, she lay-in of a son, of whom the king was the reputed father; and who, being born before *Sháh Safi*, pretended a right before him to the throne. By virtue of this claim, contrary to the will of *Sháh Abbás* in favour of *Safi*, this ambitious lord, who only passed for the Khán's eldest son, but was of a daring resolution, earnestly solicited his father to seize on the *Sháh*, and make himself king, at least to open him a way for him to the throne; particularly one day, being a hunting with the young king, near *Shíráz*, he rode up to his father, and said, *See now the opportunity, Sir, that offers you the throne: for I will go instantly, and bring you Sháh Safi's head.* But the Khán, holding him by the arm, declared *he would suffer any thing, rather than consent to such a crime: that Safi was appointed by Abbás to succeed him, as being his son Safi's child, and consequently his lawful heir: that he had sworn to support the right of Safi, who had been recommended to his care; and that he would die, sooner than commit a breach of trust.*

His popularity.

THIS generous resolution of the Khán broke the young lord's design upon the king's person. However, the queen-mother, being not ignorant of the train which was laid for him, thought it the wisest way to prevent the blow, by getting rid of such as had conspired his death. Two other of the Khán's sons took part with him they called their brother: and altho' the Khán himself was loyal, yet his power, wealth, and reputation among the soldiery, as well as the affection borne him by the people, concurred to render him an object of jealousy. The queen-mother, therefore, in concert with *Mírza Takeb*, the prime minister, representing to the king, that he was not safe so long as *Imám Kúli Khán*, and his three eldest sons, lived, he readily consented to their destruction. And as at this time *Morád IV.* *Soltán* of the *Turks*, had taken

^f OLEARIUS, p. 360, & seqq.

(L) His name is commonly written *Imám Culi Khán*. Our *Frier* is the only traveller who has best expressed it, according to the true pronunciation; he writes *Imaum Cooli Caun*. *Herbert, Emangoly Charwn*.

(M) He conquered the greater part of the kingdom of *Lár*, and the kingdom of *Ormús*, in the reign of *Abbás I.* with all the coast of the *Persian* gulf, from cape *Jafkes* to *Balsara* (or *Basrah*). *Tavern. Trav. l. v. c. 3. p. 204.*

(N) News coming to *Safi*, that the *Soltán* had burnt *Tauris*, and was marching farther into the country with 100,000 men; *Let him come*, said he, *without any oppo-*

sition; I know how to make the Turks pay for their invasion, without any great trouble. They were not above fifteen days march from *Ispáhan*, when he turned the course of all the streams both before and behind, which are only cut from certain springs, and brought by canals into the inland parts of *Persia*, where there are no rivers; by which means the whole army perished for want of water. *Tavern. Trav. p. 20.*—*Morád IV.* was at *Tauris* in 1635; but the *Turkish* historians do not mention this loss of his army. See his reign among the *Othmán* *Soltáns*.

^a *Erivan*, and ruined *Tauris* (N), that invasion afforded a good pretence for summoning all the Khâns and governors to attend the Shâh with troops under their command.

IMÂM KULI KHAN obeyed the order among the rest; but, as he was on his march to *Kashân* His resolution, with his three sons, the eldest, suspecting the worst, said to him, *Sir, we are making haste to the king, that our heads may the sooner fall at his feet.* To this the Khân replied, *Perhaps, my son, thou mayest speak the truth: but, as to this day I have punctually obeyed the king's commands, so, whatever may happen, I will persevere to do my duty till death.* The Khân was received by Shâh Sâfi with great appearance of favour; and, three days after, was, with the other lords then assembled at *Kashân*, invited to a great feast. His three sons went to the banquet: but, the Khân desiring to be excused on account of his great age, the king sent word, that the Khân of *Shîrâz* was at liberty to do as he thought fit. The third day of the feast, *Sâfi* rose from his seat; and going out of the hall, half an hour after, three executioners, attended by others, entered with their simeters drawn, seized on the Khân's three sons, and cut off their heads.

THE three heads, being put in a gold basin, were presented to the king; who ordered the executioners to carry them to their father, and, as soon as he had seen them, to take off his head also. The Khân, who was at prayers when they came, only desired time to say them out; and then, without changing countenance, or uttering more words than *Let the king's will be done*, he submitted to a death which he might easily have avoided. The four heads were brought back to the king, to be sent into the Harâm to his mother: and a courier was dispatched to the Khân's lieutenant, to put to death all the rest of his children, only two excepted, who were at nurse, and never could be discovered^e. The *Persians* for a long time bewailed the death of *Imâm Kûli Khân*, on account of his liberality. He was the son of *Allawerdi Khân*, who, at his own charge, built the bridge of *Ispâhân*; and was as much esteemed as any lord of his time, for the noble actions he had performed in the wars^h.

THIS Khân was prodigiously rich (O); and so very magnificent, that his expences almost equalled those of the king: which occasioned Shâh Abbâs I. who talked with him one day on that subject, to tell him, *that he desired him to spend one penny less than he every day, that there might be some difference between the expences of a Shâh and a Khân.* *Imâm Kûli Khân's* noble qualities had gained him the affections of all people: for he was liberal as well as magnificent, highly recommended brave soldiers and learned men: loved strangers, and took a peculiar care to encourage arts and sciences. For this end, he built a fair college at *Shîrâz*, for the instruction of youth; and several inns, as well in the city as on the road, for the benefit of travellers. He caused mountains to be cut through, in order to shorten the way; and joined others by bridges, of so bold a structure, that it is difficult to conjecture how such prodigious arches could be turned over such vast precipices and torrentsⁱ.

THIS tyrant's cruelty favoured the ladies no more than the men: for, about the same time, he killed one with his own hand (P), and committed several other murders. When he intended any execution, he usually dressed in scarlet, or some red stuff; so that all trembled when he put on any thing of that colour. As these unheard-of cruelties frightened every body, some persons undertook to shorten his days by poison: but, the dose which they gave him not proving strong enough, he overcame it, after a sickness of two months. When he recovered, he ordered a strict inquiry to be made; and it was discovered, by a servant who had been ill treated by her mistress, that the poison had been prepared in the apartment of the women; and given him by the direction of his aunt, *Isa Khân's* widow. He revenged himself sufficiently the night following: for the palace was filled with dreadful shrieks; and it was found the next day, that he had ordered a great pit to be made in the garden, wherein he had buried forty women alive; some of them ladies of the seray, and others their attendants. Much about the same time a rumour was spread, that his mother died of the plague; but it is more likely, says our author, that she bore the ladies company who had been buried alive^k.

^f TAVERNIER seems to excuse the cruel executions of Shâh Sâfi, by laying the blame or cause of them on the queen-mother, and the Etemâd Addawlet (Q), or prime minister, named *Mirza Tâkeh*, who paid her four hundred gold ducats every day, to dispose of as she thought fit. These two governed the kingdom between them; and held a private council in her

^g TAVERN. l. v. c. 3. p. 204, & seq.
^h OLEARIUS, l. vi. p. 361, & seqq.

ⁱ OLEARIUS, l. vi. p. 361.

^k TAVERN. ubi supra.

(N) See the preceding page.

(O) It must be observed, that the revenue of *Shîrâz*, *Lâr*, *Ormûs*, and the coasts of the *Persian* gulf, was solely at his disposal, and none of it returned into the king's coffers; instead of that, the Shâh was obliged to send him money to pay the army. This was one thing which incensed the queen-mother and first minister against him. *Tavern.* Trav. l. v. c. 3. p. 204.

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(P) Perhaps this was his *Georgian* queen, as related lower down.

(Q) That is, *the trust and support of the state.* The contraction is *Memâd Dawlet*: this word is corruptly written in our travellers, *Athemadaulat*. He is the first minister, or *Wazîr Ajem*, in *Persia*, who has in his hands the direction of all affairs.

Slaying the
lords.

Harâm, where he had free admission, as being close cut (R) : and here they overthrew in the night whatever the lords concluded in the day, by changing at pleasure the king's mind, over which they had the ascendant. It was thought that Shâh Abbâs had left a private order with these two, to rid themselves of *Imâm Kûli Khân*, and seven other great lords, at the head of whom was *Jâni Khân*, as soon as *Safi* should be settled in the throne ; and fill all places with governors in whom the king might confide. Accordingly the king, by their advice, began at *Kasbîn* with *Imâm Kûli Khân*. After this, the other lords, getting some information of the design against them ; and judging, on the king's return to *Ispâhân*, that the time for their execution drew near, resolved to prevent the Etemâd Addawlet (S). With this view, they met one morning before the palace-gate ; and, having killed the porter, entered that minister's bed-chamber, and stabbed him before he could rise. As soon as they had effected the business, they went to the king ; and *Jâni Khân* told him what they had done. *Safi*, dissembling his anger at so bold an attempt, answered, *That they had done very well, and had only prevented the order which he intended to have given himself*. But a few days after, while those lords were sitting in council, an eunuch entered, which was the signal for the king to withdraw ; and, as soon as he was gone, the chamber was filled with eunuchs, who fell upon and slew them. Their bodies were exposed in the Meydân ; where the people, kicking the heads, said, *These are the heads of those dogs who have opposed the will of the king* : for, generally speaking, in *Persia*, whatever the king does is thought to be right¹.

His severity.

BUT, for all this traveller makes these executions rather the act of others than of *Safi*, yet he owns that he was very severe, and his punishments often amounted to acts of cruelty. One day, when hunting, a poor peasant appeared from behind a rock, with a paper in his hand, having been deputed by the village to make some complaint to him : but, while the poor man cried for justice, *Safi*, without making any answer, shot two arrows into his body, and killed him. That which moved him to this act of cruelty, was, the rigorous custom which takes place with regard to his women, some of whom were along with him ; for, on such occasions, there is no mercy shewn to those who happen to be in the way when they pass by. There is a custom no less tyrannical, and of pernicious consequence to the subject, touching the person of the king ; which is, that if any man points at him as he passes along the street, or upon the road, he must lose his hand. One day that Shâh *Safi* was in the country, two merchants of *Constantinople* meeting him with his train upon the road, they stopped to see him : when one of them innocently lifting up his hand, to shew him to the other, who had never seen him, by pointing to the heron feathers by which his cap was distinguished from those of the lords who followed him, two horsemen immediately rode up to him, and cut off his hand with a scimeter.

Rigorous
customs.

Two smokers
executed.

THE *Persians*, both men and women, are so addicted to take tobacco, that, should it be prohibited for any long time, the revenue would suffer considerably. However, *Safi* once, in a humour, having forbidden the use of it through his dominions, two rich *Banyan* merchants were found smoking in the *Indian* inn at *Ispâhân* ; and, being carried forthwith bound before the Shâh, he ordered melted lead to be poured down their throats in the public Meydân. The people imagined that the king pronounced the sentence only to terrify them ; and that he would have reprieved them at the place of execution. Mean time four other merchants went to the Etemâd Addawlet, and offered 2000 Tomâns to save the lives of their friends ; but, on the chief minister's signifying the same to *Safi*, he fell into a passion ; and, asking *whether those Indian dogs thought that a king of Persia would sell justice?* sent a second order for executing the unhappy smokers without delay^m.

A Swiss in
favour.

To the foregoing passages we may add the execution of *Ralf Sadler*, a protestant ; which, if not to be reckoned as an instance of his cruelty, may well pass for one of his inconstant temper, and want of resolution. This person was a watch-maker of *Zurich*, about thirty-eight years of age ; who, putting himself into the service of the emperor's resident at *Constantinople*, was carried by our author *Tavernier* to *Ispâhân*. There he made a small repeating watch, about the bigness of half a crown ; which being a neat piece of work, the *English* bought it, at the rate of 200 crowns, to give to *Imâm Kûli Khân*. The Khân made a present of it to the king ; who was so pleased with it, that he carried it hanging about his neck, under his cloths, in a gold chain. One day, happening to break the fusil, by turning the key the wrong way, he sent for *Sadler* to *Kasbîn* ; who presently set it in order again. Hereupon the king ordered him a pension of thirty Tomâns, with diet for him and a man, and provision for

¹ TAVERN. l. v. c. 1. p. 194.

^m Ibid. l. v. c. 3, 4. p. 206, & seq.

(R) When governor of *Ghilân*, in the reign of Shâh Abbâs, missing a page whom he had abused, and suspecting he was gone to complain to the king, in order to divert the storm, he deprived himself of the instruments of his crime ; and, taking a bye-road, went in a litter, with his surgeon, to court, where he presented the marks of his repentance in a plate of gold to the

king : who thereupon sent him back to his government ; and recalled the page, whom he had sent to take his employment, and send him the offender's head.

(S) Both the occasion and manner of this minister's death are very differently, and at large, related by *Charadin*, who calls him *Sarâzi*. Voy. en Perse, tome iii. p. 10, & seq.

a two horses ; for which he was obliged every morning to wait on the king at his rising, in order to wind up his watch.

THIS brought him into so great favour with *Safi*, that the *Holstein* ambassadors endeavoured to gain his friendship, and often invited him to entertainments. One night, going from them to his lodging, he found a young *Persian* with a *Nestorian* girl, whom he kept. The young man being brother to one of the king's porters, *Sadler* complained to him of the injury, and desired him to warn his brother to come no more : but a few nights after, *Ralf*, finding him again with his mistress, by the help of his slaves, bound him to a tree in the court, and went to bed. As soon as their master was withdrawn, one of the slaves began to make game with the prisoner ; who, having his feet at liberty, killed him with a kick in the belly. *Sadler*, awakened by the cries of the rest, got up ; and, taking a pistol in his hand, went and shot the *Persian* through the head (T). Next morning, the king asking him what news, he told him plainly what he had done, and the reason why. The king, on his report, told him that he had done well, according to the custom of the country. But the prime minister, who hated *Sadler* on account of an old grudge (U), pretending to the king, that *Sadler* had represented the matter very differently from what it was, *Safi* sent for him ; and told him, that he must either turn *Mohammedan*, or die. On *Sadler's* refusing to renounce his faith, the king ordered him to prison. However, as he had a great affection for him, he sent for him twice or thrice ; and made him very large offers, if he would change his religion. But the *Swiss* rejected them all ; nay, refused to conform but for a while, and in appearance : so that he was delivered up to the brother of the deceased *Persian* ; who put him to death in the *Meydân*, with a poniard, in *October* 1637ⁿ. Kills a Persian. Constaney, and death. A. D. 1637.

It is commonly observed that cruel men are cowards : but *Shâh Safi* expressed courage enough when occasion required it ; and it is certain that the beginning of his reign was remarkable for the great victories which he gained over his enemies. He defeated *Karib Shâb*, in the province of *Kilân* : he forced the *Turks* to raise the siege of *Bâghdâd* ; and took by assault the fortrefs of *Ervân* (*Rivân*, or *Irivân*). Although, to speak impartially, says *Olearius*, the glory of these successes was owing to the valour and conduct of his generals, and to fortune, rather than his prudence : for he discovered not much in any of his actions, which were for the most part rash, and not of a piece ; of which his behaviour at *Ervân* is a proof. *Safi*, finding the siege but little advanced in four months, grew so impatient, that he would needs assault the place in person ; saying, he would rather die in the attempt, than rise from before a town which the *Turks* had formerly taken in three days. He had already put on the clothes of one of his footmen, to prevent being distinguished, and had given orders for a general storm. His mother, set on by the lords, who durst not contradict him, urged the impossibility of taking a place before a breach was made ; and that he was only going to destroy himself, and the whole army : but all the answer she got, was a sound box on the ear. In short, he was fully bent to pursue his resolution, and had taken a pole-axe in his hand, in order to lead them on ; when the principal lords, finding a necessity to interpose, fell at his feet, and intreated him to grant them but one day more to try their efforts. This request they obtained ; and then ordering the whole army, even to the boys, to make an assault, carried the place by storm (X) : but they lost in the action 50,000 men. Safi's wisdom. Conduct at Erivân.

THE good success which, till then, attended his designs, soon failed him, after he had put so many great persons to death ; of which the taking of *Bâghdâd* (Y) by the *Turks*, after twenty-six years loss, is a remarkable instance. The only good action which he did during his reign, was that of sending back, to their respective countries, those poor people whom *Shâh Abbâs* removed from *Ervân*, *Nekhsivân*, *Khalej*, and *Georgia*, to *Ferhabâd* in *Mazân-derân* ; where they were employed in great buildings, and lived in miserable slavery : yet but a few of them reaped the advantages of that good order ; for, out of 7000, only 300 got home, the rest having perished by hunger and want. Did one good action.

SAFI took great pleasure in drinking wine ; and was very kind to those who bore him company. But his chief recreations were women and hunting ; not much troubling himself about the affairs of government, or the administration of justice to his subjects. He had three wives. One was the daughter of a colonel, whose first employment was to drive the mules His wives.

ⁿ TAVERN. p. 207. & OLEAR. l. v. p. 280.

(T) *Olearius*, who, in several particulars, tells the story differently, says, he was a house-breaker, who came to rob him : that *Sadler*, after beating and turning him out of the house, repenting he had let him go, followed him, and shot him with a pistol.

(U) The minister *Mirza Takeb* having, by way of gratifying *Sadler* for above thirty watches which he had mended for him, sent him fifteen or twenty camels load of straw and barley for his horses, as knowing he kept

seven or eight, besides four or five servants ; *Ralf*, slighting such a present, said to the servant, Tell thy master that I am neither horse nor ass, and therefore let him eat his present himself.

(X) It was recovered, not long after, by *Morâd IV.* Soltân of the *Turks*, in 1634. See his reign hereafter. But *Safi* took *Pânalso*, in the year 1636.

(Y) This was by Soltân *Morâd IV.* in the year 1638.

which

which brought water to the king's kitchen; and came to be known to Shâh Abbâs, by helping him to some fair water, one sultry day, while he was hunting, when none else could meet with any. This service was requited by the king bestowing on him the village where he was born; and made him known at court, where he found means to get an office: which is no difficult matter in *Persia*, for such as have money. Some time after, he procured a post in the army, where he proved so fortunate as to obtain the command of a regiment of 1000 men. Abbâs thought his daughter so handsome, that he made a present of her to the widow of *Safi Mirza*, appointing her to be brought up, in order for a marriage with his son *Sain*; who, at his coming to the crown, accordingly married her.

His second wife was a *Georgian*, the daughter of *Taymûraz Khân*; often mentioned in the reign of Abbâs, whose peace with that prince was confirmed by means of this marriage^b.

Kills his queen. ONE day, returning from the Kalenter of *Julfa's* house, where he had drunk to excess, he gave order that this queen (Z) should come to him. As she understood that he was in liquor, she made no great haste; so that he fell asleep. But, awaking soon after, and not seeing her, he called for her a second time; on notice of which, she immediately went to him. When she entered the chamber, she found the king fallen asleep again; and, in expectation of his awaking, hid herself in a nich behind the hangings, where generally the mattresses and coverlets are laid by. *Safi* presently after coming out of his slumber, and not yet perceiving the queen, in a great haste demanded the reason of her stay. The queen-mother, who was a *Georgian* slave, and hated the young queen, because she was a king's daughter, took the occasion to put her out of favour; and, having first spoken ill of her, gave the Shâh to understand, by a sign, that she was hidden in such a place. On this, *Safi*, rising in a fury, stabbed her four or five times in the belly, with a dagger; and, scarce knowing what he had done, went to bed again. Next day, forgetful of the fact, he called for the queen: but when they told him what had happened the night before, he became extremely afflicted, and sent an express mandate through his dominions, that no man should drink wine; with an order, that the governors should stave all the casks, and spill the liquor, where-ever they found them^c.

An odd letter. THE third queen was a *Chirkassian* lady, daughter of *Bika*, and sister to prince *Mussal*. The mother brought her as far as the river *Bustrow* (A), in 1637; and wrote to Shâh *Safi*, "That she sent him her daughter, not as a concubine, or slave, but as his lawful wife: that it was her hope he would look on her as such: and that she should find from him an affection equal to that which she herself had expressed towards the princess his mother; who, though she was then her slave, and had undressed her, even to her stockens, had been treated by her like her own child: that, as to her daughter, who was now on the way to him, she had rather see her drowned in the river *Bustrow*, with all the misfortunes which might happen to her, than that she should be ill used by him."

His other women. BESIDES these wives, he had 300 women in his Saray; for the handsomest virgins all over *Persia* were brought thither. The greatest lords themselves presented him with the maidens whom either they or their relations had brought up. While our author was in *Persia*, the Kalenter of *Shamakhiya*, capital of *Skirwân*, having had some ill offices done him at court, recovered the king's favour; by presenting him with his own niece, one of the greatest beauties in the country, and a sum of money sent to the chancellor. The *Armenians*, to prevent the searches which are often made among them for maids of twelve years old, dispose of them in marriage, if handsome, before that age. By reason of this great number of women, it happens that the king lies but once with some of them; and then bestows them on those lords of the court who are most in favour.

His death. SHAH SAFI, or SEFI, died in the year 1642, in the twelfth year of his reign, or, to speak more properly, of his tyranny. It was thought his life was shortened by poison (B), as the only remedy to deliver the *Persians* from his cruelties.

His person. As to his person, there was nothing of his bloody disposition to be read in his countenance. On the contrary, his aspect was mild and amiable; and his complexion so good, that none who saw him could imagine he possessed such a barbarous heart. He was of a middle stature, and very well shaped.

^b OLEAR. p. 362, & seq.

^c TAVERN. l. v. c. i. p. 198.

(Z) She was the mother of Shâh *Altâs* II. *Tavern.* p. 172.

(A) Near *Tarki*, between *Afrakbân* and *Derbend*, in *Skirwân*.

(B) *Tavernier* says, he died in 1642, of a surfeit occa-

sioned by excess of drinking, after he had reigned fourteen years. *Trav.* l. v. c. i. p. 199.—He was buried at the city of *Kom*, in the northern road to *Isfahan*; where he has a magnificent sepulchre, of which *Chardin* has given a view in his *Voy. en Persé*, tom. ii. p. 211.

- a He left a son, named *Abbâs*, who succeeded him, in *May* the same year, being then but thirteen years of age^a. His father, it seems, for what reason none could ever discover, had given orders that he should be deprived of sight with the hot iron: but the eunuch charged with that office, in compassion to the young prince, only moved a cold iron before his eyes, teaching him to counterfeit blindness. When his father was in his last sickness, he became deeply afflicted for having so treated his heir: which the eunuch perceiving, promised to restore the prince to sight; and accordingly, soon after, brought him, with the use of his eyes, to the king's bed-side. The joy which *Safi* conceived on this occasion, prolonged his life till next day; and gave him time to command all the grandees to acknowledge him as his rightful successor.
- b On this occasion, it may be observed, as a farther proof of the bloody-mindedness of this *Shâh*, that, before the time of *Safi*, they were content to blind the royal issue by moving a red-hot iron to and fro before their eyes: but this cruel prince, perceiving that his command had been negligently executed, and that the poor unhappy princes had some sight left them, ordered their eyes to be dug out (C) of their heads^c.

^a OLEAR. l. vi. p. 363, & seq.

^c TAVERN. l. v. c. 9. p. 21.

(C) *Chardin*. tom. ii. p. 214, ascribes this cruel order to *Abbâs II.* but we often find one prince put for another. Thus, in the same place, *Cha Ismael Codabende* is put instead of *Cha Mokâmmes Codabende*. And, tom. iii. p. 11, 12. the plot of *Jani Khân* is placed in the reign of the same *Abbâs*, although said to be in the year 1645, which can agree only with the reign of *Safi I.* in which *Tavernier* has rightly inserted it. According to *Chardin*,

only the pupils of the eyes. But *Thevenot* says, in his travels. part ii. ch. 11, p. 98. that the eyes are taken out whole, with the point of a kanjar, or dagger, and carried to the king, in a bason. He adds, that, as the king sends whom he pleases to do that cruel office. some princes are so butchered by unskilful hands, that it costs them their lives.

C H A P. VI.

The reign of Abbâs II.

- c S H A H *Abbâs II.* ascended the throne, at *Kasbîn*, with the usual ceremonies, at the end of the year 1642; and made his entry into *Ispâhân* the beginning of the next. On the day of the solemnity, all the citizens were ordered to be in arms, and march out of the city; where they were filed off on each side of the road. In the same manner were all the horse and foot ranged, for five leagues together. All the road, for two leagues from the city, was covered with tissues of gold and silver, silk, carpets, and other rich stuffs. All this is done at the expence of the inhabitants, who are taxed for the purpose, by the *Shâh Bander*, an officer like our mayor. The *English* and *Dutch* also, among whom was our author *Tavernier*, went to meet the *Shâh*. When they drew near, they alighted; and the king being informed by *Jâni Khân*, general of the horse, held his leg stretched out of the stirrup, for them to kiss his boot. None but the king rode over the tissues, which were laid single, length-ways. On his left was the *Etemâd Addawlet*, or prime minister; and on his right, the general of the cavalry: yet they did not ride even with him, but so, that the heads of their horses reached to the crupper of the *Shâh's*. As soon as the king was passed over the stuffs, the people scrambled for them, each carrying away whatever he could lay hold of.
- d The king stopped at a garden, called *Hezârjerib*, a quarter of a league from *Ispâhân*, thinking to have made his entry into the city. But an astrologer came and told him, that the fortunate hour was past; and that he must stay three days before the lucky minute would return again. This he complied with; and the third day made his entry. For three days together fire-works were played off in the *Meydân*, whose piazza was illuminated from top to bottom. In the principal inns, the merchants had adorned the doors and windows of their chambers, according to the mode of the country; and our author believes it cost the chief of the *Holland* company above 900 *Tomâns* (A)^a.
- e As the king of *Persia's* eldest son comes very raw to the throne, his first recreation is to make short journies into the provinces, by that means to become acquainted with things by

^a TAVERN. l. v. c. 1. p. 199.

(A) That is, about 3117 l. 3 s. 9d. sterling; a *Tomân* being 3 l. 9 s. 2 d.

degrees. Above all, he never fails to visit the principal church of the *Armenians* at *Julfa*, in order to see the women, who are very handsome, as well as to gratify his queens, who are fond of all diversions. On this occasion, there is a Kûrûk through the city; at what time all the men must retire to *Ispâhân*, or to their friends at a distance. Shâh *Abbâs* went several times in that manner to *Julfa*; where one day having seen the wife of the Kalenter *Gorje Safras*, the report of whose beauty had given him that curiosity, he liked her very well; and desired her to accompany his queens, who carried her into the Harâm. There she continued fifteen days, and then returned home, with a fair pearl necklace, which the king made her a present of when she went away ^b.

Clock with
chimes.

ON account of this Shâh's inexperience, at his advancement to the throne, there was built a pavilion, called the *pavilion of the clock*. This is a mere play-thing for a child, or a man who has seen nothing; which indeed is the case of the kings of *Persia*, at their inauguration. It is a machine which puts in motion a great number of large puppets, heads, arms, and hands, which are fastened to figures painted on the wall, and hold musical instruments; also the forms of birds and beasts, made of wood, and painted, which chime every hour. The *Persians* behold this machine with more admiration than *Europeans* do the clock of *Strasbourg*, or that at *Antwerp*, and as a master-piece of mechanism, although the chimes are very despicable ones, and the figures still more rude ^c.

A. D. 1643.
Uzbek prince

received with
honour.

IN the year 1643, the prince of the *Uzbeks* came in person, to desire aid of Shâh *Abbâs*, against his children, who had excited his subjects to rebel against him. His eldest son, who first took arms, having gained a battle, his other brother joined his interest: and, though the chief of the nobility, still adhered to the father, yet, coming to a second battle towards the end of the year 1642, he lost it, with his left eye, shot out by an arrow, which obliged him to retire into *Persia*. The Shâh, to honour him, sent 15,000 horse and foot to meet him, as far as *Kashân*, which is four days journey from *Ispâhân*. His officers tent, and led horses, whose furniture was covered with jewels, were every day changed. The way was covered with carpets, for a league and half from the city; and the king went himself to meet him, as far as where the stuffs began to be laid. Yet, to shew his state, although young, as soon as he saw the *Tatar* king, he made a shew of spurring on his horse; and, being come up, put his foot out of the stirrup, as if he intended to alight, but did not. The *Uzbek* prince, as old as he was, presently leaped from his saddle, to salute the Shâh, who made him some compliments on having alighted. After this, the Etemâd Addawlet, and other lords, remounting him, the two kings rode together on the silks, *Abbâs* giving his guest the left-hand. This prince lent him 15,000 horse, and 8000 foot, with 60,000 *Tomâns* in money. The *Uzbek*, in return, gave him one of his provinces bordering on *Persia*, which yielded him a very good revenue; in regard the inhabitants were all *Turkmâns* (B), who bred an infinite number of cattle, wherein the wealth of that province consists ^d.

Receives
Kandahâr

ALTHOUGH *Kæmpfer* says this Shâh's reign was famous for many warlike expeditions, yet authors mention but very few. The travellers at least speak of no more than two; namely, those against *Kandahâr* and *Jaskes*: in the first of which only he came off with success; and this success was owing more to policy or treachery, than force of arms, or military skill. It has been already observed, in the reign of Shâh *Safi*, that *Ali Merdan Khân*, governor of *Kandahâr*, being sent for to court, rather than trust himself in the hands of that bloody prince, chose to deliver up that important fortress to the *Great Mogul*. All the world believed, after such a piece of treason committed by the father, that *Safi* would have ripped up the bellies of his two sons, who remained at his court as hostages. Instead of that, he conferred on them the same kind of favours and employments which Shâh *Jebân* bestowed on *Ali Merdan Khân*. This piece of policy proved very advantageous to Shâh *Abbâs* II. who, intending to recover *Kandahâr*, marched, and besieged it with 50,000 men. For the *Persian* troops, of whom the greater part of the *Mogul's* army consisted, remembering how kindly Shâh *Safi* had treated *Ali Merdan Khân's* sons, gave very little opposition to Shâh *Abbâs*, who, in a short time, made himself master of that fortress. On this occasion it is related, that Shâh *Jebân*, being much troubled at the loss, asked *Ali Merdan Khân*, By what means he might retake *Kandahâr*? to which the Khân made answer, *That it might be easily enough done, provided his majesty could only find such another traitor as he had been* ^e.

Prince of
Jaskes

BETWEEN cape *Jaskes* and cape *Guâdel*, the two most southern points of the coast of *Persia*, along the *Indian* sea, there lies a mountainous and marshy country, in several parts inaccessible

^b TAVERN. c. v. p. 211.
l. v. c. i. p. 200.

^c CHARD. Voy. en Persé, tom. iii. p. 21.
^e Ibid. l. v. p. 198.

^d TAVERN.

(B) From this, and other circumstances, this should be the Khân of the *Uzbeks* of *Karazm*: but we find no such account as this in the history of *Abûlghâzi*, Khân of that country. On the contrary, in the year 1642, he

fled from the court of *Persia*, where he had been ten years, and returned to *Karazm*, which was then in the hands of the *Kalmûks*, or *Elûths*; but a year or two after took possession of it.

a fible, extending from the sea to the province of *Kermân*. This region was possessed by three petty princes. The two towards the east are ethnics; the third, who assumes the title of prince of *Jaskes*, and is most potent, professes *Mohammedism*. *Shâh Abbâs I.* after the conquest of the province of *Ormûz* (or *Hormûz*), intended to subdue all the maritime parts beyond *Jaskes*: but, meeting with resistance, was content that the prince should become his vassal, and pay him tribute; which was performed during his reign. But, on the accession of *Shâh Sefi I.* the prince of *Jaskes* refused to pay the tribute, without being called to an account. At length, in the reign of *Abbâs II.* the *Khân* of *Ormûz*, by his leave, invaded the country, with 20,000 horse: but, in hunting as he marched, he fell into a bog, and perished, with twenty or thirty horsemen more.

b THE army, on the *Khân's* death, retreated. However, soon after, they entered the country again, led by the *Khân's* brother, whom *Abbâs* had sent to succeed him. The new general made haste to reduce the rebellious prince; but was defeated by him, with the loss of a great number of men. The prince of *Jaskes*, puffed up with this success, and believing the *Persians* would not return in haste, resolved on a voyage to *Mekka*, in order to return his prophet thanks: but the *Khân*, being informed of his design, had him way-laid by sea, and brought to *Ormûz*. From thence he was convey'd to the mountains, ten or twelve leagues distant, whither the governor had retired, to avoid the heats; who immediately sent to acquaint *Abbâs*, and know what was to be done with his prisoner. Mean time, the princess of *Jaskes*, hearing of her husband's misfortune, and being a woman of masculine courage, sets out with 5 or 600 horse; and hasting by long marches, surprises the *Khân* at midnight, kills him with her own hand, cuts in pieces the greater part of his men, whom she found asleep, and carries away ten or twelve of his women, along with her husband, before the *Persians* could put themselves in a posture to oppose her.

c *ABBAS*, still more incensed at this news, sends the third brother to be governor of *Ormûz*; against the with a command to those of *Shirâz*, *Lâr*, and *Kermân*, to march, with 30,000 horse, to revenge the affront, and reduce the rebel. But the prince of *Jaskes*, being assisted by the other two maritime princes before-mentioned, defeated those troops, with the *Khân* of *Ormûz* at their head. However, his lieutenant-general happening to be taken prisoner in the battle, the *Khân*, in revenge of his brother's death, caused his body to be larded with lighted candles, and led about the streets, mounted on a camel, at noon. But, after he had been thus tormented, for three days together, the *Khân*, at the intercession of the *Dutch* company, forbore his cruel treatment.

d *SHAH Abbâs II.* reigned about twenty-four years, and, according to *Tavernier*, died of an inflammation in his throat, which came by excessive drinking^s. But this prince's death is more particularly related by *Kämpfer* and *Chardin*. The first informs us, that, being at his palace of *Asbirâf*, in the province of *Mazânderân*, or *Tabrestân*, he took a fancy to lie with one of the dancers, who belonged to the court: and altho' the girl fell on her knees, intreating him to forbear, for that she was infected with the foul disease; yet he would not be persuaded. A month after, the symptoms of a pox appeared on him; which, through neglect, broke out over his whole body. As he took no care to live regularly, and his physicians, through want of skill, or virulence of the distemper, were at a loss how to treat it, the contagion degenerated into a cancer, which ate away the palate of his mouth, and bridge of his nose.

e EIGHT days before he died, when it was too late, he began to live more regularly; and removed to *Khosrawabâd*, a village near *Damagân*. There he passed his time among his women, in conversation, reading, and painting, in which he was continually employed. But, while he flattered himself with the hopes of living, and being soon able to undertake his long designed expedition against the *Uzbeks* of *Bâlk*, he was one evening suddenly seized with such intolerable pains, that in the night he grew distracted; and died about four in the morning, accusing his physicians with having poisoned him, on the 26th of *Rabia'lakar*, in the year of the *Hejrah* 1077, which answers to the 25th of *September*, N. S. 1666^h.

f *CHARDIN* says more expressly, that his death was owing to an imposthume, caused by the venereal disease, which ate quite through his throat: so that he could swallow nothing, every thing he took passing out by that orifice, which opened his mouth quite through his head. A matter, says this author, not only extraordinary in itself, but the more surprising in a king of *Persia*, whose *Harâm* is so well furnished with choice of womenⁱ. But the seeming difficulty has been already cleared up by *Kämpfer*. He was buried at *Kom* (C), where he has

^s TAVERN. c. 5. p. 217.

ⁱ CHARD. ubi supra, tom. ii. p. 148.

^h Ibid. p. 200.

^h KÆMPFER. Amœn. exot. fascic. 1. p. 28.

(C) *Tavernier*, by mistake of the printer, has *Kour* for *Kom*.

a magnificent sepulchre, near that of *Safi*, or *Sefi*; the draught of which is given us by a *Chardin*^k.

Character.

ABBAS was a prince of great capacity, and famous for many warlike expeditions: just, prudent, and gracious, to all men; but kinder to strangers than his own people, whom he would not suffer to abuse Christians. He even removed some of his considerable officers, both ecclesiastical and civil, who bore them an ill-will; comparing the state to a body, whose members ought to agree among themselves, and whose prince should distribute love and justice to them all alike. If both *Persians* and Christians are to be believed, it is hard to name the virtue which he was not possessed of. His only vices were wine and women, which brought him to his grave^l.

His cruelty.

THIS is the character of *Abbâs II.* as given by *Kämpfer*. But *Tavernier*, who was in *Persia* during his reign, and entertained by him at *Ispâhân*, says, he was no less cruel than his father *Safi*, and would be as punctually obeyed^m. In another place, he observes, that this Shâh was too much addicted to drinking, and governed by passion. However, he adds, that otherwise *Abbâs* was a lover of justice, as well as very magnificent, and generous to strangersⁿ.

An instance.

THAT our readers may the better form a judgment of the character of this prince, we shall illustrate it by instances. And first, of his cruelty. *Abbâs* had two sisters, whom he married to two of his lords, both very rich, but of mean extraction. Soon after, understanding that they were with child, he ordered physic to be given them, to destroy the foetus's. About three months after, he was informed they were pregnant again, and suffered them to be brought to bed: but commanded that they should not give the children any nourishment, but let them starve to death.

Another.

THIS prince caused the tongue of one, who filled him tobacco, to be cut out, for a word spoken idly. For *Abbâs* calling for tobacco, one of the pages ran hastily to the person who had it in charge, and bidding him make haste; the other answered, sharply, *To hell! have a little patience*. The Shâh being informed of it, sentenced him to the punishment above-mentioned. The poor man desired the executioner to cut it as deep as he could, and leave it very short, by which he spoke some words to be understood^o.

Ladies burnt alive.

AMONG other excesses committed by this Shâh in his cups, one time returning home in liquor, he would needs drink on, and forced three women to drink with him. The ladies, finding he would not give over, stole away, one after another, without taking leave: which *Abbâs* perceiving, in a mad humour sent his eunuchs to fetch them back; and, being come, ordered them to be thrown into the fire, where they were burnt to death^p.

A fourth instance.

ABBAS had another of his women, one of the finest creatures among them, burnt alive, for putting a deceit upon him, to avoid being gotten with child. One night sending for this lady to come to his bed, she excused herself, under pretence that she was out of order, and durst not approach his person in that condition. Next day, the Shâh went to her chamber; and she, seeing him enter, fell at his feet, beseeching him not to touch her, out of order as she assured him she was. *Abbâs*, whose love made him suspicious, caused her to be examined; and being informed, that what she had told him was false, he ordered her to be bound in a chimney, with wood set round her, and there consumed by fire. The reason why this young lady avoided the king's caresses, was, because those of the *Harâm* who have once had a child, or only been with child, are rarely ever given to the great lords for wives, as the others are; a thing which they all covet, in order to be delivered from the confinement they are under in the palace^q.

Apology for him.

IT may, indeed, be said in excuse of this prince, that the acts of cruelty which he committed, were rather the effects of his drinking, than his natural temper: for most of those cruel orders which we meet with an account of, were given when he was in liquor. On the other hand, the parties who fell the victims of his excesses, were often the cause of their own misfortunes. However, it does not appear that the following instance hath either of those palliations to allege in his favour.

Barbarous order.

IN the year 1620, *Abbâs the Great* banished a great number of eunuchs from court, who were useless, and only incumbered his palace, assigning them a larged hôtel, divided into several piles of building, with gardens belonging to them. But, thirty years after, *Abbâs II.* finding that these eunuchs did not die fast enough, sent persons one night to kill those who were youngest, and bury them in the garden, without any noise: so that, in 1667, when *Chardin* was at *Ispâhân*, there did not remain above fifteen or sixteen^r.

Instance of justice.

FOR all this Shâh did acts of injustice himself, he would not suffer others to follow his example. In a mosk at *Konishâb*, a town not far from *Ispâhân*, in the road to *Konrân*, there

^k CHARD. ubi supra, tom. i. p. 207.

p. 209.

^l CHARD. tom. ii. p. 279.

^m Ibid. p. 211.

ⁿ KÄMPFER. ubi supra.

^o Ibid. p. 209.

^p Ibid. tom. iii. p. 71.

^q TAVERN. l. v. c. 5.

^r Ibid. l. iv. c. 13. p. 172.

a are kept certain fishes, held to be sacred. One day an *Armenian*, who was in the mosque, ventured to take some of the fish, thinking nobody observed him. But it happened, unluckily, that he was perceived by a *Persian*, who, fired with religious zeal, ran at him, with his pontifical in his hand, and slew him on the spot; imagining that he did a good act, to revenge the sacrilege committed on things sanctified by his religion. The Sadr, who is the grand pontiff of *Persia*, believed so too; and therefore, on the murderer's application, gave him absolution, for a small sum of money; declaring, that he killed the *Armenian* very justly. But the king, being informed of the affair, ridiculed the impertinent reasoning of the ecclesiastics, *That to take away consecrated fish was a crime, for which the party deserved to be killed by the first person who met him*; and reprimanding the Sadr severely, obliged him to pay a fine to the family of the *Armenian*, who had been slain; and ordered the *Persian* murderer to be punished¹.

ONE time the Nâzar, or *seer*, who is like the grand master of the king's house in *France*, *The Nâzar* being a person of low extraction, and advanced to that dignity in a short time, grew so proud, *punished* that he contemned all the laws of the court. There was no dealing with him about any business, unless he was first presented; and he paid nobody, without making some advantage of it. The people hereupon cried out against him: but, although every body had reason to complain, none knew how to come at the king, to make their complaints. At length they made their applications to the master of the wardrobe, and high treasurer, two black eunuchs, who had the king's ear in the night. These, taking the opportunity, when *Abbâs* was in a good humour, let fall some words concerning the Nâzar's management of affairs; and thence slid into a detail of his injustice, which caused the people to cry out against him, and speak evil of his government. One morning, after this, when the king intended to go a hunting, the Nâzar, who had always a large train attending him, coming to the Shâh's tent, was denied entrance by one of those eunuchs. About the same time, *Abbâs* came forth, *for taking presents* and seeing him there, commanded his officers *to take off the bonnet from the head of that dog, sent* who received gifts from his people; and that he should sit three days, bare-headed, in the heat of the sun, and as many nights exposed to the air. After this, he commanded, that he should be chained about the neck and arms; condemning him, at the same time, to perpetual imprisonment, with no more than one Mahmûdi (or eight pence halfpenny) *per day*, for his subsistence: but he died for grief, within eight days after his confinement.

JAFFER KHAN, governor of *Astarabâd* (D), was a generous lord, and kept a magnificent *Two flatterers* train. At first, his administration was very mild; but at last he oppressed the people with *punished* heavy exactions. The king being one day drinking with some of his lords, and seeing the master of his music, who was a merry droll, asked him what the people said of *Jaffer Khân*; adding, that though he had made him governor of several provinces, he had never heard any complaint of him before: but that now he was accused of very tyrannical proceedings. The music-master, who was a mere flatterer, knowing that the Khân was extremely beloved by the king, confidently averred, that he was falsely accused; and that, to his knowledge, he was always apter to give than to receive. There was, at the same time, in the apartment, *for excusing a* an Haji, named *Manîchar Khân*, lately returned from *Mekka*, who, having been long acquainted *favourite* with *Jaffer Khân*, was asked the same question, and returned the same answer. Hereupon the king, who had been well informed of the Khân's behaviour, turning to the lords then present, said, *What think you of these two flatterers, who speak directly contrary to what they know?* And, at the same time, commanded two of the music-master's teeth to be pulled out of his mouth, and driven into the head of the Hâji, which had like to have cost him his life, being a very old man. As for *Jaffer Khân* he was disgraced for a while; but, being a person of fine qualities, was afterwards recalled to court².

ABBAS was very kind to the *Franks*, or *Europeans*. He not only honoured *Tavernier* with *Kind to the* a Kalaat and gown. but invited him to entertainments. Particularly, in *January 1665*, being *Franks* sent for one morning to court, he found Father *Raphael*, superior of the capuchins, and two *Dutchmen*, with the Nâzar; who, after a while, brought them to the room where the king was, sitting on a low pallet, with two mattresses, covered with a rich carpet. He leaned his back against a large cushion, four feet long, having before him eight or ten plates of fruits and sweetmeats. There stood also two bottles, with long round necks, of *Venice* crystal, stopped with pitch, full of *Shirâz* wine, and a gold cup. On one side was a vessel with a handle, near full of the same sort of wine, with a gold ladle, which held the quantity of a pint. The bottles were for the king's drinking; that in the tub for his guests.

AFTER they had made their obeisances, the king called to *Raphael*, saying, *Come hither, Treats them* come hither. The friar went towards him, and, being near, fell on his knees. *Raphael*, said

¹ CHAND. tom. iii. p. 91.

² TAVERN. l. v. c. 5. p. 210.

(D) A city of *Jorjân*, on the *Cassian* sea.

Abbâs, if thou wilt drink wine, stay here ; if not, be gone. The frier, though unaccustomed to drink wine, replied, *That, since his majesty did him so great an honour, he was willing to drink a little.* 'Tis very well, answered the king, smiling, *go then, and take thy seat.* Hereupon he bid one of the *Dutchmen* fill some wine : which he did, with a trembling hand, being unused to drink with kings : and having laid his hat on the carpet, the Shâh ordered him to put it on, it being a very ignominious thing in *Persia* to be bare-headed. The great ladle went smartly about, considering it was but early in the forenoon. At length the king, bethinking himself that the *Franks* were not used to drink without eating, gave orders for victuals to be brought, consisting of both flesh and fish, roasted and boiled.

with great familiarity.

AFTER this breakfast, the king put our author upon a relation of his travels into *India* ; and, opening a satchel, drew out several portraitures, in miniature, representing the *Great Moguls*, and their sons, with some *Rajahs* and officers of the court, whom *Tavernier* knew, by their resemblance. Among the rest, there were the pictures of some ladies ; which turned the discourse on the subject of beauty, and gave the Shâh an occasion to ask our author's opinion about it ; which afforded him some diversion. After this, he put questions concerning the present state of *Europe* ; and, as he spoke very low, the rest of the company retired out of hearing, only the king's uncle kept his place, standing five or six paces behind his majesty. At intervals the dancers were called in ; and *Abbâs* diverted himself with asking our author, which he thought the handsomest, the reasons for his opinion, and making them kiss him. Thus the time passed till eleven at night ; when the king enquired if any present knew how to sing. On this, one *M. Dau'ier* began : but *Tavernier*, observing that the king did not like his voice, because not a base, and being in a merry vein, sang a drinking air ; which so pleased his majesty, that he cried out *Bârik Allah ! Bârik Allah ! O ! the works of God !*

An instance.

Effects of liquor.

FOR all this condescension and freedom, which was found in *Abbâs*, he would not suffer any acts of misbehaviour or disrespect from strangers, any more than his own subjects, as may appear from the following instances. Next night, the king fell a drinking again (E) with company, among whom there was an *Hâji*, or pilgrim, newly returned from *Mekka*, and consequently obliged never to drink wine. While this *Hâji* stay'd, one of the *Persian* lords got so deeply fuddled, that he twice struck the *Hâji's* turban from his head ; refused to drink when the king commanded him ; played the fool with the women, when dancing ; and committed so many other impertinencies, that the king at last, in a great fury, said, *This rascal has lost all his respect, and thinks he is no more my slave ! drag him out by the heels, and throw to the dogs !* He was accordingly dragged out of the hall, by four or five officers ; and every body wondered that he was not thrown to the dogs : but it was thought some of the king's women begged him off. At this entertainment one of the dancers gave another a box on the ear, in the gallery where they were drinking together : which yet being heard by the king in the hall, he ordered her to be struck out of the number of courtezans, and another put in her place, by the *Darûga*, or judge of the city ; who was to get her married, and 100 *Tomâns* were allowed her for a portion^a.

Narrowescape

JAFFER KHAN being restored to favour, the king sent for several lords of the court to come and drink with them. He likewise commanded five *Franks*, who were in his service, to attend : their names were, *Sain*, a goldsmith ; *Lagis* and *Varin*, watch-makers ; with *Marais* and *Bernard*, gun-smiths. After they had been warmed a little with wine, the king drew off his finger a ruby, which our author sold him for 100 *Tomâns*, and a diamond jewel worth 1400, which he gave to *Jâffer Khân*, with whom he whispered at the same time. The *Nâzar*, who sat at a distance, fancying the Shâh was talking about the incursions of the *Uzbeks* towards *Mashhâd* (or *Tûs*), and being emboldened by the liquor, told his majesty, aloud, *That if he would but let him have 4000 horse, he would cut all that rabble to pieces.* The king, displeased at this freedom, bid him *hold his tongue, and go sleep.* For all this, *Marais*, who, when in liquor, could not forbear prating, took on him also to tell Shâh *Abbâs*, *That, if he wanted a general, none was fitter than Jâffer Khân ;* and fell into a long detail of his praises. The king commanded him to be silent ; which he was for a while, and then began his impertinencies again. On this, *Abbâs* ordered the *Meter*, or master of his wardrobe, to drag him out of the room by the feet, and rip up his belly. He was dragged out accordingly : but the *Meter*, having a great kindness for him, and knowing the king loved him much, delayed the execution, by pulling off his clothes very leisurely ; and, finding that his majesty did not rise to go into the *Harâm*, which is a sign that no pardon will be given, he caused him to be dragged as near the king as he could, to move his compassion, while

of a Frenchman.

^a TAVERN. l. iv. c. 17. p. 183.

(b) *Tavernier* says, he had so strong a head, that, after a whole day's debauch, having sent for the *French*, they found him as sober, and in as good a frame of mind, as if

he had not drank one drop ; so that he continued it one day more, without intermission ; being seldom drunk. Trav. part ii. ch. 11. p. 100.

a some of the lords implored mercy for him: which, at length, *Abbâs* granted, ordering him to put on his clothes again, and resume his place *.

ABBAS was a lover of the mechanical arts, and artificers. It has been already remarked, *Drawings of Abbâs*, that he was fond of drawing; and *Tavernier* tells us, that he delivered to him the patterns of several sorts of drinking-cups, and trenchers, with that of a dagger (F), in order to have them made in *France*: the dagger was to be goldsmiths work, enamelled. These patterns were drawn by himself (G), having learned to design of two *Dutchmen*, who were in his service †. *Chardin* informs us, that, besides drawing, he knew how to turn, and write very neatly ‡. But this is not so strange, as what the same author relates concerning two blind princes of the blood, one of whom made all sorts of models (in wood or wax), to great perfection; and the other was well skilled in mathematics, especially algebra. He could so well distinguish the goodness and difference of work, by his feeling, and ear, that he would buy watches of great price upon his own judgment §.

* TAVERN. l. v. c. 5. p. 210, & seq. voy. en Perse, tom. ii. p. 215.

† Ibid. l. iv. c. 16, 17. p. 181, 183. § Id. ibid. tom. iii. p. 64, & seq.

‡ CHARD.

(F) *Kämpfer* observes, that, among other instances of his industry, he made the handle of a simetar in wax; and adorned it, in a very beautiful manner, with jewels, to the value of 1500 Tomâns, as a pattern for the sword-

maker to set them in a gold handle. *Kämpf. Amœnit. exot. Fasc. 1. Relat. 2. p. 28.*

(G) This prince built *Seadet Abbâs*, that is, *the abode or seat of felicity*, one of the suburbs of *Ispâhân*. *Chard. Voy. tom. iii. p. 75.*

C H A P. VII.

The reign of Shâh Safi II. or Soleyman.

c **A**S soon as *Abbâs* was dead, the lords, who were about him, sent advice thereof to his eldest son *Safi*, or *Sefi*, by the *Topiji Bashî*, who is general of the musketeers, and *Mirza Bayad*, chief of the astrologers. As soon as they came to the door of the *Harâm*, they desired to speak with the mother and her son; who, as usual, believed them arrived on some dismal design. But they were perfectly freed from their fears, when, on the prince's coming forth, they fell at his feet, and saluted him king, declaring the death of his father. On this, *Sefi* immediately tore his garment, according to custom: he likewise observed another usage, which is, that as soon as the new *Shâh*, after much intreaty, quits the *Harâm*, he throws himself on the ground at the door of it; then, rising, sits down on his heels, while one of the lords, sent to notify his accession, girds the sabre about his waist, saying these words: *May it please your majesty to remember your slave, who has the honour to gird you with this sword.* This done, he goes and orders the trumpets to sound, and drums to beat; on which notice, all the people in the morning run to the palace-gate, crying out, *Padishâh salamalek*, that is, *I salute thee emperor*. *Form of inauguration. A. D. 1667.*

THIS is all the ceremony used when any king of *Persia* ascends the throne; for, says our author, I never saw any crown set upon the head either of *Shâh Abbâs*, or *Shâh Sefi*. They do no more than gird on the simetar, as in *Turky*; and put on the cap or bonnet of the *Sofi* (A), which is very richly set with jewels, but has not the least resemblance of a crown. And it is with the same ceremony of the sword and cap, that the *Great Mogul*, the king of *Vizapûr*, and king of *Golkondâ*, are inaugurated. *No coronation.*

e **SHAH SEFI II.** some time after his coming to the throne, fell dangerously sick; nor had he before ever enjoyed a perfect state of health. It is the custom of those eastern countries, that, on such an occasion, all the court-lords, and governors of provinces, bestow a sum of money, according to their inclinations, usually in gold; which they put into a basin very richly set with precious stones, and bear it three times over the king's head, pronouncing these words, *Padishâh bashena olfun*; that is, *this money is offered for the health of the king's head*. If the *Shâh* recovers, all that money, to which both himself and his *Harâm* add very liberally, is given to the poor: but if he dies, it is put into the treasury, and they get nothing. The 20th of *August* 1667, was the critical day of his distemper, and every one thought that he would have died; hereupon all the grandees went to the *mesku*, or *mosk*, called *Babarun*,

(A) That is the *Taj*, described before, c. 1. in the reign of *Shâh Ismael*; which serves in place of a crown.

which is without the city, to pray for his health; and gave amongst them near 1000 Tomâns to the poor. Next day they commanded the *Armenian* Christians to pray for the king's recovery; which they did, both clergy and laity, on the side of the river between *Isfahan* and *Julfa*. They also sent their Kalenter, with fifty Tomâns in gold to wave over the king's head: but, instead of the *Persian* formula, they only say, *Beray te sadâuk, destined to alms.*

Superstitious
customs.

THE danger being over in a few days, they endeavoured to restore the Shâh to a thorough state of health: but, as he continued in a languishing condition, he began to ascribe it to the ignorance of his physicians; some of whom met with but indifferent entertainment on the occasion. The rest, in fear of the like treatment, thought it time to look about them; and, reflecting that *Persia* was at the same time afflicted both with famine and the Shâh's sickness, concluded it must needs be the fault of the astrologers, who had mistaken the propitious hour for his ascending the throne. As they pretended no less skill than the others in the art of fortune-telling, they proposed that a lucky minute should once more be fixed, in which the ceremony of his inauguration should be renewed; and that he should change his name. The king and his council being pleased with this expedient, the physicians went to work with the astrologers to find out the first unlucky day; which, according to their rules, would certainly be followed by a fortunate one.

A second inau-
guration.

WHEN the day came (B), they set a Gawr, or fire-worshipper, descended from the *Rustâms*, who were antient kings of *Persia*, upon the throne; with his back against a wooden figure, which represented him to the life. After this, all the great lords came and did him homage, according to his order, as their king; which ceremony lasted till the favourable hour arrived. This happened a little before sun-set; at which time an officer of the court came behind, and cut off the head of the wooden image, while the mock king took to his heels and fled. Immediately after, the Shâh appeared in the hall; where being re-invested with the Taj and simetar, he ascended the throne, and took the name of *Solimân*. By acting this farce he seemed to take a new possession of the regal dignity, by expelling a pretender who had usurped the same; claiming a right, as descended from the antient kings, who reigned before the time of *Mohammed*. From that time, the Shâh recovering, and the famine decreasing, the physicians grew in high repute; and the astrologers were cast out of favour, excepting two or three of the most skilful.

Ali Kûli
Khân banished;
ed;

ONE of the first actions of this prince, which we meet with, is his taking into favour *Ali Kûli Khân*, who had been general of the *Persian* armies. This Khân, who was of a daring spirit, and could not forbear speaking with too much freedom, had been banished three or four times from court on that occasion. Hence he was called the king's lion, who was chained up when the Shâh had no business for him, and was let loose when there was any thing for him to do. The last time he was exiled, he was kept five or six years in a fortress, without ever stirring out of it. But at length, having a fair tongue, he prevailed on the governor to let him go a hunting with him. At his return, with the help of some of his servants, he seized his keeper, and gave him the bastonado so severely on the feet, that he almost killed him; telling him withal, *That it was to teach him his duty, not to let a man go, whom the king had committed to his charge.* Shâh Sefi (or *Soleymân*), hearing of this, though very young, was desirous to see *Ali Kûli Khân*; and, notwithstanding the endeavours of the grandees to hinder his return, ordered him to be set at liberty, with a better allowance to live upon.

restored to fa-
vour;

Two or three days after, the king sitting in council, the whole assembly was amazed to see *Ali Kûli Khân* enter; who, approaching his majesty with a profound reverence, told him, *That the lion, being now let loose, was humbly come to kiss his hands.* Hereupon the king fell a laughing; and, casting a favourable glance upon him, said, *he had done well.* Nor was it long e'er *Soleymân*, finding him no less pleasant in conversation than able in the field, made him generalissimo of his armies, as he had been in the reign of his father Shâh *Abbâs*. When the courtiers saw *Ali Kûli Khân* so well received, every one was forward to testify joy for his return. They sent him horses, mules, camels, rich carpets, and every thing else fit to furnish the house of a nobleman. But all this while he wanted money; and, because he could not meet with it among the *Persians*, he was forced to have recourse to the *Armenians*, of whom he desired to borrow five or six hundred Tomâns: but they refused to lend him any such sum.

humbles the
Armenians.

Soon after, the king taking a walk to *Julfa*, *Ali Kûli Khân* put it in his head to go see the great cathedral belonging to the *Armenians*, where several bishops and monks resided. The Shâh, entering into the church, where the bishop stood ready at the head of the clergy

^a TAVERN. l. v. c. i. p. 200, & seq.

(F) This second coronation fell on the 20th March, N. S. 1668. *Kierzf. Amœnit. exot. Fasc. 1. Relat. 12. p. 43.*

a to receive him; and seeing all things new and strange, as being but lately come out of the Harâm, asked his favourite what sort of people those were, clad in such an extraordinary manner? *Ali Kâli Khân* told him they were devils. *Devils!* says the king: *What*, added he, *dost thou bring me into a house of devils?* *Soleymân*, by this means incensed against the *Armenians*, resolved to force them to turn *Mohammedans*. But the Khân, who was a *Georgian*, repenting that he had raised the king's indignation to so high a pitch; and believing their conversion would be no advantage to him, contented himself with frightening them: which was enough to bring the *Armenians* on their knees, to intreat his intercession in their behalf; a favour which, as he ordered it, cost them 10,000 Tomâns to the king, and 4000 or 5000 to himself.

b ONE day *Ali Kâli Khân* presented two handsome youths, with very delicate voices, to the king; who, being pleased with their singing, expressed a concern that he could not have *Villainy disguised* that satisfaction in his Harâm. The Khân, upon this, sent for a *French* surgeon, promising him a great reward, if he could cut the youths, and save their lives. The surgeon for lucre undertook the job, and performed a perfect cure: but although the Shâh was by this means highly gratified, yet the surgeon got nothing for his wicked action: for *Ali Kâli Khân* died soon after, without paying him; and being advised to present a petition to the king by the Meter, this lord asked him, if he would turn *Mohammedan*? and, being answered in the negative, bid him *be gone, like a rascal*; telling him withal, *that he did not think the religion of the Christians had permitted such acts of villainy*. The case of the two youths was the more deplorable, as they had been promised in marriage by their parents; who, on hearing of their childrens misfortune, came from *Kâsbân* to *Ispâbân* to weep over them: which being observed by *Soleymân*, to appease their affliction, he gave them pensions during life ^b.

WE find very little in the authors before us relating to the military transactions of this Shâh's *Uzbek* *reign*; who indeed was very averse to war; insomuch that he suffered many insults from the *Uzbek Tatars* with impunity. This, which may justly be ascribed to his effeminacy, *Kempfer* imputes as a virtue in him; alleging in his favour, that he chose rather to let one province be harrassed by those robbers, than, by revenging the injuries, or provoking them, expose many provinces to the like depredations. On the same principle he excuses *Soleymân's* pusillanimity, with regard to the *Dutch*; who having with their fleet taken from him the island of *Kismis*, near *Ormûz*, in the *Persian* gulf, he not only pardoned the offence, but even granted their demands; being unwilling, says the same author, to punish a whole nation, for the fault of a few men, committed out of their own country.

HOWEVER that be, he was not so complaisant to the *Kosâks*, as he was to the *Uzbeks* and *The Kosâk in the* *Dutch*: for, in the year 1667, *Stenko Radzin*, general of those people, having ravaged the *vastion* shores of *Kilân* and *Mazânderân* on the *Caspian* sea; a considerable army was sent against *A. D. 1667*. them, under the direction of certain astrologers, who were to point out the lucky day and hour for fighting: in fixing which, much time was lost. The *Kosâks*, who were then in an island on the coast of *Lenkorân*, being acquainted with their superstition practised on such occasions, counterfeited a flight in two of their largest ships; which they made to float about in the sea, as if they had not pilots on board to conduct them. By this stratagem they drew their pursuers, who thought themselves sure of the victory, into an ambuscade laid in the island, and cut them off all to a man. The *Persians* put to sea in ships chained one to the other, to the end that the waves should not separate them; and that they might hinder the enemy's escape, by surrounding them with their vessels. But this contrivance proved their ruin: for the first ship, heavy laden with arms, being sunk, drew down the second with its weight; that the third, and so on: while those on board were hindered by the darts of the enemy from unfastening their respective vessels. About 10,000 *Persians* fell a sacrifice, on this occasion, to the imposture of the astrologers. As to the *Kosâks*, their whole number was not above 1000, as our author was told by persons who were present at the action ^c.

BESIDES this war against the *Kosâks*, we meet with no remarkable public transactions of any kind during this reign, excepting a procession, and a great hunting; which latter will be mentioned hereafter on another occasion. The procession was made at *Ispâbân* on the *Grand procession* 23d of September, N. S. 1677. Nothing, says *Tavernier*, could be imagined more magnificent: all the richest furniture was brought out of the exchequer into the *Meydân*; the gold buckets to water the horses; the golden vat, out of which they take the water; with the buckles, harness, and nails of gold to which the horses are tied. After the king had played at mall, and shot at a goblet on the top of the mast in the middle of the square, he went and sat in the *Divân*, which is over the gate called *Ali Kâpi*, where he had the pastime to see the wild beasts fight; such as lions, tigers, bears, bulls, and rams. But that which

^b TAVERN. l. v. c. 8. p. 218, & seq.

^c KEMP. Amœn. exot. fascic. 1. relat. 3. p. 56, 58.

seemed most admirable to our author, was, to see a man stand upright on the saddle, while the horse ran full speed: this he did thrice the whole length of the Meydân, although he happened to fall the first time^d.

Soleyman's
sickness;

SOLEYMAN, towards the close of his reign, became greatly afflicted with the gout; which confined him to his bed two whole years. During this time, being attended solely by eunuchs, these people had an opportunity of insinuating themselves into his favour to such a degree, that, when he recovered, he raised them from that contemptible state, in which they were before, to honours and powers; which at last proved fatal to his posterity^e, and occasioned that great revolution under his son and successors, which put an end to the race of Shâh Safi, as will be related in the next chapter.

and death;

A. D. 1694.

SOLEYMAN died on the 29th of July, N. S. 1694, in the 48th year of his age, and 29th of his reign; when, by the indiscretion of his first physician, his death became public, contrary to custom, before his successor was seated on the throne. His corpse was conveyed in a herse to a chapel a league from *Ispâbân*; from whence it was carried to *Kom*, there to be interred with his ancestors^f.

person and
dress;

THIS prince, as to his person, was very tall and slender (C); very handsome and majestic: his visage long, lean, and palish; his forehead high and open; eyes large and blue; his looks cheerful and modest; his complexion exceeding fair, and nose a little hooked. He had a handsome mouth, and full lip; his whiskers strait, and of a moderate length; his beard cut short, made black by art, and ending at his ears: his carriage graceful and easy; his voice low, but masculine enough. His walk was grave and very upright; he rode slowly, and continually cast his eyes about him, looking very steadfastly at strangers; but with a mild countenance. His dress was always plain, of yellow or red silk, and much inferior to that of his ministers; from whom he was distinguished only by the Taj, fastened behind him on his right side: on the same side he wore a dagger, and from his neck hung the privy-seal down upon his breast^g. According to *Chardin*, no man could well have a more robust constitution. At the Nazar's feast before-mentioned, to shew his strength, after shooting with the bow, he took cups of enamelled gold, about the thickness of a crown piece, and with one hand squeezed them flat, one after the other. This thing, which seems almost incredible, our author has been often a witness of. At another feast he took a quince, and squeezed it with his fingers till the juice was all out^h.

very strong;

neglects
affairs;

SOLEYMAN never applied himself to the affairs of government, but left it wholly to the care of his prime minister: who might be said to have possessed the royal power; while the Shâh, quite negligent and ignorant of every thing which passed, enjoyed only the title and honourⁱ. This remark of *Kempfer* is confirmed by other travellers (D), particularly our Doctor *Fryer*; who farther observes, that, in 1678, being wholly taken up with his debaucheries, he had not stirred out of his palace for eleven months, nor on any occasion shewed himself in public^k.

gross de-
bauched;

IN the beginning of his reign he discovered worthy inclinations: but when *Chardin* arrived at *Ispâbân*, in 1673, he found the court very much changed from what it was in his first voyage, and in great confusion. Almost all the grandees, who filled it in the time of *Abbas II.* were either dead, or disgraced; and the royal favour ingrossed by certain young lords, who had neither generosity nor merit^m.

sordidly co-
vetous;

BESIDES his neglect of government, he is by most authors charged with several vices; particularly, covetousness, drunkenness, and cruelty. According to *Kempfer*, he was, at the beginning of his reign, very munificent, and even extravagant, in his gifts to favourites and flatterers: but, finding the revenue did not answer his expences, he fell into a contrary extreme, to a degree of sordidness unbecoming a prince (E). He reduced the salaries of some widows of the blood to about sixteen pence a day, or took them wholly away; and kept the highest places a long time vacant, for sake of possessing the profits himselfⁿ. When this disease of

^d TAVERN. ubi. supr.

BRUYN. Trav. Pers. vol. i. c. 42. p. 210.

p. 255. tom. iii. p. 149.

^m CHARD. tom. i. p. 219.

^e See KRUSINSKI's hist. of the late revolution in Persia, vol. i. p. 81.

^g KEMPF. ubi sup. p. 43, & seq.

ⁱ KEMPF. ubi sup. p. 60.

ⁿ KEMPF. p. 47, & seq.

^h FRYER. Trav. p. 349.

^f LE CHARD. tom. i.

^k Ibid. p. 354.

(C) *Fryer* says, p. 353 of his Travels, that Shâh *Schehymen* (as he writes the name) had a good presence, and no mean capacity; unless that, by indulging his body, he had made it gross, and thickened his understanding; that he was tall and fleshy; so that when he moved, or laughed, all the muscles of his shoulders, as well as ribs, moved together. Perhaps he was fallen away when *Kempfer* saw him.

(D) *Tavernier* says, when he was at court (about 1673), he only diverted himself with his wives in going

a hunting, leaving the affairs of state to his ministers: and that he would not be seen sometimes for ten or twelve days together; during which time there were no petitions to be preferred, nor complaints made. *Tav. Trav.* l. v. c. 1. p. 201.

(E) *Fryer* makes the very same remark, p. 349; adding, that he begrudged the common expences of his palace. P. 354, he charges this Shâh with abominable extortion.

a covetousness took possession of *Soleyman*, is not marked by our authors; but it seems to have been later than the year 1674, in which we meet with an instance of great bounty, if not profuseness.

THE sash windows of the queen-mother's apartment being out of order, a glazier was sent for ^{instance of} to mend them; and, though exposed to the snow and piercing cold weather, wrought himself, ^{profuseness;} as well as made his men work, with great diligence. The Shâh, who saw him trembling with cold, notwithstanding his exercise, was so well pleased; that, when the work was finished, he took off his own upper coat, made of sable skins, worth 500 pounds, and put it on the glazier's back. In consequence of this honour, he was much caressed at court; and it was said, the king bestowed on him above 200,000 crowns, in lands, houses, and pensions ^o.

b SHAH *Soleyman* was greatly addicted to liquor; and, for several years past (reckoning from 1673) was drunk almost every day ^p. Nor was he ashamed to expose his debauchery to the eyes of his subjects.

AT a feast given by the Nâzer, in September 1673, he spent the whole night in drinking, shooting with the bow, and other exercises: with which, and the good cheer, he was so tired, that at day-break he was forced to be carried to his palace, being able neither to ride, nor stand on his legs. The grandees, who had been at the same banquet, were so weary and drunk, that the greater part of them, not being able to sit on their horses, ordered themselves to be laid down on the bulks in their way home; which the Nâzer being informed of, he sent soldiers to stand round them, that none might come near, or see them, in a condition so dirty and unworthy of their quality ^q.

It was reported that, after he had drank so much that he could scarce stand, he was able to drink a large flask, holding more than a gallon, of *Shîràz* wine, before he was quite drunk; and as soon as he arose out of bed, he returned to his debauch before he came to himself. If he happened to be sober when he got up, he paid a visit to his women ^r.

SOLEYMAN committed great excesses in his drink; and often gave very cruel orders. He ^{excesses in li-} took a sort of aversion to Sheykh *Ali Khân*, his prime minister, and one of the greatest men of ^{quor;} his time, for refusing to drink wine. That minister always excused himself, not only on account of his age, and dignity of prime minister, but as he was more strictly obliged to the observance of religion, by the titles which he bore of Sheykh and Haji. These were sufficient reasons for his declining liquor: however the Shâh, vexed to see that he was the only lord who would not drink wine, often gave him abusive language, and one time struck him several blows. He ordered cups of wine to be thrown in his face, at his head, and on his clothes: loading him with a thousand indignities of the same nature, when he was in liquor. For all this, *Soleyman* held him in the greatest esteem, on account of his perfect attachment to the good of the state, his virtue, and great qualities ^s.

SOME time after this, the king, being as much in liquor as he well could be, ordered wine to be given to Sheykh *Ali Khân*; on his refusal, as usual, he commanded the cup-bearer to throw it in his ^{abuses the} face; which was done accordingly. At the same time, rising up, he went towards that minister, and looking him in the face with an air of ridicule, *Grand Wazîr*, said he, *I can no longer suffer you to keep your senses here, while we are all drunk: a drunken man, and one who does not drink at all, pass their time but ill together. If you will divert yourself with us, and give us pleasure in your company, you must drink as much as we have done.* The minister, on hearing this order, fell at the feet of the Shâh; who, finding that he excused himself on the score of religion, said, *It is not with wine that I intend you shall be drunk; drink of Kokenar: which is an infusion of the juice of poppy, much more intoxicating than wine itself.* Sheykh *Ali Khân*, not being ^{for not drink-} able to stand out any longer, drank several cups of that liquor, and soon fell drunk upon the ^{ing;} cushions. The king shouted for joy, on seeing him in that condition; and for two hours together did nothing but laugh and jest at him, with his favourites; who were as drunk as himself. After this, he commanded one of them to carry a cup of wine to his prime minister, imagining that he would drink it, without knowing what it was; but he was so fuddled, that they could not get him to move. The king, laughing all the while, cried to him, *Grand Wazîr, this is what will bring you to yourself.*

Not many days after, *Soleyman*, in his liquor, put a much greater indignity on Sheykh *Ali Khân*, ordering one of his gentlemen, who shaved him, to take off that minister's beard; ^{his cruelty;} which, on account of religion, he wore long. The Wazîr whispered the chamberlain, not to cut it so close as to let the skin be seen; which he unfortunately complying with, the Shâh ordered his hand to be cut off upon the spot, for not punctually obeying his command. Mean time the prime minister, pierced to the soul with this enormous affront, and almost beside himself, went out from the king's presence without taking leave. Next morning, the Wazîr not

^o CHARD. tom. iii. p. 147.

^p CHARD. tom. i. p. 220.

^q Ibid. tom. i. p. 220.

^r Ibid. p. 225.

^s FRYER, p. 349.

appearing at the usual hour, *Soleymân*, who easily guessed the cause, sent for him. The minister set forth the grievousness of the injuries he had received, and how much dishonour they reflected on the Shâh himself, in such pathetic terms, to the lord who brought the message, that the king sent for him a second time, gave him his hand, and not only promised to make him amends for the many insults offered to his person, but also swore never for the future to drink to such excess as he used to do¹.

barbarous order

WHETHER the Shâh kept his promise, does not appear; it is likely he did not: for altho' the prime Wazîr came to court, yet he did not care to act in that capacity; as is obvious from the following account, which affords an instance of his cruel orders. In 1673, while *Chardin* was at *Ispâhân*, *Soleymân*, being in liquor, fell in a passion with one who played on the lute; and, because he did not like his music, ordered his favourite *Nâsr Ali Beg*, the governor of *Eriwân*'s son, to cut his hands off: in pronouncing this sentence, he threw himself on a heap of cushions to go to sleep. The favourite, considering this cruel order as the mere effect of liquor, contented himself with reprimanding the musician for not studying to please his master better. But the Shâh, awakening an hour after, and seeing the lute-player touching his instrument as before, enraged with the young lord no less than the musician, orders the grand master of his palace to cut off the hands and feet of both of them. The grand master falling at his feet to intreat grace for the favourite, *Soleymân*, in a fury, calls to his eunuchs and guards to execute his sentence on all three. Lucky for those unhappy mortals, *Sheykh Ali Khân*, the late first minister, happening to be present, fell at the Shâh's feet, kissed them, and implored their pardon. The king upon this, pausing a little, said, *You are very rash, to hope that I will grant your request; I, who cannot prevail on you to resume the post of prime minister.* The prostrate *Sheykh* immediately replied, *Sire, I am your slave, and will always do what your majesty shall command me.* This speech appeased the king, who pardoned the condemned persons, and next morning sent a *Kalaat* to *Sheykh Ali Khân*; who thereupon resumed his place of *Etemâd Addawlet*, which had been vacant four months².

luckily prevented;

maims his officers

HIS women and domestics often felt his cruelty, by unheard-of tortures. As a proof of this, when his tents were removed in any of his journies, the mangled bodies of people were found on the spot where they were set up; and when our author was at *Ispâhân*, about 1678, scarce a day passed but some of his attendants in the palace lost either their lives, or else some limb: which punishments he inflicted for the slightest mistakes³; whereof we shall produce a few instances.

on slight occasions;

ONE night, in 1675, being in an ill humour, he ordered a colonel to be bastonaded so severely, that he died in two days. The same night, in his way back from a feast to which he had been invited, the chief of his link-carriers going at some distance before, for fear lest the sparks should fly in the Shâh's face, as the wind was high; that prince, who was drunk, not considering the reason of it, said to that officer, *Is it out of shame or ill-will to serve me, that you march so far before?* and at the same time ordered the hand of that dog, as he called him, to be cut off: in giving this barbarous command, he stopped to see it executed, and then went forward. All the lords were struck with fear on this occasion; yet were obliged to put a good face upon it, while *Soleymân*, looking at them one after another, to increase their fright, breaks out in these terrible words: *I will this day let the blood out of the bodies of two dogs, whom I have borne with too long.* The prime Wazîr before-mentioned was supposed to be one of the two; and in effect had lost his head that day, if the *Korchi Bashi*, or general of the army, although that minister's enemy, had not interceded for his life at the risque of his own⁴.

punishes a favourite;

IN the same year some persons, who had been greatly oppressed by *Sefi Ali Khân*, governor of *Eriwân* and *Armenia*, having petitioned Shâh *Soleymân* against him; *Nâsr Ali Beg*, the Khân's son, who was the king's chief favourite, being highly incensed for this attempt against his father, and seeing them at the palace-gate as he was going out one day, gave them very injurious language; which they returning, he had the rashness to strike them with his cane, and draw his sword. At this they set up so loud a cry that the king heard it; who, being informed of the cause, fell in a great passion: *Has this dog, says he, the insolence to draw his sword in my palace against those miserable people, whom his father's tyranny has forced to come and demand justice of me? go, cut off the hand which has been guilty of such an audacious action.* This command was immediately executed. Presently after, the king retired to his *Harâm*; where coming to himself in a little time, he appeared sorry that he had given the order.

THIS prince's severity so far may be considered as no other than an act of justice; and his relenting, as a mark of compassion: but sure what follows can admit of no excuse. The news of *Nâsr Ali Beg*'s misfortune being quickly spread through the palace, his relations and friends,

¹ CHARD. tom. iii. p. 245.

² Id. tom. i. p. 220.

³ FRYER, p. 349.

⁴ Id. tom. iii. p. 242.

a many of whom were there, seemed quite distracted at it. Among the rest, one of his sisters, *burns his sister*; a young and beautiful lady, became mad as it were with rage. Not content to tear herself violently, she ran to the king; and, loading him with bitter invectives, attempted two or three times to fly at him with her hands. The king at first pardoned the sallies of the fair creature's passion; but finding his threats could not oblige her to desist, he, with a brutal rage, ordered her to be burnt alive: which horrible sentence was executed on the spot, by binding the tender victim in a chimney, and placing faggots about her, to which they set fire¹.

SOME time after, *Soleyman* missing one of his best dancers, and being informed, that *Nâsr Ali Beg* had entertained her in his house; he was no less surprised to find that his disgraced *men*; favourite could be so merry, when his life was in danger, than at a loss to think where he should get money to live so voluptuously, since all his effects had been confiscated. For although these dancers are common to any who hire them, yet the expence of only one amounts to near ten pounds a night. On questioning the dancer, she told him, that the Beg was supplied by his mother: at which *Soleyman*, being much incensed, but more by her running into praise of that lord, commanded all *Nâsr Ali Beg's* women to be prostituted in the public stews. They were already set on asses, with their faces bare, and towards the tail, in order to be carried thither; when, being informed, that his wives were women of quality, and his slaves very beautiful, he commanded them to be brought to his palace.

THE relations of *Nâsr Ali Beg*, willing to make use of the favourable disposition which the *eunuch flay'd* *Shâh* seemed to be in, begged of the grand 'squire, who is one of the principal eunuchs, to intercede along with them for their kinsman. The good-natured eunuch, upon this application, brought them into *Soleyman's* presence; where they fell at his feet: but that prince, to their great confusion, flew into a passion at what ought to have moved his pity; and said to the eunuch, *Thou dog, wilt thou not give me time to settle my anger; let him be flay'd alive this instant*. Which dreadful sentence was immediately executed on the poor unhappy intercessor; but the eunuch, being advanced in years, soon expired under that horrible punishment².

IN this instance we find the mediation of his officers cruelly punished; in the next we shall see *puts to death* the neglect of it highly condemned by this prince. The same evening that *Shâh Soleyman* had so profusely rewarded the glazier, as before related, he fell to drink with the principal lords of his court: among whom there happened to be *Khosrû Khân*, viceroy of *Mazânderân*, and general of the musketeers, a brave man, and one of the best officers in the army. The *Khân*, who had drank hard, becoming at length as drunk as the *Shâh* himself, drew near to him; and, after asking leave for his slave to speak, said, *the troops encamped in the neighbourhood, exposed to the snow and the bitter wind, were in a very poor condition; and therefore he was of opinion, that it would be better to distribute 200,000 crowns among them, than on a mechanic, whose fortune would be sufficiently made with one hundred pounds*. *Soleyman*, though in liquor was offended with the liberty which the *Khân* took to direct him; and, threatening him for his presumption, fell asleep on the cushion which he leaned on. An hour after, the king, awaking, began to drink again, and ordered wine to be filled out for *Khosrû Khân*. On being told that the *Khân* had retired, he was provoked at that further liberty; and commanded *Mansûr Khân*, another of his generals, to go and cut off his head.

IT is customary, when the king of *Persia* gives such orders in his drink, for the court lords *Khosrû* to fall at his feet and implore pardon for the offending party: but this happened not to be the *Khân*; case of the unfortunate *Khosrû Khân*, who had a great many enemies; and, what was still worse, *Mansûr Khân* was one of the principal. This lord immediately went and took a black slave with him to do the execution. *Khosrû Khân* was gone to sleep in the apartment of his women, when a servant came to tell him *Mansûr Khân* wanted to speak with him from the king. *Ab! it is my head*, said he, *which the Shâh wants, since it is my enemy whom he hath sent on the message*. Accordingly, as soon as he came forth, *Mansûr Khân* said to him, *The king hath sent me to fetch your head; fall upon the ground*. And while *Khosrû Khân* expostulated the matter, the other bid his black take off the *Khân's* girdle, and tie his arms. *Khosrû*, finding himself seized, intreated *Mansûr* to forbear a few moments; the slave begged the same favour for him also: but *Mansûr Khân*, who mortally hated that great man, told the black if he delayed one instant, he would have him flay'd alive. Hereupon the general was thrown down, and had his head cut off: but the execution was scarce over, when an officer of the king arrived with a counter-order.

SOLEYMAN, who was very much grieved for this *Khân's* death, testified his concern a few days *and repents*; after: for at another debauch, having commanded the head of one who played upon the lute to be cut off, because, being intoxicated with liquor, he could not hit the tunes right, all the lords of the court fell at his feet to beg pardon for him. At which the king, as in a fury, cried:

¹ FRYER, p. 187.² Ibid. p. 211, & seq.

Ab! traytors, it was for the brave Khostrû Khân that you ought to have interceded, and not for such a wretched dog as this, a player on the lute; 'tis you who have been the cause of his death ^a.

suffers quarrels

THIS prince, who on some occasions punished severely the slightest faults, at other times suffered great offences to pass with impunity. Soon after, at a debauch, where most of the great men were drunk, the lord high-chamberlain, and *Mansûr Khân* before-mentioned, happened to give one another abusive language. Hereupon the king said to the prime minister: *Khân, why do you suffer them to quarrel thus in my presence?* The minister answered, *Please your majesty, where my king is, it is not my business to speak.* *Soleymân* replied, *Why don't you drive them out?* Upon this, the *Wazîr* going to push them out by the shoulders, the grand chamberlain stood his ground, crying out: *It is my post to be near the king; you may kill me at his feet if you please; but I will not go out before my master.* The Shâh, who could drink no more, upon this arose and went into the *Harâm*. It is there where every thing which has passed is repeated, and resolutions are accordingly taken. In this place it was represented to him, that, in case he suffered such insolences, the great lords would not fail in a short time to pluck the crown from his head ^b. And indeed it may as well be wondered, how they durst venture to take so great liberty with so rigorous a prince, as that he should let such a liberty go unpunished. Although drink might have emboldened the lords, it can hardly be imagined that fear withheld the king.

in his presence;

Soleymân
Khân's
escape;

ABOUT the same time, Shâh *Soleymân* committed another piece of cruelty, more savage than the former, although inflicted on a meaner subject. The year before, he had sent one of his domestic officers to take off the head of *Soleymân Khân*, viceroy of *Kûrdestân*; who, he was informed, held a secret correspondence with the *Pashâ* of *Bâghdâd*. This execution was to be performed at the house where the *Kalaat*, or vest, is received; about two miles from the *Khân's* residence: but he, being informed of the design, when the officer arrived, sent him word: *that the astrologers judged the hour to be unlucky; and that he desired him to come to the palace till a more benign aspect took place.* The messenger, to avoid giving the viceroy any suspicion, immediately repaired thither; and was entertained very nobly with music, dancing, and a splendid banquet. But having been plied with wine till he became drunk, and was put to bed; two hours after, the viceroy made his escape in the night. The officer, at his return, was directed by the grand *Wazîr*, whose son-in-law the viceroy was, to tell *Soleymân*, that the *Khân* was fled, before his arrival in *Kûrdestân*.

kills an officer;

THUS the affair stood for more than a year; although at length, one night having drank hard, he called for that officer, and questioned him again upon the subject: but could get nothing from him more than he had told him at first. The king, vexed at this, ordered wine to be served him with the rest of the company; imagining that the likeliest way to get the truth out of him. However the officer still stuck to his text; affirming that the viceroy was fled before his arrival at the place of his residence. Hereupon the Shâh, with a frown, asked him, *on whom he depended?* He answered *on the prime minister.* And whose slave are you? replied the king. *Your majesty's,* said the officer. *How comes it then,* returned the Shâh, *that, being my slave, you have neglected to execute the order which I gave you, to take off the head of Soleymân Khân? you must either bring it me, or leave your own here.* And having spoken these words, he rose up, drew his sabre, and hacked the poor officer to pieces at the feet of the prime *Wazîr*, who stood up. At the same time, looking stedfastly at that minister, and the other grandees on each side of him, said, with an angry tone; *I have then ungrateful traitors about me, who eat of my salt: but this sword shall cut all their perfidious heads off* ^c.

wounds Mansûr Khân;

SOLEYMAN continued drinking to such excess, that people wondered he did not burst; and his cruelty increased so with his debauches, that almost every time he drank proved fatal to some of the great lords of his court. At last it came to *Mansûr Khân's* turn to feel his severity. The Shâh being a hunting three leagues from *Kazbîn*, fell to drinking on the fourth day; and, when he could drink no more, bid the general of the musketeers get that instant on horseback; for that he had a mind to return to the city. The *Khân* told him, *it was then eleven at night; that as he was not expected in Kazbîn, nothing was prepared for his reception; adding, that it would not consist with his dignity to enter the city so abruptly at such an hour.* *Soleymân*, incensed at that opposition to his will, drew his sword, and saying, *Dog, as thou art, hast thou the impudence to gainsay thy master?* made a stroke at him, which would have cleft his head in two, if he had not warded it off with his hand; which yet received a great cut, as well as his turban; half of which fell to the ground.

makes him
amends;

THE general, upon this treatment, only told the Shâh, *That he was so drunk he knew not what he said: but if he had been so unfortunate as to incur his majesty's displeasure, he might order him to be killed without staining his sacred hands with the blood of such a dog as he was:* he added, *that*

^a FRYER, p. 147, & seq.

^b Ibid. p. 148.

^c Ibid. p. 148.

a *he would stab himself to the heart*. The king, instead of making any reply, ordered him to be taken away, and his wound to be dressed. Three days after he sent him a royal habit and two hundred Tomâns, to let him see that he was as much in his favour as before^d. These instances shew how difficult it is to behave towards an arbitrary prince, who has no settled rule of action, but is governed by caprice and an unsteady humour. *Soleyman*, who at one time suffered *Manfir Kbin* to give another lord abusive language in his presence with impunity, at another time attempts to kill him for offering to administer proper advice.

KEMPFER represents *Soleyman* in a different light from other authors; but from his own shew-^{his mercy com-} ing, favours him too much. He says, that, excepting his avarice and venery (F), he was one of ^{pared} the best of princes; and particularly extols him for his piety, justice, and mercy. With regard to this last article, he cites two or three instances; one is of the lady (*Nâfir Ali Beg's* sister) whom he did not punish, notwithstanding she refused to accept of the husband he ordered for her, and spoke very ill of him (G): but that author does not mention his cruelty to her sister, whom he burnt, as before related, for much the same offence. Another is, of his sending to recall the officer sent to take off the head of the governor of *Lâr*, in 1687, for not giving him timely notice of the arrival of *Soltân Akbar*, son of the *Great Mogul*; who, being in rebellion, and defeated by his father's troops, fled to *Soleyman* for protection^e.

BUT these instances of mercy are trifling, if compared with those which he produces of his ^{with his} cruelty. The first is, that the *Divân Beg* (H), a great officer of state, having left a feast ^{cruelty;} abruptly, the *Shâh* sent an officer after him, to pluck his eyes out; and conferred his post on that officer for his pains. Our author's next instance is still more barbarous and unreasonable: he relates, that *Soleyman*, standing one day on the battlements of his palace of *Takhta Sofa*, built on a hill near *Julfa*, and commending the place for its fine situation, one of his ladies, who was present, happened to say, it was rather too much exposed to the cold air. For which censure only, he ordered her to be cast down headlong, as unworthy to abide in the place.

THIS savage sentence was not only passed on a very trifling occasion; but seems to have been pronounced in cool blood. His cruelty must not always be ascribed to liquor; but rather to his barbarous and revengeful disposition; of which the following instance, given even at the beginning of his reign, is a signal proof. One of his favourite ladies, of a noble *Chirkassian* ^{mean revenge;} family, having somehow offended him, he ordered her to be married forthwith to one of the most abject fellows who could be found. The first they happened to meet with was the son of a linen-bleacher belonging to the court; but well enough as to his person. The marriage was performed without seeing each other, according to custom; especially when the parties are so unequal, as to rank. Nevertheless, as the king's order was to have it not only performed, but also consummated, the lady complied with it, and took to her husband. The ^{horrid barbari-} king, who intended, perhaps, only to vex her, and did not imagine, that she would suffer ^{ity;} such a mean fellow to come near her, when he heard of what had happened, conceived a secret resentment against the innocent husband; whose father, the whitster, happening to die some years after, he applied to succeed him in his place. The king, who had smothered his malice all that while, taking this opportunity to discharge it, sent for the poor man, and said to him, *When, by my order, you married that lady of such incomparable beauty, and great birth, what sort of feast did you make on the joyful occasion?* Sir, answered he, *I am a poor man, and had not wherewithal to defray the charge of an illumination* (I). Since this dog, said the *Shâh*, made no illumination on so eminent an occasion, let an illumination be made of his body. This fiery sentence was executed in the following execrable manner. They laid the unhappy mortal backward on a plank, to which they bound him fast: then, with a dagger, making a great number of holes in his flesh, large enough to put in one's little finger, they filled them with oil, and setting in each a bit of cotton wick, lighted them all at once^f. It must shock human nature to think in what exquisite torments the poor miserable creature must have expired.

THE foregoing instances relate only to single cruelties: but we shall, in the last place, pro-^{great inhu-} duce one, of his sacrificing some hundreds at a time to his humour; and that from his advo-^{manity;} cate *Kempfer*. This author tells us, that, in 1683, *Soleyman* made a solemn hunting; at which all his court assisted, with 80,000 men, armed with clubs and staves. It being then the heat of summer, and water falling short, 40,000 of them saved their lives by desertion: but,

^d FRYER'S Travels, p. 185.^e KEMPFER, p. 52, & seq.^f CHARD. tom. iii. p. 241

(F) He suggests elsewhere, p. 46, that *Soleyman* left off women and wine early: saying, that, although at the beginning of his reign he gave himself up immoderately to those vices, which impaired his health, yet that, on his recovery, he lived more temperately.

(G) *Chardin* gives the story at large, *Voy. en Perse*, tom. iii. p. 241.

(H) Rather *Divân Beghi*, who is the lord chief justice in criminal affairs.

(I) The *Persians* adorn their houses and gardens with lights on such occasions.

rather than dismiss the rest, he suffered 500 of them to die with thirst; although the game he took did not exceed twenty-five stags, and seven antelopes^a.

observes his
treaties;

As a proof of this Shâh's justice and piety, the same author alleges his punctual observance of his foreign engagements. He tells us, that *Soleymân* might easily have recovered *Bâgdâd* from the *Turks*, when they were engaged in war with the *Christian* princes; and possessed himself of *Bâsrah*, by a surrender from its prince, if he could have been prevailed on to violate the faith of treaties. On the same principle, he refused to accept of the vassalage offered him, in the year 1684, by the *Arabs*, who dwelt about the river *Tigris*^b. But these things might have been owing to his indolence, and aversion to war, more than to his regard to justice.

His children,

SHAH Soleymân left many sons behind him. *Chardin* heard an eunuch of the *Harâm* say, and was assured, on strict enquiry, by others, that in the year 1672, this prince had threescore children living; which number, though surprizingly great, falls very short of that ascribed to *Morâd III.* Soltân of the *Turks*, who is reported to have had two hundred^c.

and successor.

He was succeeded by his son *Shâh Huseyn*. This was a very handsome and good-natured prince; but exceeding weak, and wholly devoted to pleasure, which made his subjects despise him. He neglected affairs of state to such a degree, and suffered himself to be so much governed by his eunuchs, that some of his chief officers, after reproaching him with his failings, in very indecent terms, have laid down their posts, and refused to serve him any longer^d. This bad management at last brought on the troubles raised by the famous *Mir Avîs*, and which ended in the ruin of himself, and most of his family, by the rebellion of *Nâdir Kûli*, otherwise *Tahmâsp Kûli Khân*, who, usurping the throne, reigned by the name of *Shâh Nadir*.

^a KEMPF. p. 54.
Persia, vol. i. ch. 42. p. 211, & seq.

^b Ibid. p. 56.

^c CHARD. tom. ii. p. 280.

^d LE BRUYN. Trav. in

CHAP. VIII.

The reign of Shâh Huseyn.

SECT. I.

Affairs of Persia, till the revolt of the Afghâns.

11. Shâh Huseyn.

SHAH SOLEYMAN left only two sons, who were in a capacity to succeed him, and both by different venters. The elder named *Mirza Abbâs*, the younger *Huseyn*. This last prince had two brothers; one of whom the Shâh having put to death, *Huseyn* often taxed him with cruelty. His mother, fearing that he might undergo the same fate for his freedom, had him conveyed out of the *Harâm*, and soon after fell a sacrifice to her affection. Others say, in a fit of madness she threw herself headlong from the top of the palace.

Person and
capacity.

HOWEVER that was, from this time *Soleymân* took a peculiar love for *Huseyn*, so that he would appoint no successor; but left it to the eunuchs, and other grandees, to chuse which of the two sons they pleased. *Mirza Abbâs* was well-shaped and robust, had a noble air and inclinations, delighting only in military exercises; in short, he had all the necessary qualifications for a great prince. On the contrary, *Huseyn*, though handsome enough in other respects (I), had monstrously crooked legs, and withal was splay-footed. He was, moreover, born without ambition, and loved retirement to such a degree, that they commonly gave him the name of *Der-vish*. He was wholly intent on reading the *Korân*, which got him the nickname of *Mûllab Huseyn*, or *Parson Huseyn*; and discovered as much modesty in his behaviour, as probity in his sentiments¹.

¹ KRUSINSKI Revolut. of Persia, vol. i. p. 60, & seq.

(I) *Le Brun*, in his Travels, has given his portrait; which has a very handsome face. *Gemelli*, who saw him the 6th of August 1694, but five days after his inauguration, says he was about twenty-five, rather short than tall, with a fair complexion; his eyebrows thick,

and very beautiful; his eyes black; his beard of the same colour, but short; his face little; and constitution puny. *Gemelli Voy. round the world*, in *Churchill's Collection*, vol. iv. p. 141, & seq.

a THESE qualifications determined those who had the disposal of the succession to prefer him *Advanced to the throne.* to *Abbâs*, who had too much understanding to be governed by them; and had, indeed, dropped some words against the exorbitant power of the eunuchs, which made them dread him. On the other hand, *Huseyn's* maternal grandmother assured them, upon oath, to make him their friend; while the ministers, and principal officers, being accustomed, during the latter years of *Soleyman*, to cringe to the eunuchs, and comply with pacific measures, gave their votes for *Huseyn*.

ALTHO' *Abbâs* was, on his brother's advancement to the throne, more closely confined than before, yet the eunuchs could never prevail on the new king to deprive him of sight. 'Tis said, this was in pursuance of an agreement made between them, on oath, when first put to read the *Korân*. However, he extended the same indulgence to his younger brothers.

b WHILE the eunuchs, to make sure of him, were for inspiring him with a bent to debauchery, *Wine forbidden and re- stored.* he published an edict for prohibiting the use of wine, as forbidden by the *Korân*. He, to enforce the law by his own example, caused all the wine-vessels in his cellars to be publicly flayed to pieces; and forbade the *Armenians* of *Zulfa* to bring any more, under the penalty of forfeiting their estates. As wine had been tolerated in *Persia*, ever since the reign of *Shâh Abbâs* the first, the grandees were all alarmed, as well as the eunuchs; who were sensible, that a temperate king would not always be kept in leading-strings. To ward off this blow, they applied themselves to the king's grandmother, who loved wine herself, and was obliged to them for placing her favourite on the throne. By their advice, she falls sick, and the physicians prescribed her wine. The king himself presents it to her: but she refuses to take it, unless he first tasted it; and, to remove his religious scruples, quotes the *Persian* maxims, *That Kings are subject to no law; and that whatever they do, they commit no sin!* By this artifice was the weak good-natured prince ensnared. He drank a large cup of it; and liked it so well afterwards, that he was scarce ever sober.

THE eunuchs were admitted to scarce any office in the government of affairs, excepting *Eunuchs gain power.* that of keeping and managing the king's treasure, before the reign of *Shâh Soleyman*. This prince, towards the end of his reign, was confined to his bed with the gout, for two years; in which time, being attended wholly by his eunuchs, he found many among them of learning, knowledge, and abilities; one of whom, named *Khojâb Drak*, he set at the head of affairs. This able minister discharged his trust so much to the general satisfaction and advantage of the kingdom, that, on his recovery, he formed a council of eunuchs, which he made superior to the rest. This changed the face of things in their favour, and gained them respect from the people, who treated them before with contempt. Under *Huseyn* their power increased to such a degree, that the officers of state did not dare to decide any-thing of importance, without taking orders from the eunuchs, who composed a sovereign senate; from which slavish submission the *Etimâdaddowlet* himself was not exempt.

c WHILE the king was buried in the delights of his *Harâm*, this sovereign senate sold the chief posts in the kingdom, and disposed of the fortunes of the grandees at pleasure. These wretches, though without heirs, were yet so avaricious, that they invented all sorts of methods to extort money out of both the grandees and the people. To procure presents, they often sent the *Kalaüt* or vest of favour, to the governors of cities and provinces; who did not complain, as it furnished them with a pretence to raise ten times as much on the people. After this, they made the governments to be held during pleasure, which before were for life; and thus sold the same post often in the compass of a few years. These frequent changes drained the people in the provinces, by the sums raised to defray the expences of the governor's reception, and the presents made to him on his entrance into office; not to mention the losses they suffered by the copper-money coined by the old governor, sinking one-half in value.

d As the council consisted partly of black and partly of white eunuchs (K), naturally in opposition, from their colour, and jealous of their authority, they could never agree. This antipathy was greatly augmented by that spirit of faction which divides the *Persians* in general. This pernicious practice of ruling by parties was introduced by *Abbâs I.* to prevent his subjects from plotting against him, and to secure the throne in his family. The method which he took to compass this design was, to settle, in all the cities of *Persia*, foreigners of such nations as were most opposite in their customs, manners, and language; and to form, in the towns and villages, two factions, which were distinguished not only by the names of *Peleuk* and *Feleuk*, but also by the colour which each chose for the neckbands of their shirts. They carried their antipathy so

^a KRUSINSKI *Revolut. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 63, & seq.

^b Ibid. p. 71, & seq.

^c Ibid. p. 74, & seq.

(K) The first are for guards to the *Harâm* of the women. The white either attend the king, or guard the *Harâm* of the princes of the blood.

far, that they would neither marry nor eat together; and as, at the feast of *Haffar* and *Husseyn*, a sons of *Ali*, they were permitted to fight, although they could make use only of stones or sticks, yet they fought with such fury and bloodshed, that, to part them, the king was often obliged to send his guards; nor sometimes could these do it, without killing many of them; as happened in 1714, when above 300 were slain^a.

politically in-
troduced.

THIS spirit of division had more force to keep peace every-where than the most numerous garrisons; and had it been as well kept up at *Kandabâr*, as it was in other parts of the kingdom, without doubt the rebellion which produced the late revolution, would have been prevented: but on this fortress being retaken from Shâh *Sefi* by Shâh *Jekân*, the *Great Mogul*, that policy ceased; nor was it revived by the *Persian* governors, after its recovery under *Abbâs II.* The factions, for want of being well managed in other places, broke-out into war; b and the governors often set them together by the ears, that they might have a pretence afterwards of fining both parties for their disobedience. These parties, which, while under proper restraints, were serviceable to the Shâh, proved very detrimental to his affairs, when that restraint was taken off. *Husseyn* experienced this on several occasions, particularly during the siege of *Ispâhân*; which was lost by the animosity between the *Lorians* and *Baktiarians*: for although each nation, able to raise 20,000 men, could have driven off the *Afghâns*, yet they would neither unite their forces, to deliver the city, nor one permit the other to acquire that honour^c.

Influence of the
eunuchs.

THE factions at court grew as unruly as those in the provinces; and the eunuchs, having thrown off all restraint, made slight of the Shâh's authority. This prince was obliged to comply with the requests of each, in their turn; who were continually supplanting one the other: as soon as one party had procured a government for their creature, the other set all engines to work, to turn him out again. If a general was appointed by the interest of one faction, to command on any expedition, the other did all they could to render it abortive; either by not furnishing a sufficient number of troops, by not sending them into the field in time, by stinting them of ammunition and provisions, and often by betraying their designs to the enemy. By these pernicious practices, several fine armies were destroyed, and the *Afghâns* encouraged to advance to *Ispâhân*. These lawless eunuchs, to increase the disorders, and weaken the state, set the grandees at variance, and turning out the able officers, put those of less merit in their places. To embroil families, they inverted the order of succession: they d turned *Ali Merdam Khân*, the greatest captain at that time in *Persia* (and the only one perhaps capable of hindering the revolution), out of his hereditary government, and gave it to his brother. They did the same by the princes of *Ganjea* and *Georgia*, who became vassals to *Abbâs I.* conditionally, that their principalities should always remain in their families. Thus relations, made irreconcilable foes, frequently had recourse to arms; and, to revenge themselves on one another, gave intelligence to the enemy of their designs, to the ruin of the national affairs^e.

Instances of op-
pression,

IT was a fundamental maxim, established by the last-mentioned Shâh, to inflict corporal punishments on the great, and fine the commonalty: but the eunuchs subverted this rule, by commuting the pains of death and the bastinado, which kept the great in awe, into forfeitures e and mulcts, which they converted to their own use. So that these checks being taken off, all who were in authority every-where did nothing but contrive how to rob and plunder the people, because they might do it with impunity^f. In towns which paid 50 Tomâns (L), by way of annual tax, the governors have, in one week, raised 300 Tomâns (M), by way of fines. They carried their extortions to a shameful degree. The governor of a certain town, perceiving a man's ass grazing in his neighbour's vineyard, fined the owner of the ass fifty crowns: and when the *Armenian* who owned the vineyard informed him, that, among them, such trespasses of cattle were not taken amiss, the honest magistrate condemned him in the same fine; and then told them both, *That it was to teach them to keep what they had.* These instances our author himself was witness of. Every-body knew that the *Deroga* (or Mayor) of *Ispâ-* f *hân* itself, instead of prosecuting thieves and robbers, when taken, obliged them to pay a ransom, like prisoners of war; and when they were not able to redeem their liberty, he let them out at night, that by a second robbery they might be secured from the punishment incurred by the first.

in the magi-
strates.

THIS magistrate having committed a thief to prison, for breaking open an *Armenian's* house, and stealing several goods, let the owner know, that to come by his goods again, he must prove the property, as well as the theft. The *Armenian*, fearing some foul play, thought

^a KRUSINSKI, p. 89, & seq.

^b Ibid. p. 93, & seq.

^c Ibid. p. 98, & seq.

^d Ibid. p. 105, & seq.

(L) Or 125 pounds.

(M) Or 750 pounds.

- a it would be best to compound with the robber, and give him up part of the effects, on condition he confessed the theft. The *Armenian* now thought all was safe; but soon found himself mistaken: for the *Derog*, turning towards him, said, in a very cold manner, "What, have you no better witness to produce than this, a rogue, a thief? You would have me take such evidence, would you? Go, friend, and bring me witnesses of credit; witnesses too who are Musselmans, not *Armenians*; and then I'll hear you." In this manner was justice dispensed openly at *Ispahan*, in the reign of *Huseyn*: and it is not to be thought that the public roads were more secure than the streets of the capital. The guards called *Radars* (N), established by *Abbas* I. became no longer of use. Highway robberies were not only tolerated, but in a manner authorised. The peasants made robbery a trade; and the mothers encouraged their children to it, by promise of rewards. So that the *Karawans*, not daring to trust themselves in the villages, chose to encamp under tents^u.

In the time of *Shah Soleymân* the roads were so secure, that merchants had no need to travel in companies: and *Tavernier* having been robbed of goods to the value of 200 pounds, the governor of the town not only paid him the full, according to his bill of entries, but also made him a present of provisions^w. But it was to no purpose now to complain, or expect redress from the governors. All the answer which a merchant, who had been robbed of considerable effects, received from one of them, was this: *Shew me the robber, and I will oblige him to make you restitution. Put me in your place, said the merchant, and yourself in mine, and I will soon find you out the robber.* But how sharp soever the answer was, the governor was not offended; for no people in the world bear injuries and reproaches more patiently than those of quality in *Persia*. If a creditor, who wants his money, says the most provoking things to their face, they take no exceptions at it, but hear him with an air of insensibility not to be paralleled. In short, the *Karawans*, not being able either to guard against the robbers, or obtain justice of the governors, were obliged to compound with the highwaymen, as those who were robbed did in the towns^x.

- WHILE they ran thus to ruin every-where, *Huseyn* lay buried in his *Harâm*, which surpassed that of all his predecessors, for the number and expence of the women. In the beginning of his reign, he caused all the handsome women in *Persia* to be brought thither: and the orders were so well executed, that the year 1701 took the name of *Kisverân*, or *The Year of Women*, from the plentiful crop which was gathered of them. Each had her eunuch and chamber-maid: their maintenance was profuse; and he gave them a considerable portion, when they married: for he bestowed them not only on his courtiers, but his inferior officers, and even his cooks. The daughters of great men he gave to other great lords, even when with child by him; and what was worse, this child superseded all their former children, and carried away the bulk of their estates; as happened to the governor of *Ervân*, in 1719. These issue called themselves *Shah Zadeh*, or *King's Sons*; but being very numerous, many were poor, and made a mean figure^y.

- HUSEYN had three times more eunuchs than any of his predecessors: they almost equalled the number of his guards; and indeed he had no other guard at the time of the *Kûrûk*, or *Kow-rowk*, which is a proclamation to give notice of the hour when the *Shah* goes abroad with his *Harâm*, made three days before he sets out. The ladies rode on horses or mules, with each an eunuch to hold the bridle, and the female attendants on asses; while *Huseyn* made it one of his great diversions to whip them till they threw their riders, in order to make sport for the rest. Besides the body of eunuchs armed with guns and swords, which surrounded the whole female cavalcade, there were two others. One of them advanced far before, and the other closed the march. Besides these, others were employed either to search the houses by which they passed, or scour the country, in order to put to the sword all who were found within the forbidden limits^z.

- THE maintenance of such a number of eunuchs must have been very burdensome to the state. Yet this *Shah* was more lavish still in other articles, particularly that of building, in which he exhausted all the treasures left by his predecessors. He pulled down the old palace, a magnificent structure, and built a new one, at a prodigious expence. He erected another, still more sumptuous, at *Farabad*, a league from *Ispahan*; likewise a monastery for *Dervishes*, whose magnificence may be conceived from the chief gate only, which is of massy silver. *Huseyn*, completely to exhaust his treasures, and ruin all the provinces through which he passed,

^u KRUSINSKI, ubi sup. p. 110, & seq.

^x KRUSINSKI ubi sup. p. 113, & seq.

^w TAVERN. Trav. book i. chap. 4. and book v. chap. 14.

^y Ibid. p. 120, & seq.

^z Ibid. p. 123, & seq.

(N) From *Radaria*; the duty laid on every camel or horse-load, for the maintenance of these guards.

undertook a pilgrimage to *Mashhad* (O), above 200 leagues from *Ispahan*. He was accompanied by his women, escorted by a train of 60,000 men. This journey proved so expensive, that half the sum would have defrayed the charge of all the expeditions against the rebels of *Kandabâr* ².

Husseyn's
character.

A. D. 1603.

His clemency
hurtful.

From what hath been said, it is easy to infer that Shâh *Husseyn* had none of those virtues necessary for a monarch. He was good-natured (P) and merciful; but in those qualities the wicked found their account more than honest men. The only instance in which he discovered marks of greatness, was his passion for magnificence: but to that passion every thing else was sacrificed; and, like some people, who are more forward to give alms than pay their debts, he built monasteries and hospitals, while his troops perished with hunger, or dispersed for want of pay. He seemed to think he was obliged to take care of nothing but of his palaces; and to what a degree he forgot that he was a king, may appear from one remarkable instance: for when, on the approach of the rebel army, his ministers endeavoured to rouse him out of his lethargy, by representing the danger, "'Tis your business", said he, "to look to that; you have armies provided: for my part, if they but leave me my house at *Farabad*, I am content."

His notions of clemency may be judged from a well-known instance. He took a pleasure, sometimes, in firing a pistol over a pond in his garden where ducks were swimming, not to hurt, but frighten them. However, happening one day to wound some with the shot, he was terrified as much as if he had committed murder: crying out, as is usual in *Persia* on the shedding of human blood, *I am polluted with blood*: and, as an atonement for the supposed sin, ordered 200 Tomâns to be given to the poor ³.

A PRINCE so tender-conscienced, in the case of wounding a few ducks, was very loth, it may be presumed, to consent to the shedding of human blood, tho' as the punishment of the greatest crimes. For more than 20 years, which his reign lasted, he never passed one sentence of death; and, consequently, never put on the red habit; which was the colour worn by the kings of *Persia*, when they were to pronounce judgment for capital offences.

² KRUSINSKI *ibid.* p. 125, & seqq.

³ *Ibid.* ubi supra, p. 105, & seqq.

(O) That is, *The Place of the Martyred*: a name given to the city of *Tûs*, the capital of *Khorassân*, as being the burying-place of *Imâm Riza*, or *Ridha*, one of the 12 *Imâms*, who was murdered there. This saint is interred in a famous monastery dedicated to him.

(P) He was no persecutor, nor offended with any person on account of his religion.

S E C T. II.

Affairs of Persia, from the revolt of the Afghâns, to the death of Mîr Weis.

Revolution in
Persia.

SUCH were the unhappy circumstances of *Persia*, under the government of a very weak prince, and a very corrupt administration. But notwithstanding the incapacity of *Husseyn*, and tyranny of the eunuchs, who governed him; notwithstanding the bad state of all the provinces, and the general discontent of the whole kingdom, 'tis yet very probable that Shâh *Husseyn* would have died in peace upon this throne, as many other kings of his character have done, if, unhappily for him, *Mîr Weis* (Q), the chief of an *Afghân* tribe, a man of a bold and enterprising spirit, had not been forced against his will to come up to court, from the remotest corner of his frontiers, to observe the weak condition to which the monarchy was reduced; and how easy it was for one of resolution, like himself, with barely the forces of his own nation, not only to throw off the *Persian* yoke, but even to subdue the kingdom under his obedience. The occasion of his journey to *Ispahan* was this:

The Afghâns
revolt,

THE *Afghâns*, a people who inhabit the province of *Kandabâr*, finding themselves much oppressed by the exactions of the governors, whom the ministry had sent to command in that province; at length, unable to be treated any longer as slaves, began loudly to complain, and discover evident signs of a disposition to revolt. The *Persian* ministry, alarmed at this advice, judged that the only way to prevent a rebellion, was to send a person of resolution and conduct to govern the province of *Kandabâr*. There was then at *Ispahan* a prince of the family of *Bagrathioni*, which has often given sovereigns to *Georgia*. This person, named *Gurghin* (R) *Khân*, having been made *Wali* (S) of his province, tried to assert the independency of his ancestors, and made a stand in *Teflis*, the capital city: but being abandoned by most of the grandees of the country, who suffered themselves to be bribed by the ministry, he went

(Q) By some called *Mîr A'wis*, or *Veis*, of which *Mîr Weis* is a compound: the name, which is *Arabic*, signifies *Lion-necked*. *Mîr* is an abbreviation of *Amir*; that is, *Commander*.

(R) Or *Gurji Khân*, as some write.

(S) *Wali*, or *Tali*, as some write, is a viceroy, who is more immediately descended from the sovereigns of the country over which he presides.

and

a and made his submission to the king. *Shâh Hufseyn*, who stood engaged for him at his circumcision, when he turned *Mohammedan*, was so pleased with his behaviour, that he not only forgave what was past, but also loaded him with favours ^b.

This prince, being judged a proper person to quell the rebellion of *Kandabâr*, had the government of that province joined to those of *Kermân* and *Georgia*, which he possessed before. ^{occasioned by oppression} He soon got together an army of 20,000 *Persians*; with whom, reinforced by a body of *Georgians*, he began his march; the very news of which dispersed the rebels. The *Khân*, naturally severe, left the people to the discretion of his army, who committed all sorts of violence. They took from them their tents and horses, forced women from their husbands, and virgins from their parents. The chiefs of tribes were no more secure in their lives and fortunes than the meanest peasants. The *Afghâns* had private meetings on this occasion, and sent deputies to complain of the tyranny which they groaned under. But altho' they got safe to *Ispâhân*, unknown to *Gurghin Khân*, yet his friends there prevented all access to the *Shâh* for a considerable time. However, at the vernal equinox, when the kings of *Persia* always appear in public, and their meanest subjects have free access to them, they presented their petitions, signed by the chiefs of all the *Afghân* tribes. But before we proceed farther, it will be proper to give some account of the origin and manners of these people ^c.

THE *Afghâns* are divided into three principal tribes, who, like the *Mohammedan* nations, ^{Their origin} derive their genealogy from *Noah*. According to their history, *Japhet* had three sons, *Armen*, *Afghân*, and *Karduel*: the two first remained in *Armenia*, which takes its name from the eldest; ^c as *Karduel* gave his name to the province of *Georgia*, so called, where he settled. The families of *Armen* and *Afghân*, having greatly multiplied in process of time, the descendants of the latter quitted their country, and went to dwell at the foot of *Soleymân Kûb*; a chain of mountains which separates the province of *Kandabâr* from *Hindûstân*, or the *Mogol's* empire.

This nation was formerly divided into two principal tribes; one of whom lived in the mountains, under the general appellation of *Afghâns*; the other, distinguished by the name of *Bal-lûchi*, ^{and different tribes} extended itself in the plains beneath; but in the reign of *Ismaël al Sammâni* (T), towards the end of the ninth century, a numerous colony of *Afghâns*, quitting the country of *Kandabâr*, to settle in *Hafaray*, the eastern part of the province of *Herât*, formed a third tribe, called *Abdollis*; who soon after turned *Mohammedans*, and converted the rest of their nation, ^d who till then had been of the old *Persian* religion, or fire-worshippers.

In the beginning of the 11th century, the tribe of *Kliji* (U), the most numerous and powerful of the three *Afghân* tribes, which inhabited *Soleymân Kûb*, was almost wholly destroyed by the famous *Mahmûd* (W), founder of the *Gâznab* dynasty; so that from a city of that name (X) in *Kborassân*, where he established his empire, in order to be nearer the *Indies*, which he intended to conquer. In his return from one of his expeditions beyond the *Indus*, which were always successful, he divided his army into separate bodies; of which the *Kliji* having intelligence, they defeated most of them in their way through the mountains, which the *Gâznis* were obliged to pass, and stripped them of the inestimable spoils of *India*, which they were loaded with. These *Afghâns* expected to be called to an account by *Mahmûd*; but imagined ^e that the winter would secure them from his visit till spring. When spring came they proposed to retire to that part of the mountain which was least accessible: but in this they were mistaken; for the *Soltân* no sooner heard of this insult, than he assembled his best troops, and, notwithstanding the rigor of the season, entered the country of *Kandabâr* with such expedition, that he found the *Kliji* still in the plains, where they had divided their booty, and almost exterminated the whole race, except a few who escaped to the mountains. By these the province was again re-peopled; but so slowly, that till the reign of *Timûr Beg*, or *Tamerlan*, they had not recovered their strength ^d.

The *Abdollis*, who had quitted that country 200 years before, were not involved in the ^{The Abdollis} same calamity. They continued free and independent till the beginning of the 17th century; when the *Uzbek Tatars* having invaded the province of *Herât*, this tribe, tho' amounting to 30,000 families, was yet obliged to have recourse to *Shâh Abbâs I.* king of *Persia*: that prince, surnamed *The Great*, took them under his protection; and marching against the ^f

^b HANWAY'S Hist. Acc^t of the British trade, &c. vol. iii. p. 27. & seq.

^c Ibid. p. 28, & seq.

^d Ibid. p. 23,

(T) Founder of the dynasty of princes, named from him *Sammâniens*; who reigned over *Kborassân* and *Mazendân*, or *Great Patlâria*, in the 11th century.

(U) There is some defect here: for the other two tribes are not distinctly mentioned, unless we suppose them to be the *Afghâns* proper, and the *Abdollis*.

(W) In our author's text, named, by mistake, *Mahmûd*.

(X) *Viz. Gâznab*, not *Gâznavi*, as in our author. This last word implies of or belonging to *Gâznab*, and consequently is the Gentile name of this prince (who first assumed the name of *Soltân*), or of his successors. He is, in fact, named *Mahmûd Gâzni*, or *Gâznavi*, by the oriental historians.

enemy, soon obliged them to retire. Hereupon, the *Abdolis*, either thro' gratitude or necessity, became tributary to their deliverer ; on condition only, that they should be governed by none but a chief of their own nation.

*Revolutions in
Kandahâr.*

KANDAHAR was, at this time, subject to *Akber the Great Mogol*, who reigned in *Hindûstân*, to whom it had revolted, on some umbrage given by *Abbâs* to the sons of *Mirza Bayrâm* ^a, the *Persian* governor : but, on *Akber's* death, *Shâh Abbâs* recovered the province from *Jehân Ghîr* : and thus the whole *Afghân* nation, consisting of the *Klijis* and *Abdolis* (Y), were again united under the dominion of *Persia*. They continued in this state till the second revolt to the *Great Mogol* *Shâh Jehân*, under *Ali Merdân Khân* (Z), to secure himself, and treasure, from the griping claws of the bloody *Shâh Sefi* I ^b. This *Shâh*, it is presumed, recovered, and again lost, this fortress (A). However, it fell once more into the hands of the *Great Mogol* ; at which time the *Klijis* were no fewer than 50,000 families, divided into tribes of 10 or 12,000 each, and formed the principal part of the inhabitants. These people, according to their ancient custom, lived for the most part in tents, and fed cattle. Such as went to dwell in towns, were employed in the most servile offices. This, with the tribute which they paid for the right of pasturage, rendered them so contemptible, that the name of *Kliji* became a term of reproach among the *Kandahâr Indians*. The *Afghâns*, disgusted with this usage, sent deputies secretly to the court of *Persia*, to invite *Shâh Abbâs II.* to take possession of the province. On this invitation *Shâh Abbâs* raised a considerable army, and took that important fortress, in 1650. The *Shâh*, to reward their services, distributed gifts among their chiefs, and reduced the annual tribute. They continued faithful to *Abbâs*, and his two successors, till the cruelty and avarice of the *Persian* governors obliged them to petition *Shâh Huseyn*, as hath been before related ^c.

*Mir Weis's
character.
A. D. 1607.*

THE *Shâh* was inclined to have given orders in their favour ; but the friends of *Gourghin Khân*, by false suggestions, so prejudiced that prince against them, that the deputies were dismissed as the agents of turbulent and seditious people. *Gourghin Khân*, not content with having thus baffled their design, resolved also to let them feel his resentment : to effect which, he ordered *Mir Weis* to be seized and sent to *Ispâhân*. This was one of the most powerful persons of his nation ; and besides, being head of a tribe, was *Kalentar* (B), an office which added weight to his credit. But his birth, his generosity, as well as a certain graceful and popular air, joined to some indications of an ambitious spirit, were the cause of his being suspected as the author of the late disturbances : and as such he was represented to the court by the *Khân*, who added, that he was a turbulent man, and likely to foment new troubles, if not secured. Having thus gotten rid of the person from whom he apprehended any uneasiness, he disbanded his army ; only keeping his *Georgians* about his person.

*Accused, but
acquitted.*

MIR WEIS, quickly perceiving the disorders and factions at court, judged that he might draw some advantage from the posture of affairs. He first made it his business to get acquainted with the party which opposed *Gourghin Khân* ; at the head whereof were the steward of the king's household, and *Fatey Ali Khân*, master of the hunt (C), afterwards prime minister. These he soon made his friends, by his presents, which amounted to 30,000 *Tomâns* (D). As *Mir Weis* was neither *Feleuk* nor *Peleuk* ^a (the revolutions which *Kandahâr* had undergone having extinguished the animosities of the inhabitants), he easily made each of them believe that he was of his party, and gained his favour. Having taken such prudent measures, he was not afraid to demand an audience : in which he justified his conduct with so much address and eloquence, that the king, already prejudiced by some of his ministers, both acquitted and granted him his protection.

*Meditates a
revolt.*

MIR WEIS did not stop here : but as he had now free access to the *Shâh*, he resolved, if possible, to destroy his accuser. The better to conceal and compass his design, he always spoke of his enemy with respect ; but spoke in such terms of his power, and how much was to be feared from it, that *Huseyn* began to imagine, that *Gourghin Khân* had sent him to court

^a See next vol. p. 61.

^b Two factions, see before, p. 645.

^c See before, p. 623.

^e HANWAY ubi supra, p. 24, & seq.

(Y) The *Baliûchis* having, by their long separation, lost the name of *Afghân*, it is presumed were not included. *Hanway*.

(Z) This was in the year 1632.

(A) It was not recovered by *Shâh Saffi* or *Sefi*, but by *Shâh Abbâs II.* in the year 1650. See before, p. 630. *Shâh Jehân* endeavoured twice to recover it ; and *Aureng Zib* three or four times, without effect. See next vol. p. 114. *Aureng Zib* must have taken it after the death of *Shâh Jehân*, although the fact is not mentioned by authors ; and it continued in the hands of the *Mogols*, till recovered, during the distractions at court, about the year 1736. See next Vol. p. 124.

(B) *Kalentar*, or *Kalântar*, signifies the greatest, or Mayor, as *Kempfer* says ; that is, of a city. *Amœnit. exotic.* p. 141. This officer is however charged with collecting taxes, and sometimes acts as a sub-governor. *Hanway*.

(C) *Miri Shekâr Bashi*, or great huntsman.

(D) Or 75,000 pounds ; which sum was remitted to him by the *Afghâns* for the purpose, in 30,000 woollen shawls of *Termay*, a city in the territories of the *Great Mogol*. *Hanway*.

a only to get rid of a person, who too curiously inspected his conduct. His view in getting the Khan removed, was not only to be revenged on him as his enemy, but also to clear the way for rescuing his country from the *Persian* yoke; perceiving that there was scarce any-body else capable of obtruding his design. Farther, to give a legal sanction to his enterprize, and unite more effectually the *Afghâns* in his favour, he resolved to make the pilgrimage to *Mekka*, under pretence of religion, but in reality to obtain a licence for revolting¹.

As this journey removed him still farther from *Kandabâr*, his petition was granted, without any difficulty. Soon after his arrival at *Mekka*, he sent to *Medinab*, to desire the opinion of the chief doctors of the law, upon the following points: "1. Whether it was lawful for *Mussul-mâns*, restrained in the exercise of their religion by heretics, to take up arms, and free themselves from the yoke? 2. Whether their oath taken to a heretic sovereign was binding, when he did not observe the conventions which he had sworn to; but made them slaves to infidels?" After this he enlarged on the avarice and violence of the *Georgians*: observing, that many *Afghâns* had already changed their religion, merely to free themselves from this oppression. The reader is to understand, that of the two chief sects, named *Sunni* and *Shiay*, into which the *Mohammedans* are divided, the *Afghâns* are of the former; which is followed by the *Arabs*, *Turks*, and most other nations of that faith, excepting the *Persians*, and some *Uzbek* tribes. These two sects brand each other with the title of heretics; and this difference between them was the ground of *Mir Weis's* application, aggravated by the charge of being obstructed in the public exercise of their worship; which however was not true.

c THE *Mollabs* did not hesitate to give their sentence in the affirmative; and the pretended *Haji* or pilgrim, having obtained the *Fetfa* or *Fetva*, that is, the decision, returned to *Ispâ-bân*. Altho' this authority for rebellion could be of no service to him, till he should return to *Kandabâr*, yet he discovered no inclinations that way, waiting to see what time might produce; which soon declared in his favour: for not long after, there arrived on the frontiers of *Persia* an ambassador from *Russia*, with a numerous retinue. He was an *Armenian*, named *Israel Orîi*; and pretending to be descended from the ancient kings of that country, though originally a common soldier, dropped some hints that he did not renounce his right to the sovereignty. This report, tho' frivolous, was enough to alarm the *Shâh* and his ministers: and another, that he had threatened to get all the *Romish* missionaries expelled the kingdom, stirred up the *Europeans* against him, so far as to suggest, that the letters which he brought from the Christian princes were spurious. On this occasion, certain predictions, said to be preserved by the *Armenians*, were alleged, importing, that the kingdom of *Armenia* should be established one day, under the protection of *Russia*².

As idle as these reports were, yet *Mir Weis*, finding they obtained credit, resolved to make some use of them. He insinuated, that as *Georgia* bordered on *Armenia*, and that the inhabitants of both countries were allied by religion, those of the first would favour the pretensions of the ambassador, and *Gourghîn Khân* be encouraged to renew the attempt which he had lately made to recover the sovereignty of *Georgia*, which he laid claim to. The court was so terrified with apprehensions, on this occasion, that, but for fear of disobliging the Czar *Peter I.* *Hufseyñ* would not have suffered the ambassador to proceed to *Ispâbân*. Mean time the artful speeches of *Mir Weis* made such an impression on the timorous ministers, that they began to grow jealous of *Gourghîn Khân's* power; which being easily infused into the head of their weak prince, it was resolved to place some trusty person near him, who might watch over his conduct, and be able to make head against him, in case he offered to create any disturbance. By means of the prime minister, who was *Mir Weis's* friend, and the *Khân's* enemy, the former was chosen for the purpose: and, to increase his credit with the people, he was honoured with the *Kalaet* (E), as well as restored to his former employment.

MIR WEIS being returned to *Kandabâr*, about the end of 1709, was at a loss in what manner to acquaint his countrymen with his project, and engage them to assist him in the execution, when a favourable opportunity offered for the purpose. *Gourghîn Khân*, who had continued to treat the *Afghâns* with severity, was so provoked at the return of *Mir Weis*, that, as it were in opposition to the court, he resolved to do something to dishonour him. The method which he took, was to demand his daughter, esteemed the most beautiful lady in the province, for his *Harâm*. The *Afghâns* are averse to marry their females to persons of a different nation and religion, much more to their being treated as slaves. *Mir Weis* judged this a proper occasion to impart his long-concerted design to the principal men among them, whom he assembled in his tent. They all applauded his project, and promised to support him;

¹ KRUSINSKI's Hist. of the late Revolut. of Pers. vol. i. p. 150, & seq. HANWAY, ubi supra, p. 29, & seq.
² Ibid. p. 160, & seq. HANWAY, ibid. p. 36, & seq.

(E) *Khalaet* signifies perfect or accomplished; a robe of honour given by the king's orders. It is used also for any present of horses, arms, or the like, from a superior.

The *Turks* call this *Kaftân*; which word the *Russians* use for a coat in general.

“ swearing to suffer their wives to be torn from them, and their slaves to be set at liberty, if
 “ they did not perform their engagements. This oath they also confirmed upon bread, salt,
 “ their sabres, and the *Korán* !”

Dissembles
injuries.

A. D. 1709.

As soon as the assembly broke up, *Mir Weis* sent a young handsome girl, magnificently dressed, to the *Khân*, as his daughter. The deception passed the more easily, as women of rank are never seen by men till they are disposed of: and the *Afghán* chief, by bribing the governor's domestics, so far prevailed, as to obtain leave to appear in his presence. At this interview, he behaved with so much submission, that the *Khân* believed he had effectually humbled his most powerful enemy; and *Mir Weis* improved this opportunity so well by his assiduities, that he was reckoned among the number of his most intimate friends. Things being brought to the point he aimed at, the *Afghán* chief resolved to put his plot in execution. b
 Altho' the *Georgians* whom the *Khân* had retained about him, as before-mentioned, did not amount to 1000 men, yet being the bravest troops in the east, they were an invincible obstacle, to his design: but he removed it, by his address. He secretly engaged the chiefs of the tribe named *Tirin* to refuse to pay the usual taxes; on notice of which rebellion, the greater part of the *Georgians* were sent to suppress it. Mean time *Mir Weis*, who had directed his own tribe to approach within two or three leagues of *Kandabár*, invited the *Khân* to an entertainment in the camp; which the governor accepted the more readily, as that artful chief expressed more resentment than any body against the mutineers. On the day appointed for the feast, he caused many armed men to mix with the *Afgháns*, who were daily admitted into the town to do laborious offices; and gave them orders to stay after sun-set, when, the gates being shut, c
 strangers were obliged to depart.

Kills the
governor.

THE camp was designedly pitched near one of the governor's country-houses, the better to prevent suspicion. After the banquet, *Gourghín Khán*, oppressed with heat and wine, fell asleep in the same tent; as did his retinue in those whither the *Afgháns* had invited them to partake of the entertainment. When all was quiet, *Mir Weis*, at the head of 50 men, armed with spears, rushed into the tent, and slew him, after a brave resistance, in which he killed several of the assassins. The *Persians* and *Georgians* were all massacred at the same time, by their hosts. Their arms, cloaths, and horses, were distributed among the bravest of his tribe; and having himself taken those of *Gourghín Khán*, he marched to *Kandabár*. They arrived at the city an hour after sun-set; and the guards, deceived by those false appearances, opened d
 the gates, and were cut to pieces. The flower of the *Afgháns* soon coming up, were joined by those concealed in the city; and proclamation being made for the townsmen to keep within doors, where they should be safe, every soldier of the garrison, and person attached to the *Khân*, were, in a few hours, destroyed m.

The inhabi-
tants revolt.

NEXT morning the principal inhabitants being summoned, *Mir Weis*, in soothing terms, told them, “ It was not ambition, but a desire to free them from the slavery of their masters, which had moved him to take so bold a step: that *Gourghín Khán* was the only soldier among the *Persians*, who now dared not to besiege a fortress, which the Mogol emperors, with more troops than there were stones in its walls, had attempted in vain: that however, if there were any among them who had not courage to enjoy the precious liberty dropped e
 down to them from heaven, they should have free license to go in quest of some new tyrant, beyond the borders of that now happy state.” The inhabitants, not expecting such mild proposals, answered with loud applauses, and swore to stand by him with their lives and fortunes. *Mir Weis* exhorted his people to do nothing to offend the townsmen; and immediately gave orders for putting the place in the best posture of defence.

Defeats the
Georgians.

THREE days after, the *Georgian* detachment, ignorant of what had happened, coming back, loaden with the spoils of the rebels, they were suffered to approach within musket-shot, and then had the cannon of the town discharged upon them. At the same time *Mir Weis* marched out, at the head of 5 or 6000 horse, intending to cut off their retreat; but found them better trained to war than his *Afgháns*. Notwithstanding the great superiority of these f
 latter in numbers, who attacked them five times in one day, yet they were always defeated: so that the *Georgians*, after quitting their booty, fought their way thro' the country, for eight days; and, at last, forcing a passage sword in hand, passed the defile of *Zebil*. This narrow strait is on the side of *Persia*, as that of *Kabul* is towards *India*, they are only passes thro' the mountains which surround the province of *Kandabár*; and the acquisition of this defile (with the expulsion of the *Georgians*), was the only advantage which *Mir Weis* reaped from this expedition. That chief having learned now by experience, that valour alone is not sufficient in carrying on war, left troops to guard the defile of *Zebil*, and applied himself to discipline his men n.

R. fails to
negotiate

THE *Persian* court, reflecting on the difficulty of penetrating thro' the mountains with g
 an army, and the danger there was, that the *Afgháns*, if hard pressed, might surrender the

¹ HANWAY, *ibid.* p. 38, & seq.
² *ibid.* p. 184, & seq.

³ *ibid.* p. 44, & seq. KRUSINSKI, *ibid.* p. 183.

⁴ *ibid.* p. 48, &

a country a second time to the Mogol, resolved, before they had recourse to force, to try what could be done by negotiation. *Mohammed Jani Khân*, who was sent on this deputation, used all his rhetoric and art to prevail on *Mir Weis*, with whom he had been intimately acquainted, to return to his duty. As he added menaces to the fair promises offered by the court, the chief, afraid lest his discourse should affect the hearers, silenced him abruptly, "calling him a deceitful man, and upbraiding him with laying snares to entangle them," sent him to prison. By the confinement of *Jani Khân*, the court was ignorant of what had passed; and being uneasy, sent a second deputation. For this purpose, they chose the lieutenant of *Mohammed Khân*, governor of *Herât*; who, having performed the pilgrimage to *Mekka* in company with *Mir Weis*, the ministers judged he would be less suspected, and more acceptable to him, than the other. But when he had explained his commission, the *Afghân* chief told him in an angry tone, "That was it not for having been his fellow-traveller, and that he was unwilling to violate the laws of hospitality, he would punish him for offering to make such base proposals to men who were free." He added, "Slave to a king who is going to lose his sovereignty, listen to what I say: *The victory comes from God; and this victory is near* (F). The impure worship of the followers of *Ali*, hath too long infected the most fertile province of *Asia*: heaven has at length declared against the *Persians*. The *Afghâns*, who are charged with the Divine vengeance, will not sheath their swords, till they have destroyed this prince, and extirpated his nation." After this menacing speech, which seemed in some degree prophetic, *Mir Weis* contented himself with detaining the *Haji*.

The court at length perceiving that there were no hopes of recovering *Kandahâr* by negotiation, ordered the *Khân* of *Herât* to march against the rebels with 15,000 horse. *Mir Weis*, acquainted with the difference there was between the *Persians* and *Georgians*, with only 5000 horse, raised in a hurry, went to meet the enemy; who fled, on firing some field-pieces, and gave themselves up to slaughter. Two or three such actions, in the space of 18 months, emboldened the rebels, and so intimidated the *Persians*, that in September 1710, 5000 horse, under *Mohammed Khân*, governor of *Tauris*, were defeated by only 500 *Afghâns*, who killed and wounded above 1000 of his men, and took him prisoner, with three of his sons. The court on this sent 30,000 *Persians*, and 1200 *Georgians*, under the command of *Khozrof Khân*, nephew to *Gourghîn Khân*, and *Wâli* of *Georgia*, a proper person to revenge the cause of his countrymen. In November 1711, he encamped near *Farra* (G), a city not far from the rebels. Here he staid to inform himself of the strength of the enemy, and nature of the country. He likewise agreed to a negotiation; which proving of no effect, he advanced towards the straits of *Zebil*.

MIR WEIS, whose army was inferior in number to the *Khân's*, perceiving how difficult it would be for cavalry to act in those defiles, and being unwilling to make his men dismount, retired to the river *Belese*, three leagues distant. The *Persians* passed the straits, surprised to find them unguarded, and came to the river, which they crossed on horseback, led by their general. The *Afghâns*, astonished at their resolution, and being attacked with equal intrepidity, gave way, and retired in disorder. *Mir Weis* kept the field with his shattered troops, while the *Khân* marched on to besiege *Kandahâr*. The inhabitants affrighted, offered to deliver up the place, on condition to have their lives, liberty, and fortunes, preserved. But the general, elated with success, and urged by a thirst of revenge, imprudently sent them word, that they must submit at discretion.

THE *Afghâns* rejected such abject terms: and while the *Khân* besieged the town, the number of troops under *Mir Weis* augmented every day. The *Balochis*, inhabiting the province of *Mukrân*, to the south of *Kandahâr*, a fierce and warlike people, joined him, on his invitation; and the *Tirins* (H) resorted to him in great numbers. However, he chose to cut off their forage and provisions, rather than hazard any more battles, without necessity. The besiegers falling quickly in want of necessaries, the *Khân's* troops deserted in large bodies. The general then began to repent that he did not sign the capitulation; and seeing his army reduced to 10,000, resolved to retire. But it was now too late; for he had scarce begun to raise the siege, when *Mir Weis*, arriving with 16,000 men, to relieve the place, fell upon his troops; who, disheartened, fled at the first attack. The *Khân* finding his efforts to rally them in vain, and resolving not to survive the disgrace, rushed, with the few remaining *Georgians*, into the thickest of the enemy's squadrons, and bravely fighting, was slain. This was the most con-

^a HANWAY *ibid.* p. 51, & seq. KRUSINKSK. *ibid.* p. 188, & seq.

(F) A passage out of the *Korân*.

(G) A square town about half a league in compass, surrounded with a mud-wall, in a fertile well watered country. *Hanway*. 'Tis called also *Parra*, and is mentioned by *Tacredin*, and other travellers, particularly our *Saltuck* and *Cowart*, *Steel* and *Crozier*, to

be found in *Purchas's Pilgrims*. It lies in the road from *Isfahan* to *Kandahâr*, and has a great trade for silk.

(H) The *Balochis* and *Tirins* are mentioned before. The first are a branch of the *Afghâns*; the latter a tribe of the *Klijis*.

Mir Weis
made king.
A. D. 1713.

considerable shock which the *Persians* had yet received from the *Afghâns*: for seven days they were pursued, and so harrassed, that only 700 escaped either death or slavery^p.

A. D. 1715.

His death.

THE astonished court sent another army in 1713, under *Mohammed Rustan Khân*, who had no better fortune than his predecessor; and from this defeat, all the towns and strong holds, which had yet held out against the new government, submitted to them: so that the whole kingdom of *Kandabâr* fell under the dominion of the *Afghâns*. It is said, indeed, that the *Georgians*, ascribing the loss of so many expeditions to the cowardice of the *Persians*, in 1714, offered to subdue the rebels, provided their army should be composed only of troops of their own nation: but that *Husséyn*, afraid they might make a bad use of their success, rejected the proposal. However that was, the court having lost all hopes of reducing him by force, as well as negotiation, ceased to arm against him: so that this prince died peaceably in his new kingdom in the year 1715.

It may be said of *Mir Weis*, that he was no less circumspect in undertaking any enterprize, than resolute in the execution; and that his success was as much owing to his prudence as his valour. He had, for some time, assumed the title of king, with other ensigns of sovereignty, and ordered the *Kotbah* (I) to be made in his name. The inscription round his coin, in *Persian*, was, "The celebrated *Mir Weis*, emperor of the world, a most just prince, has caused this coin to be struck at *Kandabâr*, the place of his residence."

^p Idem. *ibid.* p. 54, & seq. KRUSINSK. *ibid.* p. 190, & seq.

^q *Ibid.* p. 57. KRUSINSK. p. 198, & seq.

(I) The *Kotbah* is a prayer read by the *Imâm* or priest of every *Mosque*, every *Friday* (which is their day of worship) in the afternoon, for the health of the king.

This is an essential mark of the acknowledgment of his sovereignty.

S E C T. III.

Affairs of Persia continued, to the dethronement of Shâh Husséyn, by Mir Mahmûd, Son of Mir Weis.

Succeeded by
his brother.

Resolves to
submit.

MIR WEIS was succeeded in the throne by his brother *Mir Abdollah*, whom he had appointed his successor, his sons being too young to hold the reins of government. But he never discovered so much want of judgment in any-thing, as he did in that choice: for *Abdollah* had neither his genius, his ambition, nor his resolution. Of this he soon convinced the *Afghâns*; for he was scarcely invested with the supreme authority, when he formed the design of restoring *Kandabâr* to the crown of *Persia* (K). The tribes were divided in their opinions about it: the aged and infirm, the peaceable and timorous, were for it, as fearing they were too weak long to withstand so formidable a power; and that a reconciliation was the only means to screen them from the resentment of their ancient masters. On the other hand, the military men, with those of youth and spirit, exclaimed against the project, as absolutely destructive. They alleged, "That after the provocations given, they could not depend on treaty-security: That as soon as the *Persians* had again gotten possession of the strong-holds, they would take signal vengeance for the losses and disgrace which they had suffered: That it was strange they should be disheartened by their victories, and fight for liberty only to become more slaves than before: That since their enemies dared no longer to invade them, they ought in their turn to take advantage of their weakness, and attack them; at least ought to enjoy the tranquillity they had obtained, so long as they saw no danger of losing it."

Slain by his
nephew,

HOWEVER, *Mir Abdollah*, finding his scheme approved of, tho' but by a few of the chief men, resolved to proceed in his design. His intention was to restore the city and province to *Husséyn*, on three conditions: 1. That the annual tax which the *Afghâns* paid before their revolt, should be taken off. 2. That no foreign troops should be sent into the province. 3. That the Shâh should grant the government of the kingdom to him, and his family, successively. Accordingly, instructions were secretly drawn up for deputies, to be sent to *Ispâhân*; and they had some reason to believe that their proposals would be agreeable to the court. But for all the care which they took to conceal this negotiation, which they knew was disagreeable to the majority of the tribes, it came to the knowledge of *Mir Mahmûd* (L), the elder of *Mir*

^r KRUSINSK. p. 202, & seq. HANWAY'S *Acc't.* of the British trade, &c. vol. iii. p. 58, & seq.

(K) *Mir Weis* may be, in some respect, compared to *Oliver Cromwell*; and *Mir Abdollah* to his son *Richard*. *Krusinski* puts his death in 1717.

(L) Miscalled *Mahmûd* by our author, and those whom he followed.

^a *Weis's* two sons. This prince, then aged about 18, sensibly piqued to see himself deprived of what he looked upon to be his right, by inheritance, thought this a proper occasion to shew his resentment. With this view, accompanied by about 40 of his father's friends, he went to the palace, which he made himself master of; and then entering the apartment where his uncle was asleep, killed him. The conspirators immediately proclaimed the new Soltân, with loud acclamations; and the people, alarmed with the sound of military instruments, flocked thither to learn the cause.

MIR MAHMUD made no difficulty to declare what he had done; but alleged, that his ^{Who is made} motive was the public good. As a proof of this, he read aloud the instrument, and other ^{king.} papers, relating to the treaty, which his uncle was going to conclude. This evidence, joined ^b to the signal proofs which this young prince had given of his courage, having almost from his infancy followed his father in all his expeditions, determined the people in his favour, especially the military men, whose suffrages being confirmed by the rest of the tribes, he was, with the general consent, proclaimed king of *Kandahâr*, six months after the death of his father ^c.

This young prince had scarcely ascended the throne, when several events happened, which ^{A. D. 1716.} seemed to presage the troubles his reign was to produce; at the same time they removed part ^{The Abdollis} of those obstacles, which stood in the way of his ambition. The family to whom ^{A. D. 1717.} *Abbâs the Great* had given the government of *Hafaray*, being extinct, his successors had subjected this province to the authority of a Khân or governor, who commanded in the province of *Herât*. The *Abdolls*, who had submitted to *Persia*, as hath been said, on condition of not being subjected to foreign governors, impatient any longer to lie under their yoke, resolved to follow the example of the *Afghâns*, and make themselves free. *Mohammed Zammân Khân*, the then governor of the province, pleased with the agreeable aspect of *Ezâd-allah*, son to the chief of an *Abdell* tribe, demanded him of the father: who, allured by lucrative views, used all his persuasion to engage his son to live with the Khân. *Ezâd-allah* heard the proposal with indignation; and finding his father determined to use his authority to constrain him, to avoid the force, in conjunction with some young men, like himself, was induced to kill him.

^d THE Khân, to punish the parricide, and prevent an insurrection, to be apprehended from ^{and Herât} so bold a step, ordered 500 horse to march against *Ezâd allah's* party; who met and routed ^{revolts.} them. The governor, shocked at this disgrace, assembled his troops at *Herât*, and marched towards the rebels camp. *Ezâd-allah*, now at the head of 2000 men, left one half in ambush, and with the other 1000 encamped on the river *Morgâb*. The Khân perceiving the enemy to be so few, charged them, without any precaution: when those in ambuscade so terrified the *Persians* with the shouts they made in falling forth, that they fled precipitately to *Herât*. *Ezâd allah*, transported by his youth and courage, followed them so closely, that he entered with them pell-mell into the town. As the inhabitants had all formerly been of the *Sunni* sect, and hated the extortions of the *Persian* governors, they joined with *Ezâd-allah* against the garri-son, who were put to the sword. In less than three months he got possession of the other places of the province. And thus *Herât* became an independent republic, in which its deliverer held the most considerable rank ^e.

THE revolt of *Herât* was followed by several other alarming incidents. In 1719, the *Kürds*, ^{Other provin-} a restless roving people, after wasting the country round the city of *Hamadân* (M), had the ^{ces fall off.} insolence to commit robberies under the walls of *Ispâbân*, and even to carry off many of the ^{A. D. 1719.} *Shâh's* horses. The *Uzbek Tatars* also, on the east side of the *Caspian* lake, taking this advantage of the distracted state of *Persia*, ravaged the north part of the vast province of *Khorassân*. At the same time the *Lesji Tatars*, inhabiting *Dâghestân*, on the west side of the same inland sea, to revenge the stoppage of 1700 (N) *Tomâns* subsidy, renewed their incursions into the province of *Shîrwân*, where they committed all sorts of outrages.

SHAH HUSSEYN, astonished to see so many provinces declare against him, at length roused ^{alarmed.} out of his lethargy. As the *Abdolls* and *Uzbeks*, who had entered into a confederacy, appeared to be the most formidable enemies, he resolved to make an extraordinary effort against them. The court having lost all their best generals, they made choice of *Seffi Kûli Khân*, who had, for several years, been *Divân Beghi*, or Lord Chief Justice of *Ispâbân* (O); but finding the king prejudiced by his enemies, resigned that employment, and retired. The Khân, sensible of the difficulties to be encountered with in so ticklish a commission, and the opposition he should find in the execution of it, from the prevailing faction, declined the offered honour: but the

^a HANWAY *ibid.* p. 60, & seq. KRUSINSK. p. 203, & seq.
HANWAY *ibid.* p. 61, & seq.

^c KRUSINSK. *ibid.* p. 208, & seq.

(M) This, and not *Tauris*, as generally supposed, is the antient *Eclatana* of the *Greeks*, and *Ametha* of the Old Testament.

(N) They make 4200 pounds.

(O) It should seem no more odd that *Asia* should have fighting Lord Chief Justices, than that *Europe* should have her fighting Bishops.

court hit on an artful expedient to engage him to accept of it. They invested, in a very a pompous manner, his only son, then but seventeen years of age, with the title of generalissimo; rightly judging that his father would accompany him in the expedition.

The Persians
overthrown.

THEY set out with an army of 30,000 chosen troops, besides a numerous train of artillery; and had scarce entered the province of *Herât*, when they met with a body of 12,000 *Uzbeks*, whom they cut to pieces. This first enterprize raised the courage of the victors: yet *Ezâd-allah*, at the head only of 15,000 horse, and without any cannon, did not fear to offer them battle. During the war there was not a more obstinate engagement: it began at sun-rise, and continued, without intermission, till one in the afternoon. The victory was still doubtful, when the *Persians* lost it, by the inattention of those who commanded the artillery. These officers, not having observed that their own troops occupied a post which the *Abdolis* b had just quitted, fired upon them, which put the whole army into such confusion, suspecting some treachery, that *Ezâd-allah*, taking advantage of a circumstance, the cause of which was perhaps unknown to him, made a vigorous charge on the *Persian* troops, who, after a faint resistance, fled. The victor, to make his blow complete, pursued them a whole day. They lost 8000 men, with their general, and his father, who were killed in the retreat; their baggage, the military chest, and twenty pieces of cannon. Of the *Abdolis* 3000 were slain ^u.

Bâhrayn
taken

HUSSEYN's armies being thus unfortunate, new enemies declared against him. These were the *Arabs* of *Maskât*, whole country lies along the *Arabian* coast, opposite to *Ormûs*. They are of a particular *Mohammedan* sect; yet nearer to that of the *Sunni* than the *Shiay*, and sub- c ject to an *Imâm* (P), or ecclesiastical sovereign, who has an absolute power over them. They had already taken *Bâhrayn* (Q), and threatened to attack *Bander Abbâsi* (R). *Fatey Ali Khân*, then *Etemâd-addawlet* (the prime minister), offered to march against them: but the king, fearing that the addition of the authority of generalissimo might make him too powerful, returned him thanks, and appointed *Luft Ali Khân*, that minister's brother-in-law, to com- mand the expedition. In the beginning of the year 1720, that general marched with his

A. D. 1720.

by the Maskât
Arabs.

troops to *Bander Abbâsi*; from whence, by contract with the viceroy of *Goa*, the *Portuguese* fleet was to transport his army to *Bâhrayn*. It consisted of four large vessels, fifteen pinks, and some other transports. But whether the *Khân* did not think this fleet strong enough to engage that of *Maskât* (S), or his enemies at court with-held the money, he did not pay the d sum which had been stipulated. The commander of the fleet proposed to send for a reinforcement; but finding the payment still refused, he prepared to sail back to *Goa*. Mean time the *Arabs* resolved to attack his fleet before any reinforcement came. The *Portuguese*s went to meet them at the mouth of the straits of *Ormûz*: but having lost a small vessel in the engagement, and not caring to run more hazard, they set sail in the night for *Goa*.

Mahmûd
seizes Ker-
mân.

LUFT ALI KHAN, thus deserted, instead of invading the *Arabs*, was obliged to defend the coast of *Persia* against their insults. Mean while *Mir Mahmûd*, finding that the distractions which then reigned in the *Mogol's* empire, secured him from any danger on that side, judged this a proper juncture to put in execution the design which his father had conceived of subduing all *Persia*. But to establish his reputation, by some signal exploit, before he would venture e to disclose his intention to the *Afghâns*, he resolved to make an expedition to *Kermân*. This project was approved of; and having raised about 10,000 choice men, he set forward on his march towards that province. In that part of *Sæjestân* (or *Sistân*) which separates *Kermân* from *Kandabâr*, there is a sandy desert to be passed, of fifteen days journey over; and although *Mir Mahmûd* took all the precautions necessary for supplying his troops with water, provisions, and forage, yet he lost 2000 men in the march, besides many beasts of carriage ^w.

^u KRUSINSK. *ibid.* p. 213, & seqq. HANWAY *ibid.* p. 63, & seqq. p. 67, & seqq.

^w *Ibid.* *ibid.* p. 217, & seqq. &

(P) Captain *Hamilton* says these *Arabs* are of the sect of *Ali*, that is *Shiay*: that they are very humane to their slaves, courteous to strangers (he speaks by experience), and governed by a king. See his new account of the *East Indies*, vol. i. p. 60, & seqq.

(Q) *Bâhrayn*, the dual of *Bâhr*, in *Arabic*, signifies, the two seas; so named from its situation in the *Persian* gulf. Captain *Hamilton* says they took it in the beginning of this century; but quitted it again, because the pearl-fishers, who are mostly *Arabs*, deserted it. But they returned afterwards, when the *Maskât Arabs* had withdrawn. *Ibid.* p. 74.

(R) This signifies the port of *Abbâs*. It was called

Gomrân, before the first *Shâh* of that name put it in its present condition, with the materials of the city of *Ormûz*, which he had demolished. It still bears the name of *Gomrân*. *Gomrân*, or *Laurân*, among *Europeans*.

(S) It is likely that both reasons concurred to hinder the payment, as the event shews. As to the strength of the *Maskât* fleet, we learn from Captain *Hamilton*, that in 1715 it consisted of one 74 gun ship, two 60 guns, one of 50, and eighteen small ships, from 32 to 12 guns each; besides some *trankis*, or rowing vessels, from 4 to 8 guns; with which they kept all the sea-coasts in awe, from *Cape Kowrân* to the *Red Sea*. New account of the *East Indies*, vol. i. p. 70.

a As soon as the *Afghâns* appeared on the frontiers of *Kermân*, the Khân, who had no troops *Driven out* to oppose them, fled; and left *Mahmûd* a free passage to the capital (T), which bears the same *again* name. Although the city opened her gates to him, yet he laid heavy contributions on all the inhabitants, and put numbers of them to cruel tortures. They had been four months under this tyranny, when *Luft Ali Khân* came and rescued them. He marched to their relief, as soon as he heard of the invasion, with some select troops, and put to flight the little army of the *Afghâns*; which news revived somewhat the spirits of the court, then newly arrived at *Tabiran*. The Khân fortified the citadel, and left a strong garrison in it: but whether to be revenged on his enemies at court, who had considerable estates there, or in order to maintain his army, he laid heavy contributions on the country, and quartered his soldiers b on the inhabitants at discretion, taking from them also their arms, horses, and camels.

In autumn the army marched to *Shîrâz*, the capital of *Pûrs* (or *Proper Persia*), the place *by* *Luft Ali Khân* of rendezvous. All the troops assembled there in *November*, and formed the best-appointed army which had been seen in *Persia* for many years. Every-thing seemed to presage the ruin of the *Afghâns*, against whom these preparations were making; when of a sudden the general was arrested, by an order from court, whither he was sent up prisoner, and the whole army at once dispersed. This sudden change was owing to the resentment of the lords whose lands he had lately ravaged. They judged by the credit which he had already gained with the Shâh, on account of his late victory, that their interest at court would be reduced very low, in case he should succeed in reducing *Kandahâr*; which, therefore, they were resolved to prevent: c but as this could not be done, so long as *Fatey Ali Khân* continued in his office, they first resolved to make a sacrifice of him*.

ACCORDINGLY, the king's great almoner and chief physician, who were in the plot, enter- *He is impris-* ing their sovereign's chamber, at midnight, informed him, that they had discovered a con- *-soned* spiracy contrived against his majesty, between the Etemâd-addawlet and *Luft Ali Khân*, who, supported by the army, and a body of 3000 *Kûrds*, were that night to seize his person, with all the royal family. In proof of this, they produced a letter, written, as they said, by the prime minister, with a counterfeit of the royal seal upon it: at the sight of which the deluded *Shâh Huseyn* swooned away. As soon as he came to himself, in a council of some principal eunuchs, who were in the plot, the *Kurchi Bâshi*, or general of the household troops, d was commanded to break open the prime minister's house, and bring the king his head, in case he made any resistance. He was roused out of his sleep, and obeyed the order: but, as soon as he was brought to the *Kurchi Bâshi*, he had his eyes plucked out (U), and was put *Prime minister* to the torture; under pretence of obliging him to discover the plot, but in reality to force him *blinded*, to discover his effects (W), which the eunuchs expected would be confiscated in their favour. At the same time messengers were on every side dispatched to secure that unfortunate minister's relations and friends, especially his son-in-law *Luft Ali Khân*; who being decoyed by the governor of *Shîrâz* into that city, was there closely confined; on which his fine army disbanded, as before related.

MEAN while preparations were making to defend the city against the *Kûrds*, and other *by a court plot*, e forces, who were hourly expected: but as soon as day-light came, and *Shâh Huseyn* saw that no enemy appeared, this deluded prince began to suspect that his ministers had imposed on him. He severely reproached the informers; and, as soon as the Etemâd-addawlet was recovered of his wounds, he held a Divân, in which he presided himself, to examine into that minister's conduct. That unhappy lord made his defence with great force and resolution. But although he pleaded his cause so movingly, that the king was convinced of his innocence, and wept for his own hasty judgment, yet it was thought fit, out of policy, to confine him in the castle of *Shîrâz*, with the allowance of a considerable pension; in which state he died two years after. All who had been confined on his account, were restored to their estates; and *Luft Ali Khân* discharged out of prison, only refunding the plunder taken by him f on the frontiers*.

THE *Lesji* had, in 1719, with a body of more than 30,000 men, in the night, surprised *The Georgi-* the Khân of *Shamakhiya*, in *Skîrwân*, with an army of 40,000. On this occasion, the Khân *ans disgusted* was slain, with a considerable part of his troops: but understanding that *Vushtanga*, Wâli of *Georgia*, had gotten together 60,000 men, and concluding it was to punish them for the

* KRUSINSK. p. 220, & seqq. HANWAY ibid. p. 71, & seqq.

† Ibid. ibid. p. 223, & seqq. &

(T) It is famous for the beauty of the fashies and stuffs made there. The wool of which they are made, is allowed to be the best and finest known; and draws thither many *Indian* merchants. *Hanway*.

(U) Or rather put out, by drawing some red hot piece of metal before his eyes.

(W) His estate, by his own acknowledgement, amounted to 900,000 Tomâns, or 2,250,000 pounds sterling.

ravages made in his territories, in his absence, they sent to implore the clemency of *Shâh Huseyn*, and intreat him to interpose his authority in their favour. The chief Mullah and physician reflecting, that a son-in-law of the late prime minister was brother to *Vashtanga*, were afraid lest this prince, after defeating the *Lesji*, might attempt to oblige the court to punish them for their iniquitous conduct. They therefore alarmed the Shâh with dangers from the *Georgian* prince; and then counselled him, that the only way to prevent them, was to grant a peace to the *Lesji*, and order the Wâli to forbear hostilities. This was done in such an imperious tone, that *Vashtanga*, already on his march, ordering the courier into his presence, drew his sabre, and swore he would never fight again in the service of his king, or in defence of *Persia*.

Bâhrayn restored.

A. D. 1721.

THIS treaty, with the restitution of the island *Bâhrayn*, for 8000 Tomâns (or 20,000 pounds), seemed to promise tranquility to *Persia*, especially as the *Afghâns*, intimidated by their late defeat, were ready to come to an accommodation; and *Douri Effendi*, the *Turkish* ambassador, whose arrival alarmed the timorous *Huseyn*, had assured him, that his master was determined to observe the peace. In *April* the court was informed, that the *Abdolis* had made such bold incursions, that *Herât*, and its dependencies, if not secured, would soon be obliged to submit; and that the 26th of the same month, *Tauris*, the second city in *Persia*, and capital of *Azerbijân*, was destroyed by an earthquake, with near 100,000 of the inhabitants. *Shâh Huseyn* returned to *Ispâhân* the first of *June*: towards the end of which, the sun disappeared for ten days, and gave little more light than when totally eclipsed; the horizon being covered with a red cloud. The astrologers being consulted, some predicted an earthquake like that at *Tauris*; others a general conflagration, by fire from heaven. The affrighted Shâh was weak enough to quit his palace, and lodge in tents; while the inhabitants, following the example of the king, and his court, all the gardens and public squares were filled with people².

The *Lesji* conquer *Shîrwân*.

THE *Lesji*, freed from their fears of *Vashtanga*, and confiding in his oath, unmindful of their obligations to *Huseyn*, in spring 1721, made an irruption into *Shîrwân*, with 15,000 men, under Soltân *Ibrâhîm* and *Dawd Beg*, their chiefs. Their pretence for this revolt was the disgrace of *Fatey Ali Khân*, who had been condemned, they said, only because he was descended from their antient sovereigns. After over-running the flat country, they sat down before *Shamakhiya* the 15th of *August*, in hopes to take it by favour of the inhabitants, who were mostly *Sunni*. The governor *Huseyn Khân*, apprehensive of the danger from them, made the best defence he could without rallying; but, after twenty-five days siege, those of that party found means to open one of the gates to the enemy. The governor, who too late endeavoured to escape, being pursued, was taken, and put to the acutest tortures, as they imagined he had buried his treasures. Whether he had or not, he confessed none; for which reason the barbarians cut him in pieces, with his nephew and another of his relations, whose bodies they threw to the dogs. They put to the sword 4000 *Shiay*, and plundered the foreign merchants. They soon became masters of the rest of *Shîrwân*; and then passing the *Kûr*, defeated 40,000 *Persians* under the Khân of *Iriwân*, who shut himself up in *Ganjr*, where they besieged him.

So many misfortunes on the back of each other completed the consternation of the court; and *Shâh Huseyn*, like all weak princes, who impute the fatal effects, naturally resulting from their own misconduct, to the wrath of heaven, bent his whole attention to appease it, by acts of humiliation and prayer; while his wicked ministers, who had brought down all those evils, instead of being put to death for their crimes, were still continued in the management of public affairs.

The *Afghâns* take heart.

THE defeat of the *Afghâns* before *Kermân*, and the preparations which *Luft Ali Khân* was making for the siege of *Kandabâr*, had so disheartened them, that they waited only for his approach to sue for peace: but, when they heard that he was imprisoned, and his army disbanded, their courage returned; and *Mîr Mahmûd* recovered his credit, which had been sunk, with the people. The first thing he did was to raise troops, and put the province in a good condition of defence. When this was done, the thoughts of invading *Persia* revived in him afresh; and the feeble state, which that country was in at that juncture, flattered his hopes. The province of *Kandabâr*, *Herât*, *Sablestân*, *Makrân*, and *Dâghestân*, had thrown off the yoke; *Sâjestân*, *Kermân*, and the greater part of *Khorassân*, had been laid waste, while the dispersion of *Luft Ali Khân's* army, and the oath of the Wâli of *Georgia*, rendered *Persia* intirely defenceless³.

Mahmûd sets out.

THESE arguments, accompanied with proper acts of liberality, soon brought the *Afghâns* to enter into his views. Fifteen thousand presently enlisted themselves under his banners;

² KRUSINSKI'S *Revol. Pers.* vol. i. p. 266. & seqq. HANWAY *ibid.* p. 81. & seqq. vol. ii. p. 1. & seqq. & p. 93. & seqq.

³ *Ibid.* *ibid.*

a and no sooner did the news of the intended expedition reach the neighbouring states, than the *Abdolis, Balochis*, with the inhabitants of *Kabul*, and the adjacent parts, flocked to him. These made an army of 25,000 men (W); with which crossing the desert of *Sajestán*, with the same fatigue as he had done the year before, towards the beginning of *January*, 1722, A. D. 1722. he reached *Kermán*. The city being peopled mostly by *Parsís* (X), and *Indians*, who considered them as friends, soon submitted: but all his attempts against the citadel were baffled by the strength of the place, and bravery of the garrison. This distracted him. He saw, that if he persisted in the siege, he should destroy all his army; and that, to break it up, would prove his utter disgrace. He was thus reduced to the brink of despair, when the governor, either disheartened by such vigorous attacks, or for want of provisions, offered him b 2,500 *Tomâns* (or 6,250 pounds) to withdraw his forces. The proposal was accepted with joy: and *Mahmûd*, having recruited his loss of 4,000 men, in the march and in the siege, with *Parsís*, who are numerous in *Kermán*, took the road to *Yazd*, about seventy leagues distant, through a sandy country. As soon as he arrived, he assaulted the city on every side; but, being repulsed with loss, would hazard no more. He therefore proceeded forward, resolving nothing should stop him till he arrived at *Ispâhân*, which was his reason for taking the roads least inhabited.

At length, having passed through the plains, which lie between the cities of *Pabunavens* and *Biben*, he entered the cultivated country, which the people deserted for fear. Here he defeated some troops of observation, and went on: but, when within four days march of the capital, he was met by two officers deputed by *Mohammed Kâli Khân*, then prime minister. By these he was offered 15,000 *Tomâns* (or 37,500 pounds), on condition that he should neither proceed any further, nor ravage the territory of *Ispâhân*. *Mahmûd*, judging from hence of the weakness of the court, dismissed the deputies without giving them an answer, and advanced hastily to *Gulnabâd* (Y): a village within three leagues of that city, where he pitched his camp^b.

This unexpected visit of the *Afghâns*, at a time when the court was wholly unprepared to receive them, threw the ministers into the greatest consternation. However as something must be done, they collected the few troops which were at hand; and to these they joined the militia, raised in a hurry in the city and the neighbourhood. A *Divân* was called to deliberate on measures; but, as in times of distress, when unanimity in sentiments is most necessary, the pusillanimity of some, and wickedness of others, generally create perplexity, so the council was divided in opinion. The prime minister was for intrenching the army, to cover the town, and not hazarding a battle. He urged, "that, by this means, the militia would be emboldened, and the provincial troops have time to join them; that, if the rebels attempted to force their lines, they would be fought to advantage; and, if they continued unactive in their camp, it would be easy to cut off their provisions." On the contrary, *Abdallab Khân*, *Wâli* of *Arabia*, treating the *Afghâns* as slaves, and with the greatest contempt, was for attacking them without delay; insisting, "that the honour of the king and of the nation was concerned to chastise their insolence."

e This last advice was approved of, and the 7th of *March* the *Persian* army appeared within sight of the enemy's intrenchments, but did not engage them; the 8th being fixed for the attack by the court astrologers. The centre consisted of 8000 of the king's troops, one half foot, covered by twenty-four pieces of cannon, under *Shaykh Ali Khân*; the right wing formed of 2000 *Kûlams*, or king's slaves, was commanded by *Rostam Khân*, brother of *Vashtanga*, *Wâli* of *Georgia*. It was strengthened with 3000 *Arab* horse by the *Wâli* (Z) of *Arabia*, who shared the general command with the prime minister. This minister headed the left wing, composed of the king's household, and was joined by *Ali Merdan Khân*, *Wâli* of *Lori-stân* (A), with 500 horse. They had besides 18,000 infantry of militia armed with muskets; in all near 50,000 fighting men.

f MAHMUD's army, consisting chiefly of horse, were not above half that number, armed with a sabre and lance: many of them carry pistols also. Their defensive weapons are a buckler and cuirass, made of hard leather doubled. They were divided into four bodies: the right wing, which was most numerous, under the command of *Aman Ola*, a native of *Kâbul*; who, from a *Darwîsh*, choosing a military life, joined *Mahmûd* as an ally with a large body

^b KRUSINSK. *ibid.* p. 7, & seqq. HANWAY *ibid.* p. 98, & seqq.

(W) According to *Krusinski's* account, vol. ii. p. 12, he left *Kandahâr* with about 54,000 men, and lost 14,000 before *Kermân*.

(X) *Parsî* is the name by which the old *Persians*, who worship the fire as an emblem of the deity, are distinguished at present. Many of them are settled in *India* about *Serât*.

(Y) This name signifies *conserve of roses*.

(Z) He is called in *Krusinski*, *Machmet* (or *Makmet*) *Wâli*.

(A) A mountainous province, belonging now to *Kûrdestân*, by colonies from whence it was peopled. *Beran-gerât* near *Hamadân* is its principal fortress.

of troops, on condition of sharing equally the fruits of their conquests. *Mahmúd* was in the second division or centre; he gave the third to *Nazr Ollab*, a *Parsi*, one of his lieutenant-generals; the fourth and least numerous of these bodies were select *Pehlaváns*, or *Nessakchi* (B). He, in some measure, supplied the defect of cannon, which his quick march would not permit him to bring, with a kind of harquebusses which carry a handful of musket-balls. Each with its stock was carried on the back of a camel trained for the purpose^c.

of a general;

THE *Persian* troops made a very brilliant show; while the *Afgháns* appeared all in tatters, and disfigured with fatigue, in consequence of so long a march. The two armies looked at each other most part of the day; and the prime minister would fain have acted on the defensive: but the opinion of the two other generals prevailing, they began the battle, by attacking with their forces the left wing of the *Afgháns*, with such impetuosity, as flung them into disorder. At the same time, the Wáli of *Arabia*, taking a great sweep to the right, overthrew all he met, and seized the enemy's camp. *Mahmúd*, who observed whatever passed from a throne raised on the back of an elephant, began to think all was lost; and it is likely that had been the case, if the Wáli had returned directly, and charged the enemy in the rear. *Mahmúd*, terrified at the danger, was preparing for flight, and had ordered the lightest of his dromedaries to be made ready for him, when a new turn of fortune in his favour gave him new courage. The prime minister, seeing both armies engaged, charged the enemy's right wing with great bravery. *Aman Ola*, who commanded it, on this made a feint of giving way, and retired orderly about fifty paces; then, commanding his men to open their ranks of a sudden, 100 camels appeared kneeling with harquebusses on their backs: from whence a general discharge being made, most of the foremost rank were killed; and the rest, being vigorously attacked by the *Afgháns*, turned their backs.

and Persia distressed.

AMAN OLA, without giving the *Persians* time to recover themselves, pursued them to their battery, which he came behind; and having cut 2000 cannoneers, who guarded it, to pieces, caused the artillery to be pointed against the centre of the *Persian* army, who were thus put to flight before they had fought a stroke. The Wáli of *Lorestán*, and some Kháns, finding things grow desperate, withdrew with their troops to their respective provinces, leaving none to oppose the *Afgháns* but the *Kúlár Agáfi*. This general had already cut part of the opposite wing in pieces, and pushed the remainder as far as their intrenchments, when *Mahmúd*, advancing to take him in the rear, the *Persians* dispersed; so that the brave officer, after a desperate defence, was slain with 400 *Georgians* who stood firm to him. The Wáli of *Arabia*, who all the while remained in the *Afghán* camp, and would neither attack the enemy's rear, nor send succours to the generals in distress, who demanded them, had, by this time, taken the road to the town, loaded with *Mahmúd's* treasure, and the plunder of his camp. But the treasure, artillery, and baggage of the *Persian* army, made ample amends. Thus were the *Persian* generals and their best troops sacrificed by the treachery of a villain (C), whom yet the misguided king still confided in. His army lost 15,000 men (D): that of the *Afgháns* but an inconsiderable number^d.

Husseyn proposes to retreat.

ON this occasion the king called a council, in which, for once, he spoke with proper dignity and strength: for, after representing the danger his person would be exposed to, if he suffered himself to be besieged in a city destitute either of fortifications or provisions, he added, "It is not for my own security that I propose to remove: a prince, who is afraid to die with his subjects, is unworthy to rule over them. But the greater part of the provinces obey me. Their fate is connected with mine: for the rebel will be master of the empire as soon as he has my person in his power." The prime minister confirmed the king's remarks, and advised his majesty's retiring that night to *Kasbín*; where, being at full liberty to act, he might easily assemble an army to raise the siege. He added, that the loss of *Ispáhan* would be only the loss of one city: whereas, if the king should continue there, the loss of it would draw on the loss of the monarchy. This speech seemed to convince the greater

^c KRUSINSKI, *ibid.* p. 17, & seqq. HANWAY, *ibid.* p. 101, 104, & 98. & p. 105, & seqq.

^d *Ibid.* *ibid.* p. 30, & seqq.

(B) The *Afgháns* give this name to their forlorn hope. *Hanway*. *Pehlaván*, or *Pahalarván*, signifies in *Persian*, a brave and valiant man, or, as we say, a hero.

(C) *Krusinski* says, he was not the traitor then, but the *Persian* general.—This *Arab* prince, by religion a *Sunni*, whose father, thirty years before, had attempted to throw off the *Persian* yoke, either held a correspondence with *Mahmúd*, or was governed by the pernicious maxims of those generals, who, to prolong their own authority, do not choose to terminate a war, when it is in their power to bring things to a fortunate issue, for their sovereigns and their country. As generalissimo.

he had 50 Tománs, or 125 pounds, a day. *Hanway*, p. 123.

His villainy was punished afterwards by *Mahmúd*; not by death, but by imprisonment for life, and confiscation of his estate. He was the only minister or officer who escaped with life, of those who betrayed their king and country. He was hereditary prince of *Khuzestán*, the ancient *Susiana*, called by the *Arabs*, *Abwáz*, after its capital city. *Ibid.* p. 151.

(D) *Krusinski* says but 2000, and the *Afgháns* as many.

a part of the assembly: when the Wâli of *Arabia*, who had so basely betrayed his trust that very day, and yet, by a strange fatality, was continued in his office, stood up; and, speaking of the *Afghâns* as a contemptible gang of robbers, said, that to quit his capital would not only stain the honour of the Shâh, but dishearten his subjects; and open the gates to the conqueror, sooner than the force of arms.

THE boldest opinion prevailed over the most prudent. *Shâh Huseyn*, now ashamed to abandon *Ispâhân*, resolved to stay and defend it. New levies were made, the walls repaired, and intrenchments thrown up in places most exposed. The Wâli of *Arabia* was made governor of the city; and he of *Lorestân*, generalissimo of the armies. The provincial troops were sent for up; and *Huseyn*, now sensible of his imprudence in affronting the Wâli of *Georgia*, sent pressing letters, accompanied with magnificent presents, to persuade him to march to his assistance.

THE king's affair might still have been retrievable, had the same care been taken to order things within, as had been taken to order them without the city. But there they failed egregiously: for the people from the country were permitted to come into the city, and every person forbidden under pain of death to stir from thence; although there were no magazines of provisions in the place.

MEAN time *Mahmûd*, rather astonished at, than encouraged by, his victory, was so irresolute what course to pursue, that he neglected to carry off the cannon which had been taken in the battle. The vast extent of *Ispâhân*, and number of troops within it, made him judge the siege would hold out till the governors should arrive with their forces to crush him. On the other hand, he thought that he could neither with honour nor safety abandon the enterprise. His mind was thus wavering, when his spies brought him an account how matters stood in the city, and the consternation it was in. This made him resolve to push on his fortune before the enemy had time to recover themselves. With this view he began his march. The *Persians*, who imagined, from the artillery being abandoned by the *Afghâns*, that they had no intention to besiege *Ispâhân*, were surprised to find their whole army encamped on the 12th of the same month near *Shîrestân*, a town not far to the eastward. This motion so terrified them, that they abandoned the strong but magnificent palace of *Farabâd*, built at immense expense by *Huseyn*, three miles from the city; a place which might have served as a fortress to incommode the enemy. It was deserted (on the 17th) in such a hurry, that they left all the cannon behind, which the *Afghâns* took possession of on the 19th.

MAHMUD, being now advantageously posted, resolved to retrieve the time which he had lost by his late irresolution; and, accordingly, the same day appeared before *Julfa*. This is a colony of the *Armenians*, only a mile and half south of *Ispâhân*, on the south bank of the *Zenderûd*, or *fresh river*, along which it extends almost three miles. The great privileges granted them by Shâh *Abbâs* I. who founded the town, began by degrees to be diminished by the court; and, in the reign of *Huseyn*, fell into contempt. Under this oppression industry declined, and the spirit of commerce, for which they had been so long distinguished, left them. These people, though merchants, yet brave and warlike, were willing to assist their oppressors against the rebels: but the ministers, who had injured them so much, that they were afraid to trust them, instead of employing, at this very time disarmed, them. For all this new provocation, and though almost stripped of their arms, yet they bravely withstood *Mahmûd's* first assault, in expectation of succours from the Wâli of *Arabia*, who yet broke his word with them; and even hindered *Sefi Mîrza*, the Shâh's eldest son, from proceeding to their relief. So that it was thought to have been *Huseyn's* intention, by advice of this general, to sacrifice *Julfa* to the safety of *Ispâhân*; imagining that the *Afghâns* would be content with the wealth which they should find in that place, whose inhabitants were suspected of corresponding with the enemy.

WHILE the *Armenians* were preparing against a second assault, a breach was made in the earthen wall by means of an elephant, after it had been pierced by a *Parsî*, by favour of the night; and the *Afghâns* took possession, waiting only for daylight to enter. As soon as the besieged had discovered what had been done, they ransomed their lives and effects by a contribution of 70,000 Tomâns, or 175,000 pounds. *Mahmûd* afterwards demanded a certain number of young virgins, to be picked out of the most considerable *Armenian* families. All the young women above nineteen years of age, who were remarkable for their beauty, being produced, fifty were selected, and conducted to *Farabâd*, adorned with their richest clothes and jewels. There they were presented to the conqueror, who kept part for his own Harâm, and distributed the rest among his principal officers. The disconsolate mothers made *Julfa* resound with their lamentations; and some of those young maids were so shocked at their

^c HANWAY, *ibid.* p. 111, & seqq. & seqq.

^f KRUSINSK. *ibid.* p. 24, 37, & 54. HANWAY, *ibid.* p. 113,

misfortune, that they died with excessive grief. But who will say, that any *Barbarians* are a incapable of compassion, or the sense of feeling for others, when he is informed, that the *Afghâns* sent home those who discovered most affliction, and suffered others to be ransomed by their parents? so that very few remained (E) in that kind of slavery.

and pillaged.

HOWEVER they were inexorable in regard to the contribution. The *Armenians* pretended they had not the money ready, but offered their bond. In this they overthot the mark. As soon as *Mahmûd* got it in his possession, he insisted upon their paying what money they held in their hands as part; and thereupon ordered their houses to be searched. It was then they saw their error; but it was too late to retrieve it. Their silver, jewels, and furniture, were carried off and sold. The plunder amounted to more than the sum demanded, altho' valued at 20,000 Tomâns (F). They had recourse to tortures to make the principal persons discover b their effects; but none could withstand it, except *Dominic Jacques Kardians*, a man of weight and figure, who would confess nothing. To avoid this tyranny, many retired to *Ispâhân*; among whom were the *Armenian* bishop, and the *Romish* missionaries. But *Mahmûd* put a stop to this desertion, and prepared to besiege that city *.

State of Ispâhân.

ISPAHAN, including its gardens and suburbs, is computed to be twenty-four miles in circuit. It was then in its highest pitch of splendor, and esteemed the most large as well as magnificent in all *Asia*. It contained 600,000 inhabitants, besides about 100,000 more, who resorted thither on occasion of this invasion. It stands in a plain to the north of *Zenderûdb*, which separates it from *Julfa*, and is covered with four bridges. The largest and most beautiful is that of *Julfa* (G); 360 geometrical paces long, and thirteen in breadth. The two extremi- c ties are flanked by four round towers, with a covered gallery, which ranges the bridge on both sides, and is finely ornamented. It is joined by two causeways made with a gentle descent to a double row of trees, 3000 paces long. This delightful alley, lined with terrasses and plane trees, is called *Char Bâgh*, or the *four gardens*. It is terminated by a large pavilion, erected in the royal garden, named *Hazar-gerib*, or *thousand acres*. The bridge of *Abbas-abid* is about one mile and a half to the west of the former, and belongs to the suburbs (H) of that name. The bridge of *Barbarowi*, not quite so far from that of *Julfa* to the east, nor much inferior in architecture. About one mile further eastward is the bridge of *Sbirîz*, near which is the village of *Shabrestân* before-mentioned.

The city attacked.

SUCH was the disposition of *Ispâhân*; before the ramparts of which *Mahmûd* ordered some d troops to present themselves, the same day he entered *Julfa*. The 21st of *March*, he proposed to make a general assault: but the *Zenderûdb* being swelled, nothing passed but some shots on both sides, at the bridges. The besieged, who observed the faint motions of the *Afghâns* from the tops of their terrasses, began to take heart; which *Mahmûd* being informed of by his spies, on the 23d caused the bridge of *Sbirîz* to be attacked. This was done with such resolution, that the *Persians* gave way at once; and the *Afghâns* would have entered the city with them, if they had not been stopped by *Abmed Aga*, a brave white eunuch, now governor of *Ispâhân*, who came up with some veteran troops, and drove them back to the middle of the bridge, which was cleared of them by some cannon from a neighbouring battery (I). *Mahmûd* might have been undone, if the Wâli of *Arabia* had fallen upon him at e the same time with his troops: but this treacherous general sacrificed every thing to his sinister views *.

Mahmûd proposes peace.

MAHMUD, despairing of success from the vigorous defence of the *Persians*, and fearing another repulse would dishearten his soldiers, resolves to make proposals of peace. He had the better colour for this, as the king, some time before, had offered him a large sum of money, with the sovereignty of *Kandabâr*; and also to cede to him the province of *Haffaray*, but refused to grant him one of his daughters in marriage (K). It was this refusal which determined him to lay siege to *Ispâhân*, at a time when he was thinking how to secure an honourable retreat. He now resolved to make proposals of peace on his own part, which were for the Shâh to grant him one of the princesses, with a portion of 50,000 Tomâns, or f 125,000 pounds; and, besides acknowledging him sovereign of *Kandabâr* and *Kermân*, which he already possessed, to yield him likewise the province of *Khorassân*.

* KRUSINSK. *ibid.* p. 37, 47, & seqq. HANWAY, *ibid.* p. 118, & seqq. b *ibid.* *ibid.* p. 48, 56, &

(E) This remainder was afterwards, when they got other *Persian* women, sent home. See *Hanway*, p. 126.

(F) Or 50,000 pounds, in part of 175,000.

(G) It is called also the bridge of *Allah Werdî Khân*, from the Khân who built it.

(H) It is the largest as well as most beautiful of all the suburbs of *Ispâhân*, of which *Julfa* is reckoned to be one.

It is described by *Chardin*, with the rest, in his voyages, 4to. tom. iii. p. 68, & seqq.

(I) Played off by one *Jacobi*, a *Courlander*, who from a cartwright was made an officer of the artillery. *Hanway*.

(K) To this vain refusal the loss of all was owing.

a THESE terms being rejected as dishonourable by *Huseyn*, who besides flattered himself, from the slow progress of the *Afghâns* hitherto, that the provincial troops would have time to come to his assistance, *Mahmûd* proposed to obtain by famine what he no longer hoped for by force: and having secretly renewed his alliance with the Wâli of *Arabia*, sent out several parties to ravage the district of *Ispâhân*. This fruitful plain contained about 1000 villages built by *Abbâs the Great*, and peopled from several provinces; most of which they subdued, killing most of the men, and carrying away most of the women and children, so that five or six fell to every soldier's share. Thus he cut off provisions from the city, and filled his own magazines.

b MEAN time he amused the *Persians* with negotiations, and recruited his army out of those who followed his camp, making the prisoners supply their places. His next view was to open a passage over the river, which he did by favour of an accident: for the last day of *April*, hearing that the *Georgians*, who guarded the bridge of *Abbâs-abid*, had received a quantity of spirituous liquors, he sent 1500 men to attack them. As the *Afghâns* found them so drunk that they could not stand, they were cut to pieces, hardly making any resistance. Thus masters of this important post, part of the army filed over the bridge, and spread themselves all round the city. Guards were placed at the principal passages; and scouts ordered to march continually from one post to another; so that *Ispâhân* was the same day intirely invested. The besieged, alarmed at this success, insisted on liberty to march out and attack the enemy, which they had long solicited. This indeed was the only expedient left; the c *Etimâd-addawlet*, or prime minister, and most of the grandees, were of this opinion; so was the king himself. But the *Arabian* Wâli, who had still an ascendant over his weak mind, persuaded him to wait for the succours, which he expected without ever receiving¹.

FOR the governors of the provinces believing themselves able, each separately, to beat the *Persians* rebels, had refused to serve under *Ali Merdân Khân*, Wâli of *Lorestân*, who, at the head of 10,000 men, waited for them to join him at *Honsâr*. *Kassum*, Khân of the *Bakhtiarians* (L), was the first who appeared with 12,000 horse; and, without joining the Wâli, advanced towards *Ispâhân*: but *Aman Olla*, who kept the field with a flying camp, falling on him unexpectedly, put his forces to flight, after killing 2000 on the spot. A greater misfortune still than this followed presently after. The Wâli of *Lorestân* had amassed a great quantity d of provisions, and designed to convoy it into *Ispâhân*, by forcing one of the posts of the rebels: but while he was abroad making new levies, one of his brothers, who had before supplanted him in his command of Wâli, corrupting part of the troops, joined the Khân of *Hamadân*, and marched with his convoy towards the city. These two chiefs had 6000 men, and hoped to join the troops of *Kokbilân* on their march. Instead of this they fell in with the *Afghâns* under *Aman Olla*, who defeated them; but he stained his victory by his cruelty and breach of faith: for, though part of the *Persians* laid down their arms, on promise of quarter, yet he saved only those from whom he expected ransoms, suffering the rest to be massacred in cold blood. Above 3000 fled, among whom was the brother of the Wâli. But he did not long escape punishment; for *Ali Merdan Khân*, provoked at e an action which defeated the chief hopes of the empire, sacrificed this unnatural brother to his own resentment, and to the public vengeance.

AMAN OLLA however did not enjoy the fruits of his success; for the inhabitants of *Ebn* *Ispâhân* (M), a town situate on the side of a hill, three miles from the city, assisted by others, fled thither for shelter from the neighbouring places. These having received intelligence, that the *Afghâns* were on their return much fatigued, and, without observing any order, attacked them with such fury, that they put them to flight, and seized on their baggage, as well as recovered the convoy. *Mahmûd* was so provoked at this disgrace, that he immediately set out with a body of horse, and overtook them before they got home. But these peasants gave him such a resolute reception, that, after cutting part of f his troops in pieces, they obliged him to turn his back, and leave them a considerable number of prisoners, among whom were his uncle, his younger brother, and two of his cousins. Who will say, that a regular militia are not fit to defend their country and possessions, when undisciplined peasants can perform such exploits*?

MAHMUD, at his wit's end for this fresh disgrace, but more on account of his captive relations, sent to intreat *Shâh Huseyn* to interpose in their behalf. This prince, who expected an

Rejected by the Shah.

Besieges Ispâhân.

Persians defeated.

Disgrace of the Afghans.

Mahmûd in despair.

¹ KRUSINSK. *ibid.* p. 27, 61, & seqq. HANWAY, *ibid.* p. 124, & seqq. & p. 127, & seqq.

* *Ibid.* *ibid.* p. 67, &

(L) *Bakhtiâr*, in *Persic*, signifies *happy*. These people inhabit the east part of the desert west of *Ispâhân*: they live mostly in tents, and are divided into two tribes, called *Chabor Ling* and *Esh Ling*. They pretend to have

embraced Christianity under *Constantine the Great*. Their Khân resides at *Honsâr*. *Hanway*.

(M) That is, the *Son of Ispâhân*; as much as to say, *Little Ispâhân*.

accommodation, sent an officer of his court to *Ebn Ispâhân*: but he arrived too late; for a he saw their bodies fixed on stakes. This they told the officer was to revenge the late perfidious slaughter committed by the *Afghâns* in cold blood. *Mahmûd*, however, who would not allow of the law of reprisals in a case which so sensibly touched him, in his turn ordered all the *Persians* in his power to be massacred; and forbade his soldiers from thenceforth to grant any quarter to the enemy. After this he fell into a kind of despondency: and, having reinforced the guards of the bridge of *Abbâs-abâd*, with the other posts, and leaving only a small garrison in *Julfa*, he ordered the remainder to return to *Parabâd*, as if he intended to secure his retreat.

All advantages lost.

A. D. 1722.

THE fate of the empire was then in the king's hands. He might easily have recovered the bridge of *Abbâs-abâd*, and forced those posts which were too far asunder to support each other; or, if he had but made a motion that way, it is likely the enemy would have abandoned their several stations, and, instead of besieging, been besieged themselves. The *Armenians* of *Julfa*, though accused of favouring the rebels, gave notice of their consternation; and offered to put the garrison to the sword as soon as they should see the king's troops in action. The troops indeed had his orders to act; but the *Wâli* of *Arabia*, by his affected delays and neglects, gave the *Afghâns* leisure to provide for their security. In short, after wasting time without doing any thing, he led the troops back into the city; pretending the forces he expected to join him did not come up, and that he could not depend on the promise of so suspected a people as the *Armenians*. This step saved *Mahmûd*; and the defeat of the *Khân* of *Kobkîlân* soon after, who out of 10,000 men lost 2000, revived his hopes; while the refusal of *Vashtonga*, *Wâli* of *Georgia*, to assist the Shâh, which at this time arrived, completed the despair of the court: for, being deprived of this hope, they had no other left, since they found that the provincial governors would not submit to the authority of the *Wâli* of *Lorestân*.

Tahmâsp Mirza

SHAH HUSSEYN now thought it high time to enter into measures to prevent the whole royal family from being involved in one common ruin. This monarch had 14 sons and four daughters. Three days after the battle of *Ghulnabâd* he had declared *Abbâs Mirza*, the eldest, his successor to the throne, and resigned the government into his hands. This young prince, being of a warm temper, and disdaining to dissemble, began his administration with ordering the *Wâli* of *Arabia*, the first physician, and some other persons of figure, to be put to death; and happy would it have been, if his orders had been executed. Instead of that, they prevailed on his infatuated father to shut him up again in the *Saray*, where the princes are always confined. *Sefi Mirza*, the next, was substituted in his place, but returned to the same prison about a month after, as being judged too weak to govern. The third brother, who was thought to have had too much devotion for a king, being overlooked, *Tahmâsp Mirza*, the fourth, was, towards the end of *May*, acknowledged presumptive heir of the crown (N)¹.

escapes to Kâf-bîn.

THE king resolved to send this young prince out of *Ispâhân*, as well to take from his generals all pretence for not assembling under his command, as to secure the succession. He set out the 21st of *June* in the night, escorted by 300 chosen horse from the gate *Tokchi*. The *Afghâns* posted to block up this avenue, were commanded by *Mohammed Amîr*, surnamed *Asbrâf Soltân*, son of *Mir Abdallah*, whom *Mahmûd* had deprived of his throne and life in *Kandahâr*. This young prince, dissembling the aversion which he had conceived against his father's murderer, behaved with so much valour and prudence, that at length he gained his confidence, as well as the esteem of the whole army. This post was the best guarded, as by this passage the city could most conveniently receive succours; but weakened by the detachment made from the army under *Aman Olla*, which at this time consisted of no more than 100 men. This small body, being vigorously attacked by the prince's convoy, was defeated, and lost 30 men.

THIS escape of the heir to the crown threw the *Afghâns* into a consternation, expecting his return quickly at the head of an army; and *Mahmûd*, in his fury, said, it would be to little purpose to reduce the capital, since there would be still a prince able to dispute the throne with him. As for *Asbrâf*, he accused him of corresponding with the enemy, and condemned him to death: but this young prince justified his conduct so effectually before an assembly of the principal officers, that they acquitted him; and *Mahmûd*, disguising his jealousy (O), restored *Asbrâf* to his employments.

¹ KRUSINSK. *ibid.* p. 71, & seqq. HANWAY, *ibid.* p. 130, & seqq.

(N) This prince's right name is *Tamâshch*, which, in the ancient *Persic*, signifies *most pure*. HANWAY. The true spelling is *Tâmâsch*, or *Tâmâsch*, as hath been remarked before.

(O) It is likely he wanted a pretence to cut him off; for, we are told, that *Mahmûd's* mother, who

was extremely fond of this young lord, had by her intreaties saved him more than once from the cruelty of her son. As this last had neither children nor brother, of a proper age to succeed him, *Asbrâf* might be considered as his heir: and this is urged as a reason why it is not likely that he was false to his trust.

a MEAN time *Tabmâsp Mirza*, having reached *Kasbîn*, spared no pains to compass his father's delivery: but, as authority is an empty name where there is no force to support it, so neither his orders nor entreaties could prevail. Thus the king scarcely received any assistance from near 50,000 regular troops, which were quartered on those frontiers (P). The feudatory princes, being less interested than the natural subjects in preserving the monarchy, shewed but little zeal on the occasion; and many considered the distress of the sovereign as a proper opportunity to recover their independency. In short, the Wâli of *Lorestân*, seeing the impossibility of assembling an army, marched back from *Honsâr* to his own country. *Tabmâsp* still hoped to find more submission in the *Shâb Seven* (Q); but, having summoned this militia, most of the lords pretended they were not obliged to march, unless the king b commanded in person; and the small number furnished by the rest, consisted only of peasants ill kept and ill paid, who took the first opportunity to disband^m.

At *Ispâhân* provisions daily grew scarcer; and, as every body saw that there was no way to procure any but by opening a passage for the purpose, the people insisted on having the posts of the enemy attacked. But when any persons applied to the king, he referred them to the Wâli of *Arabia*; and this general flattered them with hopes of the prince's return. It is true, he sometimes marched out to avoid their importunities: but he immediately came back without attempting any thing, under the idle pretext that his astrologers declared, that the hour was not favourable. Growing tired with these evasions, in the beginning of July they assembled in a tumultuous manner, demanding, that *Shâb Hufseyñ* should come forth, and lead c them against the enemy. He let them know by some officers, that he would give his answer next day: but, the populace insisting that he should appear himself, the eunuchs dispersed them by firing some muskets from the palace. Such provocation at this time might have occasioned a general insurrection, if *Abmed Aga*, governor of *Ispâhân*, had not put himself at the head of a body of veteran troops, which, with the people who joined him, made near 30,000 men. With these he marched out of the city, followed by the Wâli of *Arabia* and his *Arabs*. A. D. 1715

THIS gallant eunuch immediately fell with great impetuosity on one of the enemy's principal posts, which he forced, and would have maintained his ground, altho' part of the rebel army came to its assistance, if he had not been deserted by the Wâli of *Arabia*. *Abmed*, provoked at such infamous behaviour, ordered his men to fire on the *Arabs*; and *Tabmâsp Khân* d to attack them. The *Afghâns*, taking advantage of this dissention, vigorously charged the *Persians*, who, being almost hemmed in, were obliged to abandon the post and retire. Thus the opportunity was lost of bringing in the convoy of provisions from *Ebn Ispâhân* by the treachery of the Wâli: yet *Hufseyñ* was so deluded by his artful discourse, as to impute the misfortune intirely to *Abmed Aga*; and not only refused to hear his defence, but took the government of the city from him. The faithful eunuch, unable to survive this disgrace, a few days after died, whether by grief or a dose of poison, is uncertainⁿ.

ALL hopes of succours were now vanished; and the besieged, already pressed by famine, deserted in crowds, altho' the *Afghâns* slew all the *Persians* who fell into their hands (O). Whether the *Shâb* at length began to suspect the fidelity of the Wâli of *Arabia*; or hoped to change his fortune by changing his general, he offered the command of his troops to *Luft Ali Khân*: but this lord finding the forces so weak, that he could not rely on them, and warned by what he had already suffered from the intrigues of the ministers, he constantly refused to accept of it. *Hufseyñ*, therefore, in despair, either of receiving any succours from abroad, or any relief from his people within the walls, resolved to renew the negotiations which the enemy had set on foot at the beginning of the siege. He sent the *Kurchi Bâshi* to *Fabrâbâd* to offer *Mahmûd* the terms which he had demanded, namely one of his daughters in marriage, with 50,000 Tomâns (or 125,000 pounds), and the sovereignty of the provinces of *Khorassân*, *Kermân*, and *Kandahâr*: but that prince, too well acquainted with the state of affairs, now rejected them d with disdain, answered almost on the same terms he once did in a like occasion, "The king

^m KRUSINSK. p. 79, & seqq. HANWAY, *ibid.* p. 134, & seq.

ⁿ HANWAY, *ibid.* p. 137, & seq.

(P) *Shâb Soleyman*, the predecessor of *Hufseyñ*, maintained 130,000 men on the frontiers, without reckoning his household troops, which were 14,000 men. *Krusinsk. Hanw.*

(Q) That is, the well-affected to the king. This militia is very little different from that of the *Zaims* and *Timariots* in *Turky*. It was established by *Abbas the Great*, and consisted of persons chosen among the nobility, to whom he gave lands, on condition that they should lead a certain number of their vassals into the field when the *Shâb* should require them. This body, which at that time amounted to 300,000 men, was the

last resort in any extremity, or sudden danger. But as, under the late reigns, very little care had been taken to oblige the holders of those hereditary possessions to discharge their duty, they no longer looked on them in any other light than as legal estates. *Krusinsk. Hanw.*

(O) About this time, *Krusinski*, the Jesuit, author of the memoirs from whence part of this history is compiled, obtained leave to remove to *Julfa*. Two other missionaries of the same order attempted to escape with the French consul to *Shirâz*. One of them was killed with some other Europeans; but the consul, tho' wounded, escaped with several others of his little troop.

“ of Persia, said he, offers me nothing which is in his disposal; this prince and the prin- a
 cesses are already in my power: he is no longer master of those three provinces which he
 offers me. The fate of the whole empire is now to be decided between us.”

A governor's
disloyalty.

THUS things stood, when news came that *Meluk Mahmúd*, governor of *S. j. fán*, was arrived at *Gulnabád* with 10,000 regular troops. This event raised the hopes of *Sh. b. Huseyn*, and threw the *Afghán* prince into despair. The siege had already cost him 2000 men: and he concluded, that the forces within the city, when joined by the *Sajestán* troops, would be an overmatch for him. He therefore thought it the best expedient to tempt the fidelity of his new enemy. *Nazr-Ullab* was dispatched to *Gulnabád* with such magnificent presents, as rather betrayed the fear than expressed the liberality of the donor: but they dazzled the eyes of *Meluk* too much for him to perceive it; and the offer of assistance to invest him in the sovereignty of any province he should choose, determined him at once to agree to the proposal of *Nazr-Ullab*, who, at the same time, gave him to understand, that the empire being attacked on every side, and the capital at the last extremity, could not avoid its approaching ruin. *Meluk Mahmúd* made *Korassán* his choice, as lying near *Kandahár* and *Herat*, from whence, in case of need, he might be readily assisted; and, having concluded the treaty, set out to take possession of his new dominions °.

Completes
Huseyn's
ruin.

MASHHAD (P), the capital of that country, was then in the hands of the *Abdallis* and *Uzbeks*; who had taken it by storm after a few days siege. But whether they had no further view than to pillage, and had abandoned it, or the thing was concerted with the *Afghán* prince, *Meluk* was received on the 20th of November; and, as *Ismael Khán*, governor of the province, unable to oppose him, had retired to *Kashin*, the other cities of *Khorassán*, knowing he was a *Shiay*, made no difficulty to acknowledge him for their sovereign. The defection of this general put an end to all *Huseyn's* hopes of relief; and, his treasure being now exhausted, all the gold and silver plate in the palace was carried to the mint. When this was gone, his last shift was to borrow considerable sums on his jewels of different merchants (Q). At length, the latter end of September, when there was neither money nor provisions left, this unfortunate prince ordered his ministers to go and treat for a capitulation.

He submits to
Mahmúd.

As *Mahmúd* had it in his power to command what terms he pleased, he might have finished the negotiation at once: but this would not answer his views. He saw that he could not be safe in *Ispáhán*, so long as the inhabitants were greatly superior in number to his troops. He might indeed have destroyed them at once by a general assault, as his chief officers advised him, but he was either afraid of losing part of his best troops, or the great riches of the place by the plunder of the soldiers. He resolved therefore to destroy them by famine before he signed the treaty; and, for this end, lay still within his lines during the last two months of the siege. What heart can, without the utmost horror, reflect on the dreadful effects of this artful conduct! In August, horses, mules, and other beasts were so excessive dear, that none but the king and principal lords, or wealthiest inhabitants, could afford to eat of their flesh. Dogs and other unclean animals were consumed in a few days. And when the bark of trees, leaves, and leather, the food which succeeded, failed, they were obliged to have recourse to human flesh. Never was so much of it eaten in any siege; and, when dead bodies were not to be found, they sometimes murdered their fellow-citizens, or children, to appease their raging hunger. Many, rather than prolong life a little by such shocking means, chose to poison themselves and their families. The streets, the squares, and very gardens of the palace, were strewn with dead, which the living had not strength to bury. The water of the river was so corrupted with carcases thrown into it, that it could not be drank; and, in a less wholesome climate (R), the few remaining people must have been destroyed by the infected air. It was in vain to fly to *Julfa*; all who attempted, men, women, and children, excepting the *Armenians*, were sure to meet with death °.

Sets out of Is-
páhán,
A. D. 1716.

MIR MAHMUD, having at length agreed to terms, on the 21st of October, *Sh. b. Huseyn*, clad in mourning, went out of his palace on foot, and walked through the principal street of *Ispáhán*, bewailing aloud the misfortunes of his reign, which he imputed to the bad counsels of his ministers. He endeavoured to comfort the multitude, who surrounded him, with the hopes of their meeting a better fate under a new government; while the people, pierced with

° HANWAY, *ibid.* p. 139, & seq.

° *Id.* *ibid.* p. 141, & seq.

(P) That is, the place of martyrdom, so called from *Imám Ridha*, or *Riza*, one of the twelve *Imáms* who was slain and buried there. Its proper name is *Fás*, or *Tows*. The great *Abbás* made it a place of pilgrimage, to divert the *Persians* of the *Shiay* sect from repairing to *Mashhad Ali*, near *Hellab* in *Irakamí*, which carried much wealth out of the kingdom.

(Q) Especially the *English* and *Dutch*, which last lent him 340,000 crowns.

(R) Mr. *Hanway* says, that the air of *Ispáhán* is remarkably rarefied; and that it resembles much that of *Madrid*, as he had been assured by a Jesuit who lived many years in both cities.

a grief, lamented the disgrace to which they beheld their good-natured prince reduced, after a reign of 23 years. *Huseyn*, having thus taken his leave of his subjects, the next day sent plenipotentiaries to sign the capitulation, by which he obliged himself to resign the empire, together with his person, and principal officers of the court, into the conqueror's hands. On the other side, *Mahmûd* engaged that no ill treatment should be offered, either to the king, the nobility, or any of the inhabitants. The 23d *Mahmûd* sent horses for the king and his court; who, having sacrificed five camels (S), mounted on horseback accompanied with about 300 persons, among whom were the Wâli of *Arabia*, the Etimâd-addawlet, a brother of the Wâli of *Lorestân*, and the principal lords of the court. They moved on slowly, with their eyes fixed on the ground; and the few inhabitants, who had strength to attend this mournful b cavalcade, expressed their grief by a gloomy silence.

It was now past noon, when two couriers arrived to give notice to the grand master of the ceremonies (T) of *Mahmûd*'s court, that the king was drawing near. To humble the *Persians* still more, the same couriers were sent back with orders to the Shâh, to halt at the foot of a hill near the camp, under pretence that *Mahmûd* was asleep: thus the unhappy *Huseyn* was treated with marks of servitude, even before he had quitted the ensigns of royalty. He tarried about half an hour at the place prescribed, and then, obtaining leave to continue his march, he arrived at *Farâbid*, where the *Afghân* chief had his head quarters. The grand master of the ceremonies introduced him into a hall, at the corner (U) of which *Mahmûd* was seated, leaning on a cushion of cloth of gold. The king advancing towards the middle of c the chamber, saluted him, saying, *Salâm aleyokom*, that is, *All hail* (W). The *Afghân* then rose up and returned the salute with the same compliment. After which, the Etimâd-addawlet conducted the Shâh to another corner on the left of *Mahmûd*, where a like place was prepared for him.

THE king, being seated, opened the conversation by saying, "Son, since the great sovereign of the world is no longer pleased that I should reign, and the morning is come which he hath pointed out (X) for thee to ascend the throne of *Persia*, I resign the empire to thee with all my heart: I wish that thou mayest rule it in all prosperity." At the same time he took the royal plume of feathers (Y) from his *turbân*, and gave it to *Mahmûd*'s grand Wazîr. But that prince refusing to receive it from his minister, the king stood up, and, d taking it again, fastened it himself to the usurper's *turbân*, who still continued sitting, saying, *Reign in peace*: after which he retired, and sat down in his place. Coffee and tea were afterwards served up, when the *Afghân* prince, taking these liquors, addressed himself to the Shâh after this manner; "Such is the instability of human grandeur: God disposes of empires as he pleases, and takes them from one nation to give them to another: I promise to consider you always as my own father; and I will undertake nothing for the future without your advice." After these words, *Huseyn* was invited in another apartment which had been appointed for him; and 4000 *Afghâns* were ordered to take possession of the royal palace, and the gates of the city. Thus the dynasty of the *Seffis*, or *Safi*'s, ended in the person of e this prince, the 10th successor of *Ismael*, its founder, after having lasted 223 years¹.

f This prince was ruined by the incapacity and negligence of his ministers, corrupt through avarice, and divided into factions from ambitious views: which is always the case, when, through the weakness or indolence of the sovereign, the administration of affairs is left wholly to the management of his favourites, who seldom have either virtue, knowledge, or capacity, for government.

It was some consolation however to the *Persians*, in their afflictions, to see those traitors punished who had corresponded with the enemy, or otherwise contributed to the ruin of the state, through neglect, ignorance, or party quarrels. They were all put to death, excepting some few whose estates were confiscated, and themselves sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. The thing most to be regretted is, that, among those few were the Wâli of *Arabia* (Z), the chief physician, and the chief eunuch, who deserved to die by the most exquisite tortures. At the

¹ HANWAY *ibid.* p. 143—149.

(S) Perhaps the only camels he had left. Mr. Hancarley, or his author, says, they were killed without any ceremony; nor does he know for what purpose this sacrifice was ordered. That of one camel, prescribed by the laws, should have been made at *Âshka* the 10th of the preceding moon.

(T) *Estâ A. dî.*

(U) The corner is the most honourable place in oriental countries. It is also the most commodious, as it is the only one in which a person can lean on both sides on the cushions which are placed round the walls.

(W) This compliment is seldom made, but to persons of the same persuasion in religion. It is the highest expression of respect.

(X) These words are conformable to the *Mohammedan* doctrine of predestination.

(Y) This plume of feathers is called *Jiga*, and is the mark of sovereignty.

(Z) It is thought, *Mahmûd* had taken an oath not to put him to death. *Kryfnyk*, vol. ii. p. 101.

same time that the traitors were punished, the Etimâd-addawlet, *Luft Ali Khân* (A), and other faithful ministers, were not only spared, but raised to posts of honour and trust by the conqueror.

WHAT person, who reads the history of this strange revolution, will any more wonder at the conquest of *Mexiko* by *Cortes*; who, besides his *Spaniards*, skilled in the art of war, and armed with cannon as well as muskets, was assisted by 100,000 *Tlaskallans*, a nation of *Indians*, equally as brave as the *Mexikans* themselves?

(A) Although he had always avoided entering into any engagements prejudicial to the interest of his late sovereign, yet *Mahmûd* hoping to win him, loaded him with favours. In Dec. 1723 he fled with design to serve

Tabmâsp; but being taken at *Ebn Ippâhân*, and brought back, *Mahmûd* in his rage hewed him in pieces. *Krusinski*. p. 172.

S E C T. IV.

An account of the Afghân princes, and descendants of Shâh Hufseyn who usurped the Persian crown during his imprisonment, till the death of Kûli Khân.

Mahmûd ascends the throne.

A. D. 1685.

THE 27th of October, being the day appointed for the *Afghân* prince to ascend the throne, *Mahmûd* marched out of the camp towards the city, preceded by a numerous train both of horse and foot. The deposed king rode on his left side; they were followed by the principal officers of his conqueror's court; and after them came those of *Hufseyn's*, mixed with the croud of *Afghân* officers. The whole closed with 100 camels, each carrying an arquebus, 600 musicians, and 6000 horse. As soon as they had passed over the bridge of *Sbirâz*, the *Shâh* was conducted across the gardens of the palace to the place of his confinement; *Mahmûd* thinking it impolitic to lead him in triumph through the city. The inhabitants received him with the honours of a king, spreading the street with carpets, and filling the air with perfumes. The guns on the camels were often fired; and in the intervals, ten *Afghâns*, at the head of the procession, pronounced loud imprecations against the followers of *Ali*.

THE new monarch, being arrived at the palace, mounted the throne, and was a second time saluted king of *Persia* by the captive *Hufseyn*, brought for that purpose. After which he received the oath of allegiance from the princes, ministers, and grandees, as well as chief officers and citizens. The artillery of the town and citadel proclaimed this news to the people; and the ceremony concluded with an entertainment given by the *Soltân* (which title *Mahmûd* assumed) to the deputies, who, in the name of the whole city, came to acknowledge his authority.

His prudent conduct.

SOLTAN MAHMUD began his reign with great lustre, and displayed the abilities of a consummate statesman. He confirmed the *Persian* officers in their employments, only associating with each a colleague of his own nation. He left no other post, except that of a *Divân Beghî*, intirely to an *Afghân*; and administered justice with so much rectitude, as soon reconciled the *Persians* to his government, which they found far preferable to that of their own ministers under *Shâh Hufseyn*. He likewise gave content to the consuls of *European* nations, who were confirmed in their privileges. He indeed reduced the late *Shâh's* train of women and eunuchs to five of each: yet shewed a great regard for this prince, whom he consulted on every occasion; and omitted nothing to make him easy under his misfortunes. He gave one of his daughters in marriage to his own *Mianghî* (B), in imitation of *Hufseyn*, who had bestowed another on the *Sedr Al Sberibab*, or chief justice, and married the youngest himself. This induced the dethroned monarch to ratify his abdication by a circular letter, and enjoined all his late subjects to acknowledge the victor's authority.

Kazbîn taken and recovered.

MEAN time *Tabmâsp Mirza* having assumed the title of *Shâh* at *Kazbîn*, the new king took that pretext to levy money for carrying on the war. He demanded of the citizens 120,000 *Tomâns* (C), and taxed the chief physician, who had been one of the prime instruments of *Hufseyn's* ruin, at 20,000 (D). With these sums he sent to raise new forces at *Kandahâr*; but the officer employed for that purpose, was defeated, and the money seized by the governor of *Banda*, a fortress in *Sejestân*. *Aman Olla*, who was dispatched with 10,000 troops against *Kazbîn*, took that city, from whence *Tabmâsp* fled to *Taceris*, in December. But the avarice of the general, and the licentiousness of his soldiers, caused the inhabitants to rise, in January 1723, and drive them out again.

^r KRUSINSKI'S Revol. Pers. vol. ii. p. 98, & seqq. HANWAY'S Trav. vol. iii. p. 148, & seq. ^s Idem ibid. p. 10, & seqq. HANW. ibid. p. 150, & seq.

(B) The *Mianghî* is the same whom the *Turks* call *Misri*.

(C) Or 300,0000 pounds sterling.
(D) Or 50,000 pounds.

^a THE *Afghâns* lost 1600 men in the action at *Kazbîn*; and *Aman Olla* was wounded with a *Mahmûd's* musket ball in the shoulder. *Mahmûd*, much alarmed at this disaster, caused public rejoicings ^{cracly.} to be made at *Ispâhân*, as if his troops had gained a victory. However, to prevent the like ^{A. D. 1723.} danger in that metropolis, he caused the ministers, lords, and other *Persian* chiefs, to be massacred at an entertainment which he made for that purpose. Two hundred youths of the first nobility of *Persia* and *Georgia* were brought from the academy, and cruelly butchered. Three thousand men of *Hufseyñ's* troops, whom he had taken into pay, underwent the same fate. This was not all; for he ordered his soldiers to put every man to the sword who had at any time received either salary or pension from the *Shâh's* exchequer; which execution lasted fifteen days. After this, he secretly put to death a great number of the inhabitants of *Ispâhân* ^b able to bear arms, and extorted large sums of money, not only from the *Persians* and *Armenians*, but from the *English*, *Dutch*, *Indians*, and other foreign merchants.

WHILE *Mahmûd* was employed in slaying the people, and taking the towns in the neighbourhood of *Ispâhân*, *Shâh Tahmâsp* remained at *Tauris*, giving himself up to pleasures, and ^{Tahmasp's} neglecting his affairs, for which, coming raw from the *Harâm*, he had no capacity. He removed *Vashtangâ*, *Wâli* of *Georgia*; and hearing that *Mahmûd* was marching against him with 10,000 men, sent *Feridûn*, *Khân* of the *Kürds*, against him with 8000 choice troops; but they were defeated, and 2000 slain. The loss of this battle was attended with the loss of *Makon*, and also of *Gulpaygân* (E), a town situated to the west of *Kashân*. The *Soltân* after this returning to *Ispâhân*, left the command of his army to *Zeberdest Khân*. ^{indolence.}

^c MEAN-time his dominions were attacked by two other powers much more formidable than *Distressed by* the *Afghâns*; the *Russians* on the north, and the *Turks* on the west. *Soltân Ahmed III.* ^{Russia;} envying the progress made by the *Czar*, who had subdued *Daghestân* and *Darbend*, would fain persuade him to abandon his conquests in *Persia*, in which he wanted to have the sole footing. But the *Czar* proceeding in his design, enters *Khilân*, or *Ghilân*, which submits to him; as did *Georgia* soon after to the *Turks*. *Shâh Tahmâsp*, being thus oppressed on all sides, sends one ambassador to the *Porte*, and another to *Petersburg*. The *Turks*, pretending to be offended with his applying to a *Christian* power for assistance against the *Afghân* rebels, rejected his proposal. The true reason was, that it was deemed a sin to assist heretics against true believers: ^{and the} the *Persians* being *Shi'ay*, and the *Afghâns*, *Sunni*, of which sect the *Othmâns* are. ^{Turks.} The *Shâh's* ambassador succeeded better in *Russia*, where a treaty was signed the 23d of *September*; by which it was agreed, that the *Czar* should drive the *Afghâns* out of *Persia*, and re-establish the government. On the other hand, *Tahmâsp* was to yield to the *Czar* the towns of *Darbend* and *Bâkû*, with the provinces of *Ghilân*, *Mazanderân*, and *Astarabâd*.

ABOUT the same time *Luft Ali Khân*, on whom favours had been heaped by the new king, fled from *Ispâhân*, with design to join the *Shâh* in *Tauris*; but being discovered by the people ^{Luft Ali} of *Ebn Ispâhân*, who had lately submitted to the *Afghâns*, they delivered him up to *Mahmûd*, ^{Khân slain.} who, in a rage, hewed him in pieces. What gave this prince much more uneasiness, *Aman Ollab*, being recovered of his wound, demanded the performance of his contract at setting out from *Kandahâr*, which was to divide with him the conquests made in *Persia*, on account ^{A. D. 1687.} of the assistance given in the expedition. As that general was exasperated at *Mahmûd's* delays, *Aman Olla* hearkened to the instigation of his lady, a daughter of the late *Shâh's*, who advised him to ^{discontented.} join his forces with those of *Shâh Tahmâsp*, and expel the usurper. *Aman Olla* set out in *December*, pretending to march for *Kandahâr*: but when *Mahmûd* understood, that he had changed his route, he followed him with all the forces which he could collect; and overtaking him, won him over once more with promises.

AFTER this, he joined *Zeberdest Khân*, to whom *Kashân* had just then submitted: but the joy of this success was allayed by the death of *Nasr Ollab*, his ablest general, slain at the ^{A Georgian} siege of *Shirâz*. *Mahmûd*, having sent *Zeberdest Khân* to succeed him, returned with his army to *Ispâhân*, in *March 1724*. As he entered the city, a woman disguised in man's apparel, ^{Amazon.} rode up to his troops in full gallop, and attacking them sword in hand, slew 20 of them, before she was taken, covered with wounds. She was brought before the *Soltân*, who being informed of her history, admired her resolution, and ordered her to be treated with extraordinary care. This woman, hearing of the death of her husband, killed at the battle of *Abbâs Abâd*, set out from *Georgia*, her native country, where she left two children in her brother's care, with a resolution to revenge his death on the first *Afghân* she could meet.

^f IN *April* the *Khân* of *Shirâz*, after an eight months siege, pressed by famine, sent to treat *Afghâns* ^{talâ} with *Zeberdest Khân*; but the *Afghâns*, observing that the besieged had deserted their posts, *Shirâz*.

^a KRUSINSK. *ibid.* p. 106, & seq. HANWAY, p. 160. & seq.

^b KRUSINSK. p. 126, & seq. HANW. p. 173, 182, & seq.

^c KRUSINSK. p. 132, & seq. HANW.

(F) Koulpekient by Krusinski.

detained the deputy, took the city by assault, and put all, whom they found in arms, to the sword. Some of the soldiers having found a considerable quantity of corn, concealed in the house of a private man, they tied him to a stake in his granary, where he died with hunger. From hence the general sent a detachment of 400 men into the south part of *Párs*. They penetrated without opposition as far as the city of *Lár*, which they plundered; but the castle refused to submit. The commander then pushed on to *Bânder Abbâsi*, or *Gumrûn* (F). This place had been pillaged by 4000 *Ballûchis*, in *January* 1722; but on their attempting to break into the fortresses where the *English* and *Dutch East India* companies had their counting houses, they were repulsed with considerable loss. The *Afghâns* did not succeed so well; for on their approach, the people retired with their effects to the mountains; and the *Europeans* being prepared to give them a warm reception, they accepted of a supply of provisions, and returned to *Sbirâz*, reduced to a handful by the malignity of the air, and badness of the water.

Checked at
Gomrûn.
1724.

Miscarry
against Kok-
hilân.

THE acquisition of this last city giving the *Afghâns* new spirits, *Mahmûd* led them out to new conquests. He departed from *Ispâhân* in *June*, at the head of near 30,000 men, with intent to subdue the country of *Kokbilân* (G). But his troops were so harrassed in the way by the *Arabs*, that they agreed to return, on condition only of being left unmolested, and supplied with provisions. The *Arabs* however continued to attack them, which, with the bad air they met with, destroyed one half of his army. *Mahmûd* was so shocked at this disgrace, that he entered *Ispâhân* without the usual marks of honour; and to cheer up his soldiers, distributed among them 50,000 *Tomâns* (or 125,000 pounds) to indemnify them for the loss of his baggage*.

Tahmâsp's
indiscretion.

THE weakness of the *Afghâns* at this time gave *Shâh Tabmâsp* a fair chance of recovering his crown. But while he should have employed his forces against his enemies, he turned them against the *Armenians*, his subjects, in order to compel them to pay the excessive taxes with which he had loaded them. Having by force entered and plundered some of their principal towns, those of *Kâpan* and *Chiava* took up arms, and so warmly received him, that he was obliged to come to a treaty; whereby he gained what he could not procure by foul means.

Turkish pro-
graji.

MEAN time the *Turks* having secured *Georgia*, by the defeat of *Mohammed Kûli Khân*, who had surrendered *Teflis* to them the year before, in *February* entered *Azerbeyjân*; and in two months took *Khoy* by storm. In *June* with 30,000 men, they besieged *Erivan*, the capital of *Armenia*, about six leagues from mount *Ararat*. It stands on the river *Zenghî*, which three leagues lower falls into the *Arâs*, and is defended with two walls, and a castle built on a steep rock. A breach was soon made; but they were defeated in three general assaults. In *September* more forces arriving, a fourth assault was given with worse success than before. The *Turks* had now lost 20,000 men, and were resolved to retire, when considerable forces arrived in their camp. This gave them new courage, and intimidated the garrison of the town, which being much reduced by losses, and in want of ammunition, as well as provisions, without hopes also of relief from *Tabmâsp*, the *Khân* surrendered it, on condition of saving the lives and effects of the inhabitants; and retired to *Abr*, where the *Shâh* then resided†.

Repulsed at
Tauris.

THE *Armenians* of *Nak Sivân*, despairing of success from the *Persians*, and fearing the cruelty of the *Turks*, invited them to conquer the country: and on their appearance rose up in arms. They joined the enemy, who, driving the *Persians* out of that city, and *Ordubâd*, became masters of most part of *Greater Armenia*. Mean while the *Bâshâ* of *Vân*, with 25,000 men, marched towards *Tauris*. This city, though lately destroyed by an earthquake, was still one of the finest in all the east. But, like *Sparta*, its only bulwark consisted in the number and valour of its inhabitants; for it had neither walls nor artillery. The *Turks* crowding in were already masters of one quarter of the town, when the people blocking up the streets to hinder their retreat, cut off 4000. The *Bâshâ* after this being repulsed in several attacks, by his spies; and retired to *Tassû*, a town 20 leagues from *Tauris*, on the north side of the lake *Shâbi*. Here, to be revenged of the *Persians* for their gallant defence, he put to the sword the men of the neighbouring villages; and made slaves of the women and children. The inhabitants of *Tauris*, provoked at this cruelty, resolved to pursue the *Bâshâ*, who marched out to meet them with 8000 men. But most of them being slain, he fled with the rest to *Khoy*.

Take Hamadân.

IN the interim the *Bâshâs* of *Bâghdâd* and *Bâsrâb*, entering *Persia* with their forces, laid siege to *Hamadân*, to whose relief *Tabmâsp* sent *Flagella Khân*; but he was defeated. The city had held out bravely for two months, when a mine, sprung by a *German* renegado, made a

* KRUSINSK. p. 128, & seq. HANW. p. 188, & seq.

† KRUSINSK. p. 130, & seq. HANW. p. 191,

(F) Commonly *Gombrûn*, its former name.

(G) Or *Kajok Kilan*, as *Krusinski* has it. It is 10 days

journey from the city of *Ispâhân*, on the way to *Bâsrâb*, or *Bassora*.

a large breach, at which the enemy entering, carried all before them, and made a great slaughter, till one of the generals opened a gate for the inhabitants to escape.

ALTHOUGH the *Turks* had made such considerable conquests in *Persia*, yet *Soltán Ahmed* was greatly dissatisfied with the cession made by *Sháh Tabmásp*, to *Peter the Great*. His commissaries at the court of *Russia* declared, "That *Tabmásp*, in his then precarious circumstances, could not alienate any of his dominions; that therefore such engagements were void: and that, as the *Soltán* would not suffer any foreign power to extend his dominion in *Persia*, the only way to preserve peace was for the *Czar* to relinquish all pretensions derived from that treaty, and likewise abandon his conquests along the coasts of the *Caspian sea*."

b As these commissaries broke off the conferences abruptly, it was thought the *Porte* would declare war against the *Czar*. The *French* ambassador advised the *Russian* resident to enter into a negotiation; but this minister declining it for want of instructions, the ambassador undertook to do it himself. The *Grand Wazír*, who secretly pressed this affair, found it difficult to bring the *Diván* into it, especially as the point was to join with a *Christian* power, in sharing the dominions of a *Mohammedan* prince. However, at length, preliminaries were signed: the first article of which was, "that *Sháh Tabmásp* should be obliged to send an embassy, to beg that the *Soltán* would set limits to his conquests, and consent to the execution of the *St. Petersburg* treaty." The other articles concerned the limits of conquest made, or to be made, in *Persia*, by either of the contracting powers. After much contest, articles of the treaty were agreed to. The first regulated the barrier between *Russia* and *Turky*, by a line, to begin 22 leagues from the *Caspian* sea, on the confines of *Dághestán*; and to pass at the like distance from *Dárbend*, from thence within seven leagues of the coast, including *Shamakhiya*; which, as stipulated by the second article, was not to be fortified by the *Turks*; and to terminate at the confluence of the *Kúra* and *Arrás*.

THE line separating *Turky* from *Persia*, by the third article, began where the former ended: from whence it passed three miles to the east of *Ardevíl*, and forward to *Hamadán*, whose territory it comprised; terminating at *Kermán Sháh*, the new conquest of the *Turks*. In case *Tabmásp* should not agree to the said limits, they were jointly to conquer the places within them, and give up the rest of the kingdom to him, independent of any foreign dependence. But in case he should agree to them, the *Soltán*, by the fifth article, was to acknowledge him for king of *Persia*; and to join his forces with those of *Russia* to place him on the throne, in case the usurpers should oblige him to declare war against them. Lastly, if *Tabmásp* should refuse to conform to the treaty, the contracting powers, after becoming masters of the provinces assigned them, should establish tranquility in the kingdom; and, without listening to any proposals of *Mahmúd*, deliver it into the hands of the person most deserving of it^b.

THIS treaty, which was signed the 8th of *July* 1725, soon came to the knowledge of *Táhmásp Sháh Tabmásp*, who, unable to help himself, saw his country torn from him. He ordered the *Russian* resident to withdraw from his court. The *Czar* however ordered an ambassador extraordinary, whom he had sent to that prince, to continue his journey. It is presumed, that *Peter the Great* would have been contented with *Ghilán* only, could he have thus prevented the progress of the *Turks*, and restored *Tabmásp* to his dominions.

WHILE these affairs were transacting, *Mahmúd* recruited his army with *Dárghezins* (H), some *Mahmúd* *de-* *Turks*, and a body of *Afgháns* from *Kandahár*. In order to retrieve his late disgrace, towards the end of *December*, 1724, he marched to besiege *Yezd*, or *Yezd*, with 18,000 men. As he had gained the *Parísís*, who dwelt there, to betray the city, he depended on success. But the plot being discovered, and the traitors put to the sword, he missed of his aim, after several fruitless assaults. At length the *Afgháns* being weakened by large detachments sent out to forage, the garrison sallied, and cut off 3000: so that *Mahmúd* was obliged to save himself by flight, leaving his baggage and artillery a prey to the *Persians*^c.

ON this new disgrace the soldiers grew mutinous, ascribing their late defeats to the introduction of that very effeminacy and luxury which had destroyed their enemies. They railed at *Mahmúd*, and loudly declared, that they could never hope for success so long as they were governed by a chief, who had adopted both the dress and religion of the conquered. This had reference to some words dropped by *Mahmúd*, either to vex the *Turks*, or flatter the *Persians*. Their murmurs grew the louder from the presence of *Asbráf* who had returned from

^a KRUSINSK. p. 141, & seq. HANW. p. 105, & seq. HANW. p. 202, & seq.

^b HANW. p. 198, & seq.

^c KRUSINSK. p. 144.

(H) Sometimes called *Darguzzis*. They are *Mesopotamian Kurds*, removed by *Sháh Abbás I.* to *Derghezim*, a town three days journey from *Hamadán* towards *Kaf-*

bin. They are of the same sect with the *Afgháns*. *Krus-* *sin*. vol. ii. p. 115. *Hanw.* vol. iii. p. 163—168.

Kandabár in the last karawán. This prince, who was the son of *Abdalla*, had fled twice to avoid the jealousy of *Mahmúd*. The first time was in 1722, when, upon *Husseyn*'s resignation, he deserted his post; and, with an escorte of 100 horse, set out for *Kandabár*: but being pursued, was brought back to *Mahmúd*, who would have put him to death, but for fear his soldiers would desert him, as they threatened, in case he offered to take away the life of *Ashráf*. The second time was after the revolt of *Kazbin*, from whence he departed for *Kandabár* with 300 horse, either through apprehension of a general revolt; or, more likely, for fear of *Mahmúd*, whom he had reason always to distrust. The army had always been extremely fond of him; and the great desire which they expressed for his return, was the chief motive of his coming back. In effect, the principal officers considering *Mahmúd* had no issue fit to govern, and that his health daily declined, in some measure obliged him to recall *Ashráf*, in order to declare him his successor. He at first treated him with all the appearances of the most tender friendship; but was no sooner informed of the murmurings of the troops, than he ordered him to be lodged in the palace, where he was strictly guarded^a.

Mahmúd turns penitent. THIS prudent step checked the mutinous designs of the soldiers; but did not make the *Soltán* easy in his mind; on account of his two late disgraces, which had weakened his power and authority. He therefore resolved to regain the favour of heaven by performing the *Riadhiat*; a kind of spiritual exercise introduced by the *Indian Mohammedans* into *Kandabár*. This superstition consists in shutting themselves up for 14 or 15 days in a place without light; during which time they are employed in repeating incessantly with a strong guttural voice the word *Hû* (I), by which they denote one of the attributes of God; and live upon nothing but a little bread and water which they take at sun-set. These continual cries, and the agitations of body, with which they are accompanied, naturally unhinge the whole frame, when, by fasting and darkness, the brain is disordered, they fancy they see spectres, and hear voices: for they believe, that, during this penance, the devil is compelled, by a superior power, to let them into the knowledge of futurity.

Destroys the royal family. WHEN he came forth of his subterraneous vault, he was so pale and emaciated, that they scarcely knew him. What was worse, this extravagant devotion had impaired his reason. He became restless and suspicious; often starting, as if he feared his best friends intended to destroy him. He was in one of these fits when a report spread, that *Seffi Mírza*, eldest son of *Sháh Husseyn*, had made his escape, and fled into *Turky*. This, whether true or false, he made a pretext for cutting off all the princes of that family, excepting *Husseyn* himself; among whom were several of his brothers, three uncles, and seven nephews. On the 7th of *February* those victims being assembled in the palace-yard, with their hands tied behind their backs, the tyrant, with a few of his intimates, killed them all with their swords: excepting two sons of *Husseyn*, the eldest but five years old. The unhappy father, hearing their cries, flew to the place of slaughter, and received on his arm the stroke with which *Mahmúd* intended to dispatch them. However the sight of blood issuing from a king, whom he used to reverence, stopped his murdering hand. The number of princes butchered in this manner (K) were about 100; nor is it surprising that kings, who have so many women, should be fathers of a numerous offspring. Besides, *Husseyn* exceeded all his predecessors in filling his *Harâm*, into which 30 cradles have been carried in the space of one month^c.

1725. Mahmúd grows delirious. THIS cruel execution, instead of allaying *Mahmúd*'s terrors, much increased them, as well as impaired his understanding. The torments of his mind were augmented by an insupportable pain in his bowels. After the physicians had in vain tried to restore him to his senses, they had recourse to a superstitious remedy, practised by the *Armenian* priests. It consists in reading, over the head of the patient, what they call the *Red Gospel* (L); and is a ceremony used also by the *Mohammedans* of the country, who hold it to have wrought many cures. In the beginning of *April*, the clergy of *Julfa*, dressed in their sacerdotal, passed in procession (M) to the apartment of *Mahmúd*: who, in one of his lucid intervals, being told what they had done for his relief, sent them 5000 pounds in money, and as much in goods; promising to restore all which he had taken from them, in case he recovered his health. The same he did to the *Indians* and *Dutch*. But, after some hours ease, he relapsed into a more terrible condition: his body was covered with leprosy, and his flesh rotting, seemed to fall from his bones.

^a HANW. p. 204, & seq. also p. 147—159.

^c KRUSINSKI, p. 147. HANW. 206, & seq.

(I) Or *How*.

(K) It is said, none escaped but *Tahmâsp*, and the two infants above-mentioned; so that *Seffi Mírza* must have been among them. HANW.

(L) Probably some passages relating to the miracles of *Christ*. HANWAY.

(M) Exorcisms and processions are common in all popish countries. The late king of *Portugal* at several times caused the several orders of ecclesiastics to walk in procession thro' his chamber. HANW.

^a At the same time, news arrived that *Sháh Tabmásp* had defeated a party of *Afgháns* commanded by *Seydal*, in their way to *Kazbín*, near *Kúm*, or *Kom*. From the time *Mahmúd* fell ill, *Asbráf*, who was no longer strictly watched, found means to correspond with *Tabmásp*; and, when he found things ripe for his purpose, sent word, that now was his time to recover the throne: that things were in such confusion at *Ispábán*, that, on the first news of his approach, his friends would join him in a body. *Asbráf* had imparted this design to the *Persian* lords who had been spared at the massacre, with a view to ensnare them; and by them it was that he corresponded with the *Sháh*. They wrote him word, that the *Afghán* prince insisted on nothing for himself and his party, but their lives, liberty, and effects. *Tabmásp* sent him a deed, engaging, under the most solemn oaths, to perform the conditions; and it was this which drew him so near *Ispábán*.^f

^b This new disgrace greatly alarming the *Afgháns*, determined them to chuse a new master *Mahmúd* in place of *Mahmúd*, who was no longer able to manage their affairs. The right of succession belonged to *Husséyn Khán*, the *Soltán*'s brother, who governed for him at *Kandahár*: but as they could not wait his arrival, and *Asbráf* was most beloved by the army, he was chosen with their unanimous consent. In this revolution, no person was so active as *Aman Olláh*, the chief minister and generalissimo. Observing himself to be watched, he resolved to be revenged; and took the affront so heinously, that, when *Mahmúd* returned from his last expedition, he refused to go out to meet him. As soon as his election was proclaimed, the *Afgháns* ran to take the new king out of confinement. The *Abdolis*, who guarded him, for a while disputed the entrance; but, at length yielding, *Asbráf* was proclaimed king of *Persia* the 22d of *April*. But this prince, under pretence of revenging his father's death, would not accept the ensigns of royalty till they brought him the head of *Mahmúd*; who, being in a high frenzy (N), had not many hours to live.^g

^c This destroyer of the dynasty of the *Sháhs* was but 27 years old when he died. He was middle-sized, squat, and clumsy; his neck so short, that his head seemed to grow to his shoulders: his face was broad, his nose flat, and his beard thin and reddish. His looks were wild, his countenance austere and disagreeable. His eyes blue, and a little squinting, were generally downcast, like a man absorbed in deep thought. Yet, inured by habit, few excelled him either in horsemanship, or the use of the lance. He was master likewise of several talents worthy of a sovereign. Although his soldiers accused him with excess in venery, yet he never had but one wife, and was ever constant to her. He slept little, and endured great hardships; was extremely vigilant both in the camp and city, often visiting the centinels in the night. In labour indefatigable; in danger intrepid; and, with all his faults, was a very strict observer of his word, as appears from his regard to *Aman Olláh*, even when he knew that general was contriving his ruin. His soldiers charged him with avarice, and depriving them of the booty obtained by their valour in war. Above all, they could not forgive his saying in passion, after the defeat of *Yezd*, *That he wished they were as great beggars as when they first came into Persia, that they might fight as bravely as they did then*: although the loss seems to have been owing to his want of conduct. To this might be added, his cruelty to his enemies, and want of fortitude under his disgraces. In a word, his expedition against *Ispábán* seems extremely rash and extravagant; nor can it be justified, but by the success. That inconsiderate temerity, which constituted the chief part of his character, fitted him indeed for making conquests; but he wanted the qualifications necessary to secure them.^h

^f KRUSINSKI, p. 150, & seq. HANW. p. 209, & seq.

^g KRUSINSKI, p. 153, & seq. HANW. p. 211, & seq.

^h KRUSINSKI, vol. ii. p. 159, & seq. HANW. vol. iii. p. 212, & seq.

(N) The Jesuits say, that, in this frenzy, which continued seven days, he tore his flesh with his teeth, and made such wounds that he was ready to expire.

S E C T. V.

The reign of Ashráf.

^f THE resistance which the partisans of *Asbráf* met with at the palace, furnished a pretext for removing some of his enemies. The same day, he caused the late *Soltán*'s guards to be put to the sword. His ministers and confidants underwent the same fate. Among whom that of *Almas*, the *Kúiar Agasi*, or commander of the slaves, was bewailed by both *Afgháns* and *Persians*. He was a great good man, generous, and humane in a high degree; refused presents, and used the ascendancy which he had over his master, to divert him from barbarous

resolutions. Yet he was tortured to discover treasures which he had not; and, to avoid a repetition of the rack, slew himself, after he had slain his wife. He next caused all those to be arrested, who had been concerned in the conspiracy, which placed him on the throne, confiscated their estates, not excepting the *Mianji*, whose riches were his crime; put some of them to death, among whom was the proud *Aman Olláh*, whose intrepidity and riches hastened his ruin; and the rest were imprisoned. None but *Seydal*, routed by *Tabmásp*, and the grand master of the ceremonies, remained untouched. His aunt, the widow of *Mír Weis*, and mother of *Mahmúd*, who had been prevailed on by her to spare his life, he confined a whole night in the palace-yard among the dead bodies massacred by her son: however he afterwards treated her with becoming regard^a.

THE severity shewed to his younger brother was abominable. This young prince, flying to avoid being confined in the *Saray*, was, when taken, deprived of his sight, and then shut up there. A son of *Mahmúd*'s, yet in the cradle, was treated in the same manner; and the mother, by report, poisoned. To efface these first impressions in his disfavour, he waited on *Sháh Huseyn*, and pressed him to re-ascend the throne; but the deposed monarch had sense enough not to accept of the offer. In return, *Asbráf*, who took the title of *Soltán*, ordered his monthly pension of 125 pounds to be paid him weekly; gave him the direction of the buildings then erecting in the inclosure of the palace, which greatly pleased him; and, after repudiating his wife, married one of the king's daughters. He likewise, to ingratiate himself with the people, distributed money among his soldiers, established an exact order in the city; and imposed no new tax, contenting himself to recall the sums which *Mahmúd* had restored during his illness.

His first attempt was to establish his authority in *Kandahár*, by destroying *Huseyn Khán*, brother of *Mahmúd*; but he failed in his design, as he did in another to seize the person of *Sháh Tabmásp* at an interview, wherein he intended to offer him the diadem, as he had done to his father *Huseyn*, and settle their respective interests. This prince had just defeated *Seydal* a second time at *Kashan*, when he received a splendid embassy proposing an interview. At the same time a letter was sent, advising him to be on his guard. But the letter being intercepted, *Tabmásp* marched with only 3000 men to *Varami* (A), where his enemy was advanced with 12,000. On this he fled to *Mazanderán*: and *Asbráf* attempted *Takirán*, but in vain, as he did *Sava*; but *Kúm* capitulated for want of provisions. Here he found the wife of *Tabmásp*, with part of his court and treasure, twenty pieces of cannon, and three elephants.

ASHRAF, on his return to *Ispáhan*, put to death all the lords, concerned in writing the above-mentioned letter, at a hunting match. At this time the authority of *Tabmásp* was acknowledged only in the provinces of *Mazanderán*, *Astarabad*, and a few places of *Persian Irák*. The *Afgháns* were masters of *Khorassán*, *Kermán*, and *Párs* (or proper *Persia*); the rest were in the hands of the *Russians* and *Turks*. These last went on making conquests, and reduced *Tauris* with the loss of 20,000 men; but the *Persians* lost 30,000. Another army of them advanced within twenty leagues of *Ispáhan*, and then retired on meeting the *Afghán* guards, with whom they were not at war. *Asbráf* dreading their power, sent an embassy to court their alliance; but, refusing to admit the *Othmán Soltán* to be the sole *Imám*, or head of religion, the *Turks* made it a pretence for declaring war against him in *March 1726*^b.

MEAN time *Kasbín* and *Marágha* having submitted to them, their army marched towards *Ghilán*, at the solicitation, as was supposed, of the *English* and *French* ambassadors, displeased to find the *Armenian* karawán, which brought silk from thence, discontinued. *Sháh Tabmásp*, seeing his affairs were desperate, offered to cede to the *Porte* the conquered countries, in lieu of a truce for three years; which however was not granted. *Asbráf*, no less alarmed on his side, perceiving *Ispáhan* was too large for his forces to defend, ordered a second city to be built and fortified within the first, four miles in compass, including the old citadel, the great square, and king's palace; yet this was finished in three months. Also, to render the access more difficult, he sent troops to ravage the country as far as *Kazbín*, which, with other cities, were, by his emissaries, induced to declare for him. To prevent a visit in *November*, he marched to *Hamadán*, and cut off 6000 *Turks*: on which the *Seraskier* intrenched himself. *Asbráf*, to supply want of force by art, sent spies into the enemy's camp, with four *Sheykhs*, to protest against *Musulmáns* slaughtering one another, and to exhort them to peace. By joining with the *Turks* at noon prayer, they gained over 5000 *Kyurds*, and many others. To prevent a more general desertion, the *Bashá* with 70 or 80,000 men attacked the *Afgháns*, who had but 17,000 foot, and 16,000 horse, with 40 *harquebusses* mounted on camels. *Asbráf* appeared on his elephant, surrounded by his ministers, and repulsed the *Turks* in three fierce

^a HANWAY, *Revolut. Pers.* vol. iii. p. 216, & seq.

^b *Ibid.* p. 220—239.

(A) Between *Kúm* and *Takirán*.

a attacks, who lost 12,000 men. At night, being joined by 20,000 *Kyârs* more, the *Bashâ* retired in the dark, leaving all his baggage and artillery behind him.

To retrieve this disgrace, new forces were sent in spring 1727; but, refusing to engage in a war which they looked on as unjust and impious, orders were sent to the *Bashâ* to conclude a peace on the best terms he could. They arrived just as he was going to attack the *Afghâns*; and soon produced the act which both parties desired. By the treaty signed in October, the cities of *Zengân*, *Soltania*, *Abber*, and *Tabirân*, were to be added to the *Turkish* conquests, and *Khuzestân*, newly taken, restored. The *Othmân* emperor was to be acknowledged the true successor of the *Khalifas*; and the *Khotbâh*, or public prayers, said in his name throughout *Persia*. On the part of *Ashraf*, he was to be acknowledged lawful sovereign of *Persia*, and named after *Soltân Ahmed* in the *Khotbâh*; was to coin money in his own name; and at liberty to send the *Persian* Karawân to *Mekka*, by way of *Bâghdâd*.^{1727.}

MEAN time *Shâh Tahmâsp* remained at *Farabâd* in *Mazanderân*, pent up as a dependent on *Fatey Ali Khân*, who, during the troubles, had seized that province. He was in these distressed circumstances, when *Nadir Kuli*, a soldier of fortune, sent from the borders *Mazanderân* to offer him his service with 5000 horse. This is that extraordinary person who afterwards recovered *Persia* out of the hands of the *Afghâns* and *Turks*, and then usurped the throne. He was born near *Kallât*, a strong fortress ten days journey to the south-east of *Mashbâd*, the capital of *Khorassân*. Being a *Tatar*, or *Turkmân*, of the tribe of *Afshar*, who supply the *Persians* with cattle, he was bred a shepherd. His father, who lived by making caps and sheepskin coats, died when *Nadir* was but thirteen. An ass and camel were his whole estate, on which he carried to market sticks gathered in the woods, and sold them to support himself and his mother. In 1704, he was carried off by the *Uzbeks*, but escaped in 1708. The first action we hear of him was that of robbing a flock of sheep. In 1712, he became a courier to a *Begh*. Being sent with dispatches to court, he killed his companion; and, at his return, slew his master, who appeared to be displeased; and fled with his daughter to the mountains: there he had by this lady, *Imâm Kûli Riza*, of the same disposition with himself. After this, he turned robber again for a time; and in 1714, offering his service to *Babulâ Khân*, governor of *Khorassân*, was made him his gentleman-usher.

In 1717, for his behaviour against the *Tatars* of *Khyeva* (B) and *Bokhâra*, he was made a colonel; and two years after, with 6000 soldiers, defeated 10,000 *Uzbek* invaders, killing 3000, the *Khân* promised to get his command as general confirmed; but, finding a younger man preferred, he reproached his patron with his breach of honour; which liberty was rewarded with the bastinado. On this, he retired to the fortress of *Kâllat* commanded by his uncle, the chief of an *Afshar* tribe: but his assuming temper giving disgust, he took a third time to robbing. With 7 or 800 soldiers, which, in 1722, he collected, he pillaged several Karawâns, and laid *Khorassân*, with the adjacent provinces, under contribution at pleasure. He continued this course till 1727, when *Seyfo'ddîn Begh*, one of the *Shâh's* chief generals, flying for some offence, joined him with 1500 men, which increased his troops to about 3000. His uncle then wrote him a kind letter, and promised to obtain his pardon, provided he would engage in the service of *Tahmâsp*. *Nadir* accepts the proposal; and, having obtained a pardon, repairs to *Kâllat*: but the return which he made his uncle was to seize his castle, and murder him.^{1719.}

He staid there five months, raising contributions and more troops: then marched to drive the *Afghâns* and *Baluchis* out of *Nishabûr*. The governor with his whole garrison, consisting of 3000 men, issued out against the enemy, who were but 600 men, and pursued them ten leagues to a pass in the mountains, where *Nadir* lay concealed with 1500 men. There *Kûli Khân*, facing about, fell on them in the rear, and cut them all to pieces, excepting a few. On this, he took possession of *Nishabûr* in the name of *Shâb Tahmâsp*; and, having been recruited with 1000 men, went to offer that prince his service, as hath been mentioned. *Fatey Ali Khân* received him with open arms, and introduced him to the king, who signed his pardon. He soon, by his address, insinuated himself into the *Shâb's* favour; and, to gain the whole sway, resolved to remove the *Khân*, by pretending to discover a plot of his to deliver *Tahmâsp* into the hands of *Malek Mahmûd*, the rebel governor of *Mashbâd*. The fiction was improbable; but it was not *Tahmâsp's* fortune to be much wiser than his father *Husseyn*. He was willing to get rid of *Fatey Ali*, who had usurped too much authority, but had taken an oath never to hurt him. *Nadir* replied. "If your majesty has taken an oath, I have not;" and that same day had him murdered as he came to court.

NADIR, who succeeded him in the title of *Khân*, and post of general, now began to dis- and reduces *Khorassân*.
1728.

^a HANWAY, p. 240—254.

^d Ibid. vol. iv. p. 14, 173, & seq.

play the talents of an able minister as well as officer. At his instance the *Sháh* marched with his little army of 8000 into *Khorassán*. He was received with joy into *Nishápur*; and, his forces soon augmenting to 18,000, he advanced to *Mashhád*, which being a place of no strength, the *Balluchis* abandoned it. To reward his new general, he ordered him to be called *Tabmásp Kúli Khán*, the addition of his own name being the highest mark of dignity. *Nadir*, to deserve that honour, marched to reduce the other revolted cities of *Khorassán*, which he did within the year: and then, with 12,000 men, proceeded to *Herát*, which the inhabitants delivered up with the garrison, and the governor, whose head he cut off^a.

Defeats
Ashraf.

1729.

ASHRAF, alarmed at these successes, called all his forces together, which did not exceed 30,000, including *Afgháns*, *Darguzzi*, and *Haffarags*; and then, leaving only 200 as sufficient to guard that once vast city, marched towards *Khorassán*, to attack the *Sháh* before he could gather more strength. But *Tabmásp*, by the advice of his general, met him near *Damagbân* in *Kumes* with 25,000 *Persians*. *Ashraf*, whose fate depended on the issue of a battle, saw, by their disposition, that he ought to proceed with great caution; but, urged by his officers, on the 2d of *October* he vigorously attacked the enemy, who, to his great surprize, stood the shock; and, attacking them in their turn, obtained an easy victory. The *Afgháns* lost about 10,000 men, with all their harquebusses, camels, and baggage. They plundered *Tábiran* in their flight to *Ispáhan*, which they plundered also, and then retired to *Murchakor*, 25 miles east of that capital. *Kúli Khán* followed them; and coming-up on the 13th of *November*, received the enemy's first fire: then, advancing close to them, gave a general discharge, which caused such numbers to fall, that the astonished *Afgháns* fled back to *Ispáhan*, leaving 4000 dead. They pretended a victory, which made the inhabitants dread a massacre, as had been often threatened; but were diverted by their panic from doing mischief.

Restores Tah-
másp.

HOWEVER, *Ashraf* found time to imbrue his hands in the blood of *Sháh Housseyn*, and other males of the royal family. Then, having loaded several camels, and 300 mules, mostly with the treasures and rich effects of the palace, they left the city at night, to the number of 12,000, after having reigned as conquerors of *Persia* seven years and twenty-one days.

THE *Persian* troops arrived soon after, and put an end to the plundering which the populace had begun. Mean time *Sháh Tabmásp* advanced from *Tábiran*, and was met by his general six miles from *Ispáhan*. As soon as he saw him, he alighted from his horse, as did *Kúli Khán*, who ran to him in a respectful manner: but the *Sháh* would walk a few steps with him, declaring, that "he could not shew too great distinction to the person who had delivered his country from a foreign yoke." His joy on entering the capital was allayed by the news of his father's death, and sight of the ruined palace. As he entered the *Harám*, an old woman threw her arms about his neck in transports. This was the lady his mother, who, disguised in a slave's habit, had, ever since the *Afghán* invasion, submitted to all the offices of drudgery^c.

Routs the
Afgháns.

TAHMASP by his conduct so won the hearts of his subjects, that, notwithstanding their poverty, they contributed liberally to support the army which was increased to 40,000 men. Expressing his concern, that the *Afgháns* should be still at *Shíráz*, where they exercised great cruelties, and his female relations held in slavery; *Kúli Khán* said, "He was ready to march against them, provided a power was given him to levy money for paying the army; adding, that military operations were often defeated by the intrigues of a court, as in the case of *Lust Ali Khán*. The king (C) was startled at this demand, which was in some measure to demand the sovereignty: but being advised to temporize till a proper time should arrive to punish his insolence, *Tabmásp* complied. *Kúli Khán* begun his march in the end of *December*, and in twenty days reached *Astakbar* (D). Although his army was much diminished by the severe season, and want of provisions in a ravaged country, yet, on the 15th of *January* 1730, he attacked them with such vigour, that he put them instantly to flight.

1730.
Ashraf slain.

ASHRAF's affairs now grown desperate, he offered to deliver up the princesses, and all his plunder, for liberty to depart with his troops. This proposal *Kúli Khán* rejected. And threatened to put all the *Afgháns* to the sword, unless they delivered up their chief. Mean time *Ashraf*, who expected nothing but a cruel death, if he fell into the hands of the *Persians*, marched off in the night. His troops, to facilitate their retreat, separated into parties; after whom the *Khán* sent several detachments. *Ashraf*, distressed for want of provisions in the depth of winter, and attacked on all sides by the peasants, was obliged at length to abandon all his baggage and the captives. Some of his followers killed their women, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. The *Afgháns* being now quite dispersed, their chief had with him no

^a HANW. p. 10—24.

^c Ibid. p. 25—35.

(C) He had made him governor of *Khorassán*, and intended to give him his aunt for a wife.

(D) Supposed to be the ancient *Persepolis*.

- a more than 200 men, when he was attacked by a body of *Ballovchis*. He made a gallant defence, but in the end was with his people cut to pieces (E). This ended the usurpation of the *Afghāns* ⁵.

⁵ HANW. p. 35—40.

(E) There are different accounts of his death. The *Gazettes*, among others, reported, that he was carried to death on a scaffold at *Ispāhān*.

S E C T. VI.

The reign of Shāh Tahmāsp.

- b A MONG the captive ladies thus recovered, were the aunt and sister of the *Shāh*, who gave the former in marriage to *Kūli Khān*. This general, after two months stay at *Sbirāz*, ^{1731.} marched towards *Hamadān*, with intent to wrest from the *Turks* what they had conquered during the late troubles. After a complete victory over them near that city, he took it; and then, by a quick march, got before *Kyoprili Bāshā* to *Tauris*, which he also subdued with *Ardsbil*. The enemy terrified, demanded a peace; which he granted, that he might punish the *Abdallis* of *Herāt*. After defeating them, he took that city, and put the governor with the principal rebels to death. *Tahmāsp* distrusting the *Turks*, marched from *Kazbīn*, with 50,000 men, by the way of *Tauris* to *Eriwān*, to which he laid siege, after escaping an ambuscade, and defeating *Ali Bāshā*: but, for want of provisions, was obliged to raise it. In his retreat to *Tauris* the *Bāshā* followed; and, being joined by *Kyoprili*, defeated him at *Astabad* on the *Zengbi*. His army now reduced to 30,000, he abandoned *Tauris* to secure *Hamadān*. Joined there by the garrison, a bloody battle was fought with *Abmed Bāshā* of *Bāghdād*, and lost together with that city ^a.

- c THE *Bāshā*, induced by the troubled state of affairs at *Constantinople*, where *Abmed III.* was deposed, proposed a peace. His late defeat, and the exposed condition of *Ispāhān* without an army to defend it, moved the *Shāh* to accept of the proposal. By this peace, concluded in *January 1732*, the *Arrais* was to be the *Persian* boundary: so that he gave up his right to all *Armenia* and *Georgia*, comprising a country near 200 miles in extent. The *Ottomans* on their side were to assist him, to compel the *Russians* to quit their acquisitions along the *Caspian* sea, where, since the death of *Peter I.* they had made no conquest but that of *Labijān*. This peace was against the earnest solicitations of *Kūli Khān*, who intreated him to persist in the demand of all the conquered provinces, promising to join him soon with a powerful army. ^{1732.}

- d THE *Shāh* having disbanded his army, wrote to his general to do the same, and return to *Ispāhān*. This conduct increased *Kūli Khān's* jealousy of the court. He told his officers, That "this peace was inglorious, and tended to involve *Persia* in new troubles; that there "was the less reason for sacrificing so many provinces to the *Turks*, when there was an army "on foot sufficient to humble them: that therefore those measures seemed to be levelled at "them by the ministers, who were always jealous of their success." Having by these speeches, which had the air of patriotism, attached to him the army, now augmented to 70,000, most of them *Tatars* in whom he might confide, he marched for *Ispāhān*; near which he encamped in *August*. He then waited on the king; and having told him, that those who advised the peace were his enemies, he produced letters to shew how much he was abused by evil counsellors; and that they were playing off the same diabolical engines used by those in the time of *Hussayn*, to cut off *Lust Ali Khān*, when the army under his command might have saved *Persia* ^e.

- f THE *Shāh* was astonished at the perfidy of several he most confided in, and believed his general to be as faithful, at least, as his other ministers. But *Kūli Khān* finding that the letters had no effect with regard to the persons whom he wanted to destroy, he judged himself to be marked out for destruction. His officers were of the same opinion: and, considering his interest to be their own, readily agreed to prevent their common danger, by deposing *Tahmāsp*, and setting his son, prince *Abbas Mirza*, but six months old, in his place. With this intent, he invites *Tahmāsp* to a review. As he rode through the ranks, many of the soldiers let him know, "that if he had any particular command for them, they were ready to execute it." *Kūli Khān* surprised, desired the *Shāh* to tell them, "that the proof of their obedience to him "was to obey their general." After the review, he invited *Tahmāsp* to a repast; where being intoxicated with a little wine, he was conveyed under a strong guard to an apartment in the

^a H. N. Rev. lxx. Pers. vol. iv. p. 30, & seq.

^c HANW. p. 67, &c.

royal gardens. His attendants were confined; and next day, an assembly being called, he set forth the king's incapacity to reign, and the bad consequences which would attend the peace, unless he was deposed. The general having bribed the great officers of state, as well as of the army, they approved of his advice; and swore allegiance to the young prince, then lying in his cradle, by the name of *Abbâs III*^k.

^k HANW. p. 70, & seq.

S E C T. VII.

The reign of Atbâs III.

Gives the
Turks

1733.

two great de-
feats.

KULI KHAN, now in effect sovereign of *Persia*, conferred the principal governments on his own relations; and disposed of every thing at pleasure. He sent to acquaint the Bâshâ of *Bâghdâd*, that he soon intended to pay him a visit: on which advice war was proclaimed at *Constantinople* the 6th of *October*, and *Topal Osmân Bâshâ* dispatched with an army of 80,000 men. *Bâghdâd* had been besieged for three months with an equal force, but without cannon; and, though defended with a garrison of 20,000, could not hold out above four days when the *Seraskier* approached. *Kûli Khân* met him with 70,000; and had gotten the better, when the Bâshâ of *Mosul* came up, and turned the scale. About 30,000 were killed on each side, and *Kûli Khân* had two horses slain under him, and lost all his baggage. Mean time the Bâshâ of *Bâghdâd*, sallying forth, raised the siege: and the *Persian* general retired, sending him word, that he would be with him early next year, that it might not be thought he intended to fall on him the same winter. But, having with speed repaired his losses, he, in *October*, forced his way into *Turky*. *Topal Osmân*, who had often in vain wrote for troops, at length got together 100,000 men; and met the *Persians* at *Leylan*, five leagues from *Kerkowd*. *Kûli Khân* attacked the *Turks* on the 25th, and was repulsed; but next day, the battle becoming general, he obtained a complete victory. The *Turks* lost 40,000 men, among whom was the brave and honest *Seraskier* pierced with two wounds, all their baggage and military chest. He was diverted from visiting *Bâghdâd*, to march against his general *Mohammed Khân Balluchi*, who at *Sbirâz* had proclaimed *Shâh Tahmâsp* at the head of 30,000 men. *Kûli Khân*, with the like number, attacked and routed him; who, being taken, hanged himself to avoid a worse fate^l.

1734.
The conquered
countries re-
covered.

1735.

In spring 1734, with 100,000 men, he entered *Georgia*, which submitted, as did *Armenia*; the *Turks* retiring, unable to oppose him. Then entering *Sbirwân*, he destroyed *Shamakîya*, for favouring the *Lesghi Tatars*. Next year he sent an embassy to *Russia*, in the name of *Abbâs*, to desire an alliance with the empress, and demand restitution of the conquered provinces; which, being too expensive to be kept, were surrendered, and a treaty concluded. His forces now amounting to 120,000 men, he marched from *Teflis* to *Erivân*, where the *Turks* had 80,000 commanded by the *Seraskier Kyoprili*. *Kûli Khân*, who had then but 50,000, feigned a hasty flight, till he came to a certain defile, where, posting some troops in ambush, he made a stand. The van coming up, were attacked in both flank and rear: the action was bloody, and lasted five hours. *Kyoprili*, after having two horses killed under him, was slain himself with several other general officers, besides 20,000 men. The baggage and military chest were taken, with 32 pieces of cannon. The rear, which could not come up to assist the van, fled, and suffered much in the pursuit. Hereupon *Erivân* surrendered, and, by the end of the year, all the conquered provinces were recovered. The *Turks* wanted to make peace: but *Kûli Khân* would not hearken to it, unless *Bâghdâd* was restored, and the expences of the war paid^m.

^l HANW. ubi sup. p. 74—112.

^m Ibid. p. 112—121.

S E C T. VIII.

The reign of Nadîr Shâh.

1736.
Kûli Khân
elected king.

IN the beginning of the year 1736, the young king *Abbâs* died, whether naturally or by art is uncertain. On the 10th of *March*, the *Persian* new year, all the governors, great officers, and generals, were convoked in the plains of *Mogân*, near the river *Arâks*, to chuse a new king; *Kûli Khân* recommending *Shâh Tahmâsp*, if they thought him fit to govern: but,

a at the end of three days, he was desired, by the deputies, to accept of the diadem himself, as none, they said, was so worthy of it as he who had restored the glory of the *Persian* monarchy. The general accepted of it on three conditions; 1. That they made the crown hereditary: 2. That they should not entertain in their houses any of the family of their old kings: 3. That they should not curse *Omar*, *Osmân*, and *Abu-Bekr*, nor meet to commemorate *Hussayn's* (F) death. The high-priest, offering to dissuade him from changing the established religion, was rewarded with a bow-string; and next day, he was proclaimed king by the name of *Shâh Nadîr*. On his arrival at *Kazlîn*, he assembled the ecclesiastics of the neighbouring provinces, and confiscated the revenues of the church, telling them, "That their prayers, not having prevented the present calamities, shewed that God was not pleased with them; but that the deity having made his soldiers the instruments of redressing them, they were the priests most worthy to be supported by the revenues of the church." Presently after he published a decree to unite the *Shi'ay* and the *Sunni* sects^a.

TOWARDS the end of the year, a peace was concluded with the *Turks*; whereby all the conquered provinces were yielded back, and liberty given the *Persians* to perform the pilgrimage to *Mekka* duty-free. After this he marched to *Ispâhân*, which he repaired; and, having done several acts to encourage husbandry and commerce, set out in *December* to reduce *Kandâbâr*, possessed by *Hussayn Khân*, brother of *Soltân Mâhmûd*. He defeated *Hussayn's* troops; but, for want of heavy cannon, could not take the place: so that after a long siege, he was obliged to confirm him in his government, on condition to surrender the town, and recruit his army. Mean time his son *Rizi Kili Mirza*, governor of *Masbâd*, subdued the *Uzbeks* of *Balkh* and *Bokhârâ*. He likewise renewed an invitation from several lords of the *Mogol's* court to march his forces into *India*; which he did about the middle of the year 1738: of which famous expedition we shall give a more full account in its proper place^b. On his return to *Kandâbâr* with 120 millions sterling, he set out with 50,000 men to chastise the *Uzbeks*, who, during his absence, had invaded *Persia*. The *Khân* of *Bokhârâ* submitted, and was restored. But he of *Khyevâ*, after a brave resistance with 20,000 troops, was obliged to surrender; and had his throat cut, with thirty of his attendants, for murdering *Nadîr's* ambassadors^c.

In his return to *Masbâd*, he was shot at, and wounded in the left-hand, by an *Afghân*, *Escapes being* employed by his son *Rizi Kili* to kill him. This prince, on a report that the *Persian* army *lost* was defeated in *Hindustân*, revolted, and murdered *Shâh Tabmâsp* in the fortress of *Sebzwar*. The fear of his father's anger, made him contrive his death. *Nadîr Shâh*, who loved him, would have pardoned his crime; but provoked with his offensive language, and justifying what he had done, he ordered his eyes to be put out. After two expeditions against the *Arabs* and *Uzbeks*, who had revolted, he entered *Daghestân* to chastise the *Lesghi*; but, advancing too far, was greatly harrassed, and narrowly escaped an overthrow. The *Turks* alarmed, declare war; and, while the *Shâh* besieges *Bâghdâd* and *Bâsrâb*, a pretender is sent into *Persia*, but defeated. At the same time *Astarabâd* and *Shirâz* revolted. The *Turks* having assembled an army of 130,000 men near *Eriwân*, *Nadîr* met them in *August* 1745 with 80,000 troops, and overthrew them, killing 20,000, with several *Bâsbâs*, and among them *Abdâllah Kyoprili*. The *Persians* lost 8000, and *Nadîr* had two horses killed under him. Revolts in *Georgia* and *Kho-* *the* *Turks*. *rassân* prompted him to propose a peace; by which the *Persians* were allowed free access to *Mekka*, and a priest at *Masbâd Ali*, another place of pilgrimage (G)^d.

ALL this while *Persia* was reduced to the deepest distresses, by the avarice and cruelty of the *Shâh*, who, on his return to *Ispâhân*, committed great barbarities, as well as made cruel exactions. He afterwards did the same at *Khermân*; and then at *Masbâd*, where he arrived next with his army. From thence he marched to the plains of *Soltân Meydân*, a day's journey to the north-west: but there his fate met him; for some time after he had gone to rest, *Saleb Beg* (H), colonel of the *Afghân* body-guard, with four chosen men, under pretence of business, rushed by the guards into the outer partition of the *Harâm*, where they killed an eunuch. Then entering the inner *Harâm*, slew an old woman also whom they met. They were still at a loss to know *Nadîr's* tent, till, by the light of a lamp, they espied some jewels. There they found

^a DE HIR vid. sup. p. 34. HANW. p. 123—131. ^b See vol. iii. p. 124, & seq. ^c Ibid. p. 205—224—234—258.

P HANW.

(F) Eldest son of *Ali*, who was horridly butchered by them, with his whole family (†). In memory of which, the *Persian* priests were obliged to bid the people to curse them as often as they called them to their prayers. They moreover ordered an annual cavalcade thro' the city of *Isfahan*, attended with magnificent pageants, representing that horrid scene to the life, with the most affecting gestures, songs, music, &c.; both which cus-

toms *Kili Klân* now abolished, in compliment to the *Turks*.

(G) Near *Hellâh* on the *Euphrates* in *Arabian Irak*.

(H) *Molânnâd Kili Klân* is praised as the person who destroyed this tyrant, by the procurement of his nephew and successor *Ali Shâh*. *Present Troubles of Persia and Georgia*, p. 27.

Nadir Shâh him arisen from his bed (1), roused perhaps by the woman's cries. The Shâh drawing his a
State, his sabre, demanded what they wanted? *Saleb Beg* answered him by a cut on the left side of his collar-bone. For all this, he killed two of the soldiers who advanced to strike him; and then went to retire out of the tent; but stumbling over the cords, *Saleb* gave him a mortal wound. *Nadîr* cried, "Mercy, and I will forgive you all." The Beg replied, "You have
 "not shewn any mercy, and therefore deserve none." And then cut off his head¹.

to prevent a It is said, that *Nadîr Shâh* had formed a design of putting to the sword, that night, all the
insurrection. *Persians* in his camp; and that, while he communicated it to the chiefs of the *Uzbeks*, *Turk-*
mins, and other *Tatars*, who composed a great part of his army, a *Georgian* slave overheard the plot: that this slave discovered it to the principal *Persian* officers, who agreed to dispatch the tyrant; and that *Saleb Beg*, an officer of great intrepidity, offered to be his executioner. b
 The *Tatars* enraged, took to their arms, and attacked the *Persians*, so that 5000 fell on both sides; mean time a general pillage was carried on. After which, both the body and head being produced to the *Tatars*, the whole army disbanded.

His person and Thus fell the scourge of *Persia* and *India* at the age of sixty-one, after a reign of eleven
character. years and three months. He had a comely aspect; his forehead was high; his eyes large and expressive; his complexion swarthy, and hair black. He was of a robust make, and six feet high. His whole person and aspect were awful, especially when he spoke. His voice was exceeding strong, and memory great. His presence of mind remarkable, and his resolutions as quick as his thoughts. He was far in years before he learned to read; and owed no part of his knowledge to books. He studied the finances thoroughly, and knew the exact revenue of c
Diet and dress. each province. His diet was simple; his dress thin, and not showy, for his soldiers to imitate. His pride lay in precious stones, with which his diadem as well as turban was adorned. He often amused himself, when alone in his tent, with a large sapphire. And, when he gave audience, played with a battle-ax; the use of which he revived. It is said he always bore a chain-work coat of mail under his cloaths. He loved women, and severely punished sodomy. Though his avarice and jealousy made him latterly very cruel, yet our author never heard that he put any man to death in cold blood with his own hands, as his predecessors used to do².

¹ HANWAY, p. 249, & seqq.

² Ibid. p. 262—268.

(1) It is said his wife, the daughter of the Great Mughal, was in bed at the same time. *Present Troubles of Persia and Georgia*, p. 29.

C H A P. IX.

The reign of the Arab kings of Hormûz, or Ormûz, in Persia.

Kingdom of THE kingdom of *Hormûz*, or *Harmûz*, which the *Portuguese* write *Ormûz*, or *Ormus*, d
Harmûz, contained part of the coasts on both sides of the *Persian* gulph, with the islands lying between them: but it is not easy, by the history, to determine the exact bounds of it, when in its greatest extent. We can only say, that, on the side of *Arabia*, it seems to have comprised the maritime parts, from *Râs al Gât*, the most eastern part of that country, to *Al Kalif*; with the islands of *Babrayn*, lying off that port: and that, on the *Persian* side, it reached from Cape *Jâsk*, or *Jâskes*, as the *Portuguese* call it, to *Bander Kongo*; and perhaps a good deal farther, so as to include the country of *Mogostân*, in the province of *Kermân*, and part of the coast of *Pûrs*, or *Proper Persia*, with the adjacent islands. The chief of these, beginning our reckoning westward, are *Lar*, or *Lara*, *Andarvia*, *Keyson*, or *Keysh*, *Nabjan*, or *Peytombo*; to the south of which are two others, *Brokbt*, or *Kishmis*, called also *Kishom*, and *Jerûn*, e
 or *Hormûz*: and, to the south of it, *Larek*. All these islands are small, excepting *Brokbt*, or *Kishmis*; which is about fifty miles long, and 13 broad; *Jerûn* and *Larek* lie off the eastern end of it; those three islands being about two or three leagues distant from each other. But we shall not enter into the description of places here: because there will be occasion to speak of them more properly in the course of our history.

a OUR materials, so far as relate to the kings of *Harmûz*, to the time of *Turân Shâh*, who *Its origin,* was of the number, are taken from the history written by that prince (A); who gives two somewhat different accounts of the original of the *Harmûzian* monarchy. The first is this. An *Arabian* prince, named *Mohammed Dirhem Kûb* (B), descended from the ancient kings of *Sabab* (C), a province in *Arabia*, being ambitious to extend his dominions, subdued the neighbouring countries, as far as the shores of the *Persian* gulf (called by the *Portuguese* the *Gulf of Ormûz*). Not contented with these conquests, he persuaded his troops to cross over to *Persia*, intending there to build a *bander*, or port-town; which should, in splendor and trade, exceed that of *Sobâr*, in *Arabia* (D), then much frequented by foreign merchants.

b HAVING fixed this resolution, he marched to *Kalayât*, a port near Cape *Ras al Gât*: *according to* where leaving his son, under the care of a *Wazîr*, with orders to secure that port for a retreat, in *some* case of the worst, he embarked with his followers, and arrived at *Jask*, or *Jaskes*, a well-known place on the coast of *Persia*; from whence, sailing northward, he put into *Kushek*, or *Kostek*, another port on that side of the gulph. There landing his men, and seeking for a proper place to settle in, he was informed, that there was a very commodious one a little farther up. Thither he marched; and, finding the situation agreeable to his mind, founded the city of *Harmûz*; where he resided in peace and justice. The lands, which were in the neighbourhood, he divided among his people, and coined money in his own name; from whence he had the appellation of *Dirhem Kûb*. As *Shâh Mohammed* was of a good temper, wise and brave; the governors of *Shirâz* and *Kermân* maintained a strict amity with him. At his death, c he left *Hormûz* in a prosperous condition to his son *Soleymân*; who had accompanied him in his expedition, and by whose industry the new city greatly increased ^a.

d THE other account, which *Turân Shâh* gives of the origin of the kingdom of *Hormûz*, is thus. When the father of *Shâh Mohammed* was king in *Arabia*, being at war with another prince, he lost a battle; and, not thinking himself secure in that country, crossed over the gulph to *Mogostân*, in *Persia*, and settled there, with his son *Mohammed*, who bore him company. About that time a tyrannical king reigned in those parts; who, besides the other wrongs which he did his subjects, obliged them to give him the first night's lodging with every maid, who was to be married. *Mohammed*, who, though young, had a great soul, taking compassion on those oppressed people, offered to deliver them, at the hazard of his life. The method which he took to accomplish his design, was this. He pretended to marry a maiden of quality, belonging to the town where the tyrant resided. And, being as yet beardless, as well as handsome, he cloathed himself in a woman's habit. Thus disguised, but armed underneath, and well attended, he was brought in the evening to the king; who immediately retired into his bed-chamber with the supposed maid. *Mohammed*, by pretending bashfulness, gained time, till he had a fair opportunity to dispatch him with his dagger: after which he quitted the apartment, and having informed those, who waited the event, that he had slain the tyrant; they immediately proclaimed liberty through the city. *Another tradition.*

e THIS piece of service was so acceptable to the people, that they made their deliverer king; ^{1st, King} who took on him the title of *Shâh Mohammed*; adding the surname of *Dirhem Kûb*, for the *Mohammed* reason before-mentioned. After this, the better to improve his dominions, he founded the city of *Hormûz*, in a plain of the same name (E); from whence all the kingdom was denominated. And this *Teixeira* judges to be the most likely account of its origin: but the time (F) when these transactions happened is not mentioned ^b.

THE second king of *Hormûz* was *Soleymân*, son of *Shâh Mohammed*; who succeeded him as ^{2. Soleymân.} hath been said before. He was affable, and beloved for his virtue and justice; which gained him great renown. He reigned many years in peace, and left the throne to his son.

^a TURAN SHAH, apud Teixeira Hist. Perf. p. 377, & seqq.

^b TEIXEIRA. ubi supra, & seqq.

(A) He died in the year of the *Hejrab* 779, or of Christ 1377. The history, written in the *Persian* tongue, both in prose and verse, is intitled, *Shâh Noma*: that is, *a relation of the king or kings*; and begins from *Adam*. It makes a considerable volume, of which an abstract was published in *Portuguese*, by *Pedro Teixeira*; who has added the succeeding kings to his time; and interspersed several remarks, relating to places mentioned in the history; which is to be found at the end of his history of the kings of *Persia*, extracted from *Mirkond*, a famous historian of that country.

(B) Not *Dramkû*, as *Teixeira* writes; so we are told by *D'Herbriet*, who seems to have read the original history of *Turân Shâh*; not *Torunxa*, as the other spells it. See *D'Herb. Bibl. Orient.* p. 457. art. *Hormouz*.

(C) In the kingdom of *Yaman* (by *Europeans* called *Arabia Felix*); and where the queen of *Sheba*, who visited *Solomon*, is supposed to have reigned.

(D) *Soâr*, or *Zoar*. It is now an inconsiderable place; but its ruins, with the conveniency of its situation, convinced *Teixeira*, that it was formerly a place of note. It lies to the east of *Masfat*, near *Kalayât*, and Cape *Ras al Gât*.

(E) According to this account, *Hormûz* took its name from the plain wherein it was built, by one of the ancient kings of *Persia* of that name. See *D'Herb.* p. 457. art. *Hormouz*. *Hormouz fils de Schabour*, & *Hormouz fils de Narfi*. This city belonged to the province of *Kermân*, the *Persian Karamania* of the *Greeks*.

(F) The first date we meet with, is the year of the *Hejrab* 676; that is, of Christ, 1277; when *Rokno'd-dîn Mohammed*, the 12th king of *Hormûz*, died. If then you subtract from that year 216 years, for the reigns of the first 12 kings (allowing 18 years to each), there will remain 1061; about which time the kingdom might have been founded.

3. Iza. IZA, the third king; who proved a good prince also; so that his reign was blessed with a peace and prosperity. He made his people apply themselves to tillage, and planing of palm-trees; in which he was very assisting to them. On the other hand, they were ready, on all occasions, to serve him in his wars; so that he considerably extended his dominions. He was succeeded by his son,
4. Lashkari. LASHKARI: who was as good as his father; a lover of justice, and protector of the poor. Among his sons, one was named *Kay Kobâd*; to whom, for his excellent qualities, he resigned the crown, and retired himself from court, to lead a solitary life; in which state he died some years after.
5. Kay Khobâd. KAY KHOBAD no way degenerated from his predecessors; but was a lover of justice, supported the needy, curbed the great ones; and, dying, left the throne to his son,
6. Iza II. IZAH, who was a martial prince, and successful in the wars, which he undertook. The kingdom of *Hormûz* prospered under him; and, at his death, devolved to his son,
7. Mahmûd. MAHMUD. He was a good prince, and had many children. It was a custom of the kings of *Hormûz*, for their own greater security, and to prevent commotions, to send all their kindred, who might aspire to the crown, to forts and other places remote from their residence. Among the rest, *Mîr Shabâbo'ddîn Molongh*, one of *Mahmûd's* nephews, was appointed to reside in the fortress of *Gât*, which is in *Persia*; and in the lands of *Brabem* and *Mostagam* (G). But *Mahmûd*, being informed, that his nephew had contrived to kill him, ordered him to be secured; intending to put him to death, in case the treason was proved. *Mîr Shabâbo'ddîn* had intelligence of this, and fled to the fortress of *Skugon*; where he was well received by the governor, who also gave him his daughter in marriage; by whom he had a son, called *Nôserât Regbdar* (H); and a daughter, named *Setalkânûm Shabâbo'ddîn*. In the mean time, *Mahmûd* died at *Harmûz*; and was succeeded by his son,
8. Shahân Shâh. SHAHAN SHAH. This prince used all his endeavours to get *Molongh* into his power: but could not. After some years, great numbers of men, from the land of *Hîr*, invading his territories, he marched to oppose them: though with a force much inferior to theirs. *Mîr Shabâbo'ddîn Molongh*, thinking this a proper opportunity to be reconciled to his uncle, with his father-in-law's leave, raised all the troops he could, and went to his assistance. After kissing his foot, he fell back, and followed him, attended by his forces: but the uncle made him ride by his side, and expressed other marks of much affection. As soon as they met the enemy, they engaged; and *Shahân Shâh*, being slain in the battle,
9. Mîr Shabâbo'ddîn Molongh. MÎR SHAHABO'DDIN was proclaimed king. He prosecuted the war against the people of *Hîr*; whom he entirely routed; and then returned to *Hormûz*, where he reigned to general satisfaction. He married his daughter, *Set al Kâtûn Shabâbo'ddîn*, to *Amîr Seyfo'ddîn ebn Azâr*, son to his brother *Ali*, king of the island of *Keys*. Soon after this match, *Ali* died; and the people of *Keys*, at the instance of the king of *Hormûz*, received *Amîr Seyfo'ddîn* for their king; who immediately repaired thither, with his wife. Not long after, died *Molongh*, king of *Hormûz*; and one *Resh Shâbrear* usurped the throne. As soon as this news reached *Keys*, the people deposed *Amîr Seyfoddîn*; who fearing farther mischief from them, went to *Hormûz*; where he was well received by the inhabitants. *Shâbrear*, the usurper, was then at the fortress of *Kareâm*, with ten of his kindred; but *Seyfo'ddîn* hastening thither, after an obstinate resistance, slew them all.
10. Seyfo'ddîn. SEYFO'DDIN becoming thus possessed of the crown; the first thing he did, was to marry the three daughters of *Resh Shâbrear* to three of the chief men of his court. Then, calling to mind how he had been treated by the inhabitants of *Keys*, he invaded their island with his troops; and overthrew them in a battle, with great slaughter. He likewise took several of the principal men prisoners; and, carrying them away with him, at the island *Jerûn* (now called *Hormûz*, and then not inhabited), into which he put with his ships, slew them there on a hill; from thence called *Keri Kostoron*; that is, *the hill of the slain*; which name it still retains. After this he returned to the city of *Hormûz*, on the opposite coast: where he spent the rest of his days in peace; and was succeeded by his nephew,
11. Mahmud. SHAHABO'DDIN MAHMUD II. son of *Iza*; who enjoyed peace all his reign, and did nothing remarkable. At his death, he left the crown to his nephew,
12. Mahmud. AMIR ROKNO'DDIN MAHMUD; under whom *Hormûz* prospered exceedingly. He kept on foot a considerable number of good forces, who gained him considerable victories, and enlarged his dominions; extending them as far as *Zafar*. He reigned 35 years; and died in that of the *Hejrab* 676; of Christ 1277 (I).

^c TEIXEIR. p. 379. & seqq.

(G) There were several other fortresses, and lands, in *Persia*, possessed by the kings of *Hormûz*, and subject to the *Portuguese*, in the time of *Teixeira*.

(H) This name is much corrupted; as are many others, so as not to be intelligible.

(I) *Teixeira* puts 1278; which is wrong; as are most of his computations of the year of Christ; which are generally out by one or two years. But we have rectified them, as we go along.

^a AMIR SEYFO'DDIN NOSERAT, his son, who succeeded him, was opposed by two of his 13. Noserât, brothers, *Amir Kothbo'ddin Tabatân*, and *Amir Moezo'ddin Fulâd*, or *Palâd*; and, although most of the army favoured *Noserât*, yet he could not prevail against his competitors; who, at length, obliged both him and his mother, *Babi Banek*, to fly the kingdom. *Babi Banek* retired to *Kermân*; which province was then governed by *Soltân Jalâlo'ddin Suragetmesb*; who gave her an honourable reception, and such a supply of forces, as restored her son *Noserât* to his dominions. However, his brothers did not give over molesting him; but, at length, he took one of them; viz. *Amir Moezo'ddin Fulâd*, and put him to death. *Mir Kothbo'ddin*, ^{Civil war.} the other brother, being supported by one *Mâlek Seyfo'ddin Abubekr Haoni*, invaded *Hormûz*; and, coming to a battle with *Noserât*, at *Denu*, defeated him; who, thereupon, fled to *Kom-zâra*; and thence, in a *Tarranki* (a kind of light boat), passed over to *Last*, a port-town in the island of *Brokbt*, generally called *Queyshom*, by the *Portugueses*.

AFTER *Noserât's* flight, the two confederates fell so much at variance, that *Malek Seyfo'ddin* killed *Kothbo'ddin*: but the army, as well as the people, disapproving of his proceedings, they called home *Noserât*, and expelled the usurper. However, the restored prince did not long enjoy the throne: for two other of his brothers, *Amir Masand* and *Amir Turkân Shâh*, ^{Hejrah 689. A. D. 1290.} aspiring to the crown, basely murdered him, with his sisters, *Bibi Banek*, and *Bibi Neyti* (K), in the year 689, after he had reigned 12 years ^d.

MASAND, having killed his brother, possessed himself of the kingdom. He was of a martial 14. Masand. temper, and very brave: but so cruel and stern, that he soon incurred the hatred of every body. Being sensible that he had lost the affections of the people, he, through fear, put to death many of the nobles and commoners. Upon this, most of the principal men repaired to *Amir Babâo'ddin Ayâz Seyfin*; whom *Noserât*, the late king, had advanced to be *Wazîr* of *Kalagât* (or *Kalayât*), a port in *Arabia*, before-mentioned. He, pitying the calamities of the kingdom of *Hormûz*, raised forces; and, transporting them over the *Persian* gulf, fought, and defeated *Amir Masand*; who fled to *Kermân*, and thence removed to *Sirjân* (L): where he died several years after, having reigned no more than three years.

UPON this victory, *Mir Babâo'ddin Ayâz Seyfin*, who had been a slave to *Noserât*, taking 15. Ayâz Seyfin upon him the regal power, began to restore things to their former order; but was hindered by the troubles which ensued: for *Mir Turkân Shâh*, and *Mir Saljak*, two brothers of *Masand*, holding a correspondence with him, attempted to restore him. However, *Ayâz*, being informed of it, had them seized, and cut off their heads. This execution procured him some quiet for a while: but in the year 700, the *Turks* (M), who had already possessed themselves of several provinces of *Persia*, breaking into the kingdom of *Kermân*, came down from thence into that of *Hormûz*; destroying all the country, as they passed. Yet might this have been tolerable; and had not the wealth, which they found in those parts, invited them to come so often, that the *Hormûzians*, no longer able to bear their oppressions, resolved to abandon their lands in *Persia*, and retire into the island of *Brokbt*.

THIS island, called *Quishom* (N) by the *Portuguese*, is the largest, as hath been said, of all the islands belonging to the kingdom of *Hormûz*, on the side of *Persia*; and is separated from 16. *Brokbt*; the continent only by a very narrow channel. Thither the *Hormûzians*, by order of *Ayâz*, passed over; taking with them all which they had saved from the rapacious hands of the *Turks*. After a few days rest, *Ayâz* set out again in quest of some other island, more convenient, to settle in with his people (O); and, at length, come to one, which was desert, two leagues distant from that of *Brokbt*. On the north point of this island; where afterwards the *Portuguese* built a fortress, they found an old man, named *Jerûn*, with his wife, who lived there upon fishing; furnishing the ships, which passed to and fro between *India* and *Keys*, with what fish he caught: in return for which, they gave him rice, cloth, and other necessities of life.

THIS *Jerûn*, understanding that *Ayâz* was looking out for an island to settle in, advised 17. *Jerûn* him to come over thither, as being the only one to be found fit for his purpose; and the king, having viewed it, resolved to beg it of *Neîn* (P), the king of *Keys*, to whom it belonged; as did all the other islands in the gulph of *Persia*.

KEYS (or *Kays*), so called by the *Arabs*, as well as *Persians*; and, by the *Portuguese*, *Quays*; is a small island in the gulph, well wooded and watered. It was once the head of

^d TEIX. p. 381, & seqq.

^e Ibid. p. 384, & seqq.

(K) Bibi signifies, in *Persian*, lady.

(L) There seems to be some mistake here; for *Sirjân* otherwise called *Kermân*, is the capital of the province of *Kermân* in *Persia*.

(M) These must be the *Tatars*, who then reigned in *Persia*; for the *Seljukian* dynasties both of *Irân* and *Kermân*, were extinct before the year 590 of the *Hijrah*.

(N) *Queyshom*, or *Keyshom*; and, by others, *Kismis*, or *Kismish*.

(O) It was possibly too large, and near the continent, to be defended easily; as is remarked in *Purchas Pilgrim*. vol. ii. p. 1786.

(P) In *Teixeira*, *Neyn*, and *Neym*.

a kingdom (Q) ; though, in *Teixeira's* time, not inhabited (R) : because the trade was fallen off, for fear of the *Nawtaki* and *Nichelus*, two sorts of pyrates, continually infesting that sea. It was formerly possessed of all the trade, which was afterwards removed to *Ormúz* (S) ; but lost all by the wars, and scarce retained its name.

and buys
Jerún.

WHILE *Ayáz* was at *Jerún* (T), so called from the old man, there came over one *Sbeykb Ismael*, a *Mollab*, born in a village near *Lár*, in *Persia* ; who used to go every year all about those islands, begging for himself, and the poor of his hamlet. *Ayáz*, finding this *Mollab* fit for his purpose, sent him to treat with the king of *Keys* about that island ; and he managed the affair so well, that *Nein* offered to bestow it on *Ayáz* : but this prince would not take it, without paying for it. For this service, done by the *Mollab*, the kings of *Hormúz* gave every year to his descendants a certain acknowledgement ; which our author has seen them come to demand.

Its situation ;

AYAZ, having thus obtained the island, gave it the name of *Hormúz*, in remembrance of their ancient country ; although the *Persians* and *Arabs* generally call it *Jerún*. Nor has the ancient *Hormúz* on the continent lost its name, but still retains it. *Jerún*, or *Hormúz*, stands just within the mouth of the *Persian* gulph, which is divided by it into two parts ; one called the gulph of *Hormúz* ; commencing at *Port Guâdel*, in *Persia*, and *Cape Râs al Gât*, in *Arabia*, and extending to that island about one hundred leagues ; the other is named the *Gulph of Basrah* ; reaching from *Jerún* to the mouth of the river *Tigris* ; near which that city is seated, the space of almost 200 leagues. This island is betwixt six and seven miles in compass (five from *Dozâr*, the nearest part of *Persia* ; and nine leagues from the coast of *Arabia*). Formerly it was on fire ; which left it so uncouth, that it is amazing to behold. A high mountain crosses it from east to west : from the foot whereof, to the north point, where the city and fort stand, being about a mile, there is a plain, somewhat more level than the rest, where the city is built ; but beyond the mountain (southward), there is nothing to be seen, but dismal hills, clefts, and rocks ^f.

extent and
soil ;

IT yields abundance of fine sulphur, and very transparent mineral salt. During the summer also, the water which descends from the mountain in winter, and overspreads the plain about the city, is converted into salt by the heat. Besides these stores of salt, there are three springs, which gushing from the foot of the mountain, form three rivulets of very clear water ; but as salt as that in the sea. The surface of these streams is turned into salt, by the sun, as they glide along ; which makes so hard a crust, that our author, *Teixeira*, has often crossed on horseback, without breaking it ; the water running underneath. Both the mineral salt, which is found to grow, and the other sort, are very medicinal ; so that the fort only, which is made by the sun's heat, is used for seasoning of meat : for the mineral is so sharp, that, instead of preserving flesh, it corrodes and spoils it ; or any other thing which it is used with (U). At *Torunpuka*, which is a piece of white salt clay-ground, at the southwest end of the island, among certain rocks not far from the sea, there gushes out some brackish water, which the natives call *Ab Dorman*, or *medicinal water* : which, having a purging quality, is much resorted to at one time of the year.

all sulphur
and salt ;

*of fresh water ;

THE island has no fresh water, but what is gathered from the rain in cisterns ; which are numerous. Only at *Torunpuka*, above-mentioned, there is a little fresh water, made use of to water the orchards of the king and his *Wazîr*. *Ferragut Shâb*, who reigned in 1596, found out another stream of fresh water ; in hopes thereby to marry a rich widow, who enjoined him that task (W). These gardens produce every thing, which is planted, in perfection, contrary to all the rest of the world ; where there is neither tree, nor plant ; unless in the plain

^f *TEIX.* p. 386, & seqq.

(Q) There was formerly in this island a very rich and splendid city ; of which the ruins are still to be seen, as well as the memory preserved. But this once populous, trading island, is now desert. *Purch. Pilgr.* vol. ii. p. 1786.

(R) The descriptions of places, with which this history is intermixed, seem to have been inserted by *Teixeira*, without distinguishing his additions from the rest.

(S) *Keys* is about two leagues and a half from the coast, and five from the island of *Andarvia* ; although the reckon fifteen from *Lara* to *Keys*. It reaches in length, from W. S. W. to E. N. E. and is about five leagues in compass. It is very low and flat, like the other two ; which are very near the shore : and when *Thevenot* saw it, in 1665, it was inhabited by several people ; who had houses dispersed here and there upon it. *Thevenot Trav.* part. 2. p. 173.

(T) Or *Jarún*, or *Jarúm* ; the *Portuguese* often using

the *m*, instead of *n*, when the preceding vowel is long. In *Purchas*, *Jarun* is said to signify a wood ; from some thin woods and trees, which grew about the isle, like apple-trees of *Anafega*, and bearing the same sort of ill-tasted apples, called, by the *Portuguese*, *Small Apples* (perhaps the *Marcenilla*). *Purch. Pilgr.* vol. ii. p. 1786—These seem to be the *Konar* mentioned afterwards.

(U) Some ships, particularly those from *Kochin*, in *Málabâr*, take in this mineral salt, as ballast, and carry it to *Bengál* ; where, for want of other salt, it goes off.

(W) Her name was *Bifatîma*, an old woman, widow of his *Wazîr*, who governed in *Mogestân*, in *Persia*. She, who was said to be vastly rich, to put off the old king, who was in love with her, said, she would marry him, when she had planted a new garden, and found another fresh spring, at *Torunpuka* ; thinking it impracticable. However, he performed the task, yet got not the money.

some

a some prickly shrubs, bearing a fruit like haws, called Konar, green all the year; some few mallows, and purging fenna, called Senna Moki, or fenna of Moka.

THE summer heats are here prodigiously great, almost intolerable, and scarce credible to such as have not experienced them; which is surprising, considering it lies in 27 degrees and a half north latitude. For all this, the air and climate is healthy, and there is seldom any distemper in summer; for the terrible heat expels all peccant humours, by excessive sweat: but, in autumn, they pay for all disorders committed in summer.

THE island has two *banders*, that is, ports, or bays; one to the east, the other to the west, of the sandy point, where old *Jerûn* lived, and the *Portuguese* built a fort.

THE city of *Hormûz*, founded in the year 1300, was formerly large: but not so in our author's time; the best and noblest part of it having been blown up, to make a spacious parade, or place of arms, before the fort. The houses were well built, of a softish stone, found in the island, and another fort taken out of the sea: for these are light, and best to withstand the earthquakes, which the island is subject to. They have three sorts of mortar: one made of fine lime, called *Ghecha*, brought from the continent: another red sort, found in the island, but not so good; and a strange sort, called *Charu*, made of rotten dung; which is dried, and burned; then beaten, and used warm from the batoon: for it won't do if it stands till it be cool. No water can penetrate foundations laid with this cement. This city thrived so fast, that, in 200 years, it extended its dominion over the greater part of *Arabia*, much of *Persia*, and all the gulph as far as *Basrab*. It continued in this flourishing state, till subdued by the *Portugueses*: since which time it began to decline, by reason, says *Teixeira*, of the insolence and oppression of the governors and officers of that nation; they being at too great a distance from those who were able to curb them.

THE *Hormûzians* are fair and well-shaped; the men polite, and genteel; the women beautiful. They all speak the *Persian* tongue, but not pure. They are all *Mohammedans*; part Shiays, and part Sunni; which last sect the king professed, in *Teixeira's* time. Besides the original inhabitants, and the *Portugueses*, who conquered them, people of several nations were settled there: as *Armenians*, *Georgians*, *Syrians*, *Baniyans* from *India*, about 150 families of *Jews*.

THE island affords plenty of game: as *Gazellas*; a kind of creatures like wild goats; *Adibes*, which are a sort of foxes; partridges, turtle-doves, and other sorts of fowl. The wonder is, where these animals drink; since there is no fresh water, but what has been mentioned; which makes some people think they sip salt water. Although the soil produces no vegetables; yet the city is so well supplied with necessaries from abroad, that all things were sold at moderate rates: in short, *Hormûz* was, when the *Portuguese* had it, a mart and fair for all the world; where all sorts of commodities were to be found, and the merchants of all nations resorted (X). There is a manufactory here for drinking-cups, and pots to hold water: which are made of the salt clay; and, when become fresh, keep the water cool, and give it an agreeable taste.

To return to the history. *Ayâs Seyfin*, having reigned ten years, died in the year 711. Others say, that, after settling the affairs of his new state, he resigned the crown, in the year just mentioned, to *Amir Ayâzoddin Gordûn Shâb*, the son of *Soldar* and *Bibi Zeyneb*, grandson to the former king; and that, after his resignation, he returned to his Wazîrship of *Kalagât*, in *Arabia*; where he some time after died.

AMIR AYAZO'DDIN GORDUN SHAH, 16th king of the old, and 2d or the new, *Hormûz*; as soon as he ascended the throne, thought of ratifying the peace with *Neîn*, king of *Keys*, whom *Ayâz* bought the island: but his ambassadors insisted on such unreasonable terms, that *Neîn*, perceiving he intended a rupture, resolved to prevent him. To this end, he raised forces, and, with the assistance of *Mâlek Ayâzo'ddîn*, governor of *Shîrâz*, sailed for *Hormûz*, with 120 *Terradas*, which are small vessels, full of men. The chief reason which he alleged for this invasion, was, that *Gordûn Shâb* had detained the *Indian* ships at *Hormûz*, which were bound for *Keys*; and, by that means, wronged him of his customs. Mean time, *Gordûn Shâb* passed over, with his army, to *Sirmion*; a village (Y) in the island of *Brokbt*, or *Qzey-shoma*, with a design to cut off the enemy's water. While he was there, news came to him, that ten sail of *India* ships, bound for *Keys*, richly laden, were passing between *Hormûz* and *Lârek*; an island four leagues to the north. On this advice, he set out, with his fleet, to meet them; and, after an engagement, took, and carried them to *Hormûz*.

ABOUT this time, the forces of *Keys* and *Shîrâz*, being arrived near *Sirmion*, were surprised by a violent storm, and the whole fleet shattered. Ten ships, however, escaped, and put into the little isle of *Aujem*; which, lying very close to that of *Brokbt*, helps to form a safe and

TEIX. p. 388, & seqq.

(X) The inhabitants used to say, that the world was a ring, and *Ormûz* the gem, or stone in it. The officers of the customs assured *Teixeira*, that they yield the king of *Portugal* 150,000 pounds; besides what it was sup-

posed that the *Moorish* officers purloined. *Teixeira* was here in 1604.

(Y) Near a Cape of the same name, on the western end of the isle.

spacious harbour between the two. Here the king of *Keys*, incensed afresh with the news of the late capture of the *India* ships, landed his men; designing, the next night, to pass over to *Hormúz*. *Gordún Shâb*, having intelligence of this, disposed his forces in a proper manner to receive the enemy; posting about one third of them on the shore, about 1000 paces distant from the city, at a place called *Karu*, very proper for making a descent. Accordingly, the confederates attempted it; but were repulsed, with the loss of many men and ships. After this, putting off to sea, they sent to make propositions of peace. But *Gordún Shâb* rejected them; and, following the advice of *Sangor Rokno'ddîn*, his general, resolved to fall on his enemies by surprise; who, hearing of it, fled; yet not so timely, but that the *Hormúzians* made a great slaughter of them.

taken prisoner; Thus roughly handled, they returned to *Keys*; where having recruited their forces, they, *Hej. 714.* in the year 714, returned to invade *Hormúz*, with a greater number of men and ships than *A. D. 1314.* the time before. With these they beset the island so closely, for four months, that, had not *Gordún Shân* supplied it in time with plenty of provisions, he must have been obliged to surrender. The king of *Keys*, perceiving how little he prevailed, proposed a peace, with a view to ensnare him. As it was agreed, that the two kings should have a conference on the shore, he of *Keys* came in a small boat; and leaping on land, when the king of *Hormúz* advanced to embrace him, laid hold of him, being strong, and forced him into the boat; which hasting to the fleet, they immediately set sail for *Keys*. Nor was it any way in the power of the *Hormúzians* to hinder them ^a.

he escapes; WHEN *Bibi Soltâna*, *Gordún Shâb's* consort, was informed of what had happened to her husband, she ordered *Mâlek Ghayâzo'ddîn Dinâr*, son to her brother *Shabân Shâb*, to take upon him the government. Four months after, the king of *Keys* set out again for *Hormúz*, carrying with him *Gordún Shâb*. But, when he was about half-way, there arose so violent a tempest, that most of the ships were wrecked, and the rest dispersed into different ports. That wherein *Gordún Shâb* was prisoner, happened to be saved on the shore of *Hormúz*; whither a multitude of people resorting, they conducted him with great joy to the city: but *Ghayâzo'ddîn Dinâr*, having assumed the state of a king, refused to resign the government to him. Hereupon, *Gordún Shâb* retired to the house of *Konia Mehemed Kâleb*: but, not thinking himself safe there, went over the same night to the fort of *Minab*, which signifies *Enamel*, on the coast of *Persia*. *Dinâr*, finding that all the people forsook him, and resorted to *Gordún Shâb*, left the island, and went to *Makrân*, a kingdom lying between *Persia* and *India* (Z). As soon as he was gone, *Gordún Shâb* returned to *Hormúz*, where he was peaceably received; and, two years after, died in the year 717, leaving the throne to his son, *Hej. 717.* *A. D. 1317.*

17. *Bahrâm Shâh;* AMIR MOBAREZO'DDIN BAHRAM SHAH. At the same time, the garrisons in the forts on the continent proclaimed his brother, *Shâb Kothbo'ddîn*; and conducted him, as king, from the fort of *Barkamîn*, where he was, to that of *Minâb*. *Babrâm Shâb*, hearing of these commotions, set out with his forces; and, meeting him, joined by another brother, named *Mâlek Nâzamo'ddîn Ajen Shâb*, defeated them both, and returned victorious to *Hormúz*. Soon after, *Mîr Shabâbo'ddîn Issuf*, or *Yusef*, and *Mîr Tayo'ddîn Zengbi Amîr*, his two commanders in chief, one at sea, the other by land, fell at variance about their prince's favour; and, as they disturbed the public peace by their factions, he seized them both. Mean while the king of *Keys* invaded *Hormúz* a third time: but met with so warm a reception, that he returned with no better success than he had before. Upon this occasion, *Gordún Shâb* had released those two commanders out of prison; of whom *Mîr Shabâbo'ddîn Issuf*, thinking himself wronged, meditated revenge.

treacherously slain. As the king was desirous to put an end to the troubles raised by his brothers, who still molested him, he embarked with some troops to pass over to the continent: but, being hindered by contrary winds, went back to lie in his palace that night. When all were gone to rest, *Issuf* repairs, with some horse and foot, to the gate; calling out for the king to come forth: pretending, that *Bibi Soltân Sangor* was landed on the island, with an armed force. *Babrâm Shâb*, upon this alarm, hastened forward, followed by his mother, and brother *Nazâmo'ddîn*, who had been reconciled to him. But, as soon as they came out of the palace, they were all secured by *Mîr Shabâbo'ddîn Issuf*; who took upon him the title of king, in the year 718. *A. D. 1318.*

18. *Shahâ-bo'ddîn Issuf.* THIS revolution divided the *Hormúzians*. One part following the usurper *Issuf*: the other *Mîr Kothbo'ddîn*, brother to the prisoner king; who had defeated him, as before related, on the continent. *Mâlek Dinâr*, who had fled to *Makrân*, hearing of these troubles, returned towards *Hormúz*, with a good body of forces; giving out, that he came to assist *Mîr Shâb Kothbo'ddîn*: but finding, on his arrival, that *Issuf's* party prevailed, he made friends with this latter. *Bibi Soltân*, sister to *Dinâr*, and *Bibi Nazmâlek*, wife to *Issuf*, undertook to

^a TEIX. p. 393, & seq.

(Z) It is properly a maritime province of *Persia*.

a reconcile the contending parties : but *Iffuf*, as the best way to secure himself, cut off the heads of the prisoner king, *Gordûn Shâb*, his mother, and brother : upon which, *Shâb Kothbo'ddin* went over to *Kalagât*, in *Arabia* ; with *Bibi Marian*, wife to *Ayâz Seyfin*. After this, *Shahâbo'ddin Iffuf*, being informed that the forces of *Keys* were failing towards him, set forward to meet them : but, when he came in sight of them, returned home in a fright. For all this, the invaders reaped no advantage by their expedition ; returning the fourth time from *Hormûz* without success. It fared quite otherwise with *Shâb Kothbo'ddin* ; who, the next year, accompanied with *Mâlek Jalâlo'ddin Queyzi*, and *Khoaja Jamâlo'ddin Neîn*, departed from *Kalagât* ; and, falling unexpectedly upon the island, got possession of it¹.

b MIR SHAH KOTHBO'DDIN, the son of *Gordûn Shâb*, having thus recovered the kingdom^{19. Shâb} of *Hormûz*, immediately put to death *Mir Shahâbo'ddin Iffuf* ; his wife, *Bibi Nazmâlek* ; and *Kothbo'ddin* his two sons, *Mir Omâdo'ddin Hosselyn*, and *Amîr Hassan* ; who had been prisoners in the fortrefs of *Gât*. Not long after, *Queyzi* and *Neîn*, who had restored *Shâb Kothbo'ddin* to the throne, conspired to kill him, and secure the kingdom to themselves. *Kothbo'ddin*, being informed of their villainy, intended to have seized them ; but they, discovering his design, fled out of the island. *Neîn* was drowned in crossing the sea ; but the other, with a few followers, got safe to *Keys*. After this, *Kothbo'ddin*, and his kingdom, enjoyed peace for ten years : at the end of which, a new attempt was made against it from *Keys*.

c MALEK GHAYAZO'DDIN, who had succeeded in that island, on the death of a former king,^{subdues Keys ;} taking the opportunity, while *Shâb Kothbo'ddin* was in *Mogostân*, in *Persia*, during the summer heats, invaded *Hormûz* with a considerable fleet, and had made himself master of that island, had it not been for the gallant defence made by *Mohammed Sorkâb*, and *Ibrâhîm Salgor*, two of the king's porters, to whom he had committed the guard of it. *Shâb Kothbo'ddin*, on this advice, returned to *Hormûz* ; and, fitting out a fleet with great expedition, sailed for the island of *Keys* ; which he attacked, and made himself master of, with great slaughter of the inhabitants. He likewise took king *Mâlek Ghayâzo'ddin*, and some of his relations ; whom he afterwards put to death. He left a good garrison at *Keys*, and then departed ; resolving, before he returned to *Hormûz*, to attack the island of *Bâbrayn* (A) : which accordingly he subdued.

d BAHRAYN, or *Babreyn*, lies in the *Persian* gulph, midway between the island of *Hormûz*,^{and Bâhrayn} and the city of *Basrah* ; 100 leagues distant from each, and near the coast of *Arabia*, opposite to the port of *Katîf*, which is in the government of *Lakok* ; one of those possessed by the *Turks* in these parts. It is inhabited by *Arabs* ; only, ever since the year 1602, when it became subject to *Persia*, the garrison and governor are *Persians*. The country is pleasant, and abounds with fruit, especially dates ; but produces little of wheat, or barley : and rice, which, next to dates, is the common food, was carried thither from *Hormûz*, in the time of the *Portugueses*.^{described.}

e THIS island is famous through the world for its excellent pearls, and fresh water springs ;^{springs.} both found in the sea, which surrounds it. Before *Manâma*, which is the chief town in the isle, at about three fathom, or three and a half, deep, there gush out certain springs of pure fresh water ; which is brought up in skins by divers, and sold very cheap. *Teixeira* was told by some of the oldest inhabitants, that those springs were formerly upon the land, remote from the sea ; which, at length, gained ground on that side : and hence he imagines, that the island took the name of *Bâbreyn*, or *the two seas* ; meaning a fresh and a salt one ; rather than from two considerable streams which cross the island. Both these are brackish, like the other waters on land ; the best whereof is that of *Nanîyah*, in the middle of the isle, found in exceeding deep wells.

f THERE are two considerable pearl fisheries in the east ; one at *Manar*, in the chanel^{Pearl fishery.} between *Seylan* and *Tutan Kori*, which is cape *Kori* ; corruptly, *Komori*, or *Komorin* ; the extreme point of *Malabar* (B) : but the pearls of *Bâbrayn* surpass all others in goodness and weight. About 200 Terradas, or vessels, joining there, go to *Katar*, a port of *Arabia*, ten leagues to the southward ; where the fishing continues all *July* and *August*. There are other fisheries of less note, in *September*, at *Nikhelu*, *Bâbrayn*, and *Julfar* : also at *Maskat*, *Teva*, and *Ras al Gât* ; but the pearls of these last places are of very little value. They are found in oysters, which are brought up by divers ; and lie from twelve to fifteen fathom deep^k.

BUT to return. *Shâb Kothbo'ddin*, having possessed himself of *Bâbrayn*, went and took *Katîf*, *Karga*, and *Darab*. Encouraged by this great success, he pursued his good fortune,^{Other conquests.} and conquered all the coast of *Persia*, and *Arabia*, within the gulf ; from whence he received

¹ TEIXEIRA, p. 397, & seq.

^k Ibid. p. 398, & seqq.

(A) Which signifies, *the two seas*. *Teixeira* writes *Barben* and *Buharim* ; but faultily, as he does most of his proper and local names. *Bâbrayn* is the dual of the Arabic *Bâbr*, *the sea*.

(B) Or, as *Teixeira* makes it, of *Korobandel*, rather

Koro Bander ; that is, as he says, *the port of rice* ; so called from its plenty on that coast. *Tutan Kori* (which Europeans corruptly call *Tutokori*, and *Tutekorin*) is properly a town on the coast to the east of cape *Keri*, or *Komori*.

a
a considerable yearly income. Some time after his return to *Hormúz*, he crossed over to *Persia*, in order to take the diversion of hunting, accompanied by his brother, *Názomo'ddin*; who, in return for the affection he bore him, contrived to murder him. To this end, being then at *Rúdsbahr*, he pretended to follow a hare towards *Meridan*; by which means, getting at a distance from the king, he came, with his confederates, to the mouth of the *Dozár*; a rivulet opposite to *Jerún*, or *Hormúz*, five miles distant: and, embarking there in Tarrankas, passed over to that island; which, being destitute of the principal men, was easily subdued by him; who thereupon assumed the title of king, in the year 745.

Hej. 745.
A. D. 1344.
Názomo'd-
din rebels;

b
As soon as *Sháb Kothbo'ddin* understood which way his brother was gone, he pursued him full speed: but, by the time he reached the banks of the *Dozár*, the usurper was landed at *Hormúz*. So that, not being able to proceed any farther for the present, he withdrew to *Kolongo*, on the continent; from whence he sent expresses into all parts of his dominions, demanding men, and other assistance, to reduce his rebel brother. At the same time, *Málek Názomo'ddin* sent advice of his usurpation to all the Wazírs, or governors, throughout the kingdom of *Hormúz*, requiring them to acknowledge, and submit to, him; with promises of great rewards to such as complied. However, the success did not answer his expectation; for no towns obeyed his summons, excepting some few belonging to *Kiriakestán*; and these, so soon as summer arrived, sent to tell him, that, unless he sent them forces to defend their date-trees, which are the main support of the inhabitants, against the troops of *Kothbo'ddin*, who infested them, they should be obliged to submit to him¹.

20. *usurps the*
crown.

c
NÁZOMO'DDIN, taking into consideration the distress of those people, resolved to go over to the continent: but first thought proper to sound the inclinations of the Wazírs, and chief men about his brother; on whom, however, his practices had no effect; excepting one *Omar Soyo'ddin*, who was *Kothbo'ddin*'s porter, and a colonel in his army. Having gained this man, he passed over into *Persia*; and marched towards *Kolongo*. *Kothbo'ddin*, on this advice, advanced to meet him; and engaged his troops: but, in the heat of action, the traitor, *Soyo'ddin*, going over to the usurper, with the greater part of his army, he immediately retired towards *Jáskes*, a maritime town, forty leagues distant; and crossed the gulf to *Kalagát*, in *Arabia*. He continued a twelvemonth at this port, which, by his presence, thrived exceedingly; the ships, bound from *India* to *Hormúz*, stopping there. At the year's end, he received advice, that *Názomo'ddin* was dead; and had ordained in his will, d
that the eldest of his two sons, *Shámbe* and *Shádi*, should immediately repair to *Kalagát*; and, kissing *Sháh Kothbo'ddin*'s foot, resign the kingdom to him, as being his due. However, the young prince did not think fit to obey the dying commands of his father.

21. *His sons*
succeed;

e
ON the other hand, *Kothbo'ddin* seemed to be much concerned at his brother's death; and performed his obsequies with extraordinary pomp: putting himself, and all his attendants, in mourning. At the same time, he wrote consolatory letters to his nephews; offering to look upon them as his own sons. But they, little regarding their uncle, or his kind professions, behaved after such a manner, in the government of affairs, that the whole kingdom was offended at their follies and cruelties. *Kothbo'ddin*, hearing of the disorderly proceedings of his nephews, prepared to invade them: but, in his passage over to *Jakín*, one of the *Arab* towns in *Persia*, there met him a great number of armed Terradas, sent by the young princes; which he engaged, and defeated, destroying abundance of the forces on board. After this victory, he held on his voyage to *Kostak*; from which place *Amír Ayeb Shamso'ddin* came to meet him, with a good number of men from *Old Hormúz*, to join his forces. From thence sailing to *Jerún*, or *New Hormúz*, he landed at *Karu*, and possessed himself of that post.

submit to
Kothbo'ddin;

f
His nephews, perceiving they were undone, and could neither defend themselves, nor fly, delivered themselves up to their uncle; who, at the intercession of some persons of note, condescending to allow them wherewithal for their support, gave them the island of *Bábrayn* to dwell in, with their followers. *Sháb Kothbo'ddin*'s return considerably advanced the affairs of *Jerún*, or *Hormúz*; which had suffered exceedingly under the government of the two brothers. Peace ensued; justice was administered; the price of provisions fell, which, till then, had been very high: and they, who had fled, or been banished by the usurpers, were restored to their houses and estates^m.

raise new com-
motions;

g
MEAN time, *Shámbe* and *Shádi*, who were of a restless nature, had not been long at *Bábrayn* before they began to raise men, and gather vessels, in order to invade *Hormúz*. King *Kothbo'ddin*, being informed of their design, embarked to oppose them, with the greatest force he could levy. As soon as he arrived at *Keys*, where *Shádi* then was, he landed his men: but, meeting with much opposition, proceeded but slowly. As those in the island were greatly strengthened, and the king's men were incensed, that they held out so long; some of them, willing to put a speedy end to the enterprise, without orders, provoked *Shádi* g

¹ TEIXEIRA, p. 405, & seqq.

^m Ibid p. 406, & seqq.

a to an engagement. As that prince had the advantage on his side, he accepted the challenge, and obtained the victory, with a great slaughter of the *Hormûzians*. Shâh *Kothbo'ddîn*, on this defeat, retired, with such as had escaped the battle, to his vessels, and hasted back to *Hormûz*; where having recruited his forces, he returned to *Keys*. *Shâdi*, not thinking himself safe there, went away to *Bâbrayn*, where his brother was; while the king, who found no resistance after that prince's departure, gave the plunder of the island to his soldiers: and, leaving a good garrison there, returned to *Hormûz*, with an intent to prepare for an expedition against *Bâbrayn*.

As soon as he was departed, the two brothers gathered all the force they could in that island; and went over to *Keys*, in hopes to recover it: but, when they were half-way, most of their commanders deserted them, in order to join the king. Among the rest, were *Shamso'ddîn Mabmûd*, *Kamâlo'ddîn Ismael*, and *Nâfro'ddîn Moselek*, men of the first rank and quality. These, as they passed by *Keys*, gave notice to *Mir Tagab*, the governor, that he might be prepared to receive the two brothers, who were on the way to attack him. When they came up with the island of *Brokbt*, or *Queyshoma*, they called in at *Lâst*, and took on board *Sabeko'ddîn*, who was there in garrison; lest, having but a small force with him, he should not be able to withstand a sudden attack. *Shâmba* and *Shâdi* were not moved, by the desertion of their troops, to desist from their enterprise; but, being refused admittance at *Keys*, held on their way to *Brokbt*. *Kothbo'ddîn* had already sent a force of men and ships to *Dargân*, a town near *Lâst*, in order to secure that island; who, on the enemies arrival, engaged them at break of day, and bravely repulsed them both by sea and land, with considerable loss.

THE two brothers, being returned to *Bâbrayn*, fell at variance; each charging the other with the late disappointment. The difference ran so high, that, at length, *Shâdi* imprisoned *Shâmba*, and would have put him to death, had it not been for his mother, who reconciled them, and obtained his liberty. But *Shâmba*, after this, not caring to remain in *Bâbrayn*, went over to *Persia*, and settled near *Shîrâz*, in a village called *Fâl*; whence several great men of the kingdom of *Hormûz* draw their origin. The governor of *Shîrâz*, being informed of the prince's arrival, sent for him, and did him much honour; on account of the friendship which had subsisted between their fathers and predecessors.

d MEAN time, summer coming on, Shâh *Kothbo'ddîn*, king of *Hormûz*, resolved to pass that season at *Nâlestân*, a pleasant place in the country of *Mogostân*, in *Persia*, abounding with water and fruits. But, soon after his arrival there, he fell sick and died, in the year 447.

TURAN SHAH succeeded his father *Kothbo'ddîn*; and, proving a good prince, was loved and honoured by his subjects. As soon as he ascended the throne, he sent one *Mabmûd Omâr*, a man of valour and experience, to govern the isle of *Keys*. For all this *Shâdi*, who knew his abilities, did not desist from his design of invading that island from *Bâbrayn*. He accordingly landed there, and had several engagements with the governor: but, finding he made no great progress in his enterprise, he tampered with a kinsman of his, who promised to deliver him up on the first opportunity. To bring this plot to bear, *Shâdi* pretended to come to an accommodation; and, to that end, demanded a conference with *Mabmûd Omar*; who too readily consenting, they had an interview. *Shâdi*, while they walked together, amused him with discourse, that he might not suspect his designs; and, when he had insensibly drawn him at a distance from his men, seized him before he was aware, and deprived him of sight (C). After which, he took possession of the island.

ON this news, *Turân Shâh* set out for *Keys*, and arrived so suddenly, that *Shâdi* had not time to escape: however, it being winter, he made a shift, in a very dark night, to get off in a Tarrankin, although closely watched at land as well as at sea; and fled to *Lâst*, in the island of *Brokbt*, or *Queyshoma*. The king, informed of it, immediately pursued him; and, casting anchor at *Dargân*, near *Lâst*, those who were with *Shâdi* abandoned him, and repaired to *Turân Shâh*. *Shâdi*, finding himself forsaken, hasted to his Tarrankin, and set sail, with such expedition, that he got clear away before the persons sent to seize him could come up. However, he did not long survive this disgrace: for, soon after his arrival at *Bâbrayn*, he died.

^a TEIXEIRA, p. 408, & seqq.

(C) This was practised long before and since by the kings of *Hormûz* as well as *Persia*. There were at *Hormûz*, in *Teixeira's* time, on a hill about a mile from the city, the ruins of certain houses, where the kings kept their blinded kindred. The operation was performed with a copper basin, made violent hot; which, passing

three or four times before the eyes, took away the sight, without altering them to appearance. *Maffey* informs us, in his *Hist. Ind.* l. v. that, when *Albuquerque* took possession of the island, in 1414, or 15, there were no fewer than thirty lords of the blood royal, who had been blinded by the tyrants, jealous of their authority.

for mere vexation, leaving a son very young; on whom king *Turán Shâh* bestowed his father's a possessions.

Shâmba killed;

MEAN time, *Shâmba*, who had fled to *Shirâz*, hearing of his brother's death, hastened to *Bâbrayn*; where, finding the opportunity favourable, he seized on the island, and took a bloody revenge on all those, who, in the late troubles, had sided with *Shâdi* against him. He put many of them to death, without sparing his infant nephew; whilst others fled the island, for fear of the like treatment. However, *Mir Ajeb*, a prime man of *Bâbrayn*, resenting so much tyranny and insolence, with the assistance of his relations, and others who joined him, assaulted *Shâmba's* house, and killed him. After this, he set at liberty on *Ali Mohammed Palavân*, whom *Shâmba* had imprisoned; thinking, by his assistance, to usurp the sovereignty of the island. *Ali* not only consented, but, taking with him *Sheykh Hamed Râshid*, b another *Arab* commander, went over to *Katîf*, in *Arabia*, and demanded some forces of the governor *Sheykh Majed*, under pretence of opposing *Mir Ajeb*. The governor, supposing that these two intended to usurp the island of *Bâbrayn*, not only refused to grant what they asked, but secured, and sent them in custody of an officer to *Hormûz* °.

Troubles at Bâbrayn.

As soon as *Turán Shâh* was informed of what had happened at *Bâbrayn*, he set sail for that island, and carried his prisoners along with him. On his arrival there, *Mir Ajeb* required of him the sovereignty of the island, in return for the service which he pretended he had done him, in killing *Shâmba*. But the king refused his request, and resolved to punish him. Whereof *Ajeb* being informed, he left *Manânia*, the principal port-town of *Bâbrayn*, and retired to *Thiâr*, another on the back of it; where being found by the king's party, he was c brought before him, and had his head struck off. As to the two prisoners, *Turán Shâh*, finding that they had not served against him, not only gave them their lives, but preferred them. Having settled the affairs of this island, he had a mind to see *Kâtîf*, on the opposite coast; and only separated by a narrow arm of the sea. He went over with his forces, and was well entertained by *Sheykh Majed*; where having diverted himself for some days, he returned to *Bâbrayn*, and from thence to *Jerûn*, or *Hormûz* (D). *Turán Shâh* spent the rest of his life in peace; and died in 779, after a reign of thirty years.

Hej. 779.
A. D. 1377.
23. Massûd.

His sons succeeded him in the following manner. *Massâûd*, the eldest, mounted the throne on his father's decease, and enjoyed it peaceably during his life.

24. Shahaboddin.

SHAHABO'DDIN, the second son, succeeded his brother *Massâûd*; and although in his d time there were some commotions, yet they were neither considerable, nor difficult to suppress.

25. Salgor Shâh;

SALGOR SHAH, the third son of *Turán Shâh*, ascended the throne next. In his reign, there started up in *Persia* *Sufi Khalîl* (E); who possessed himself of that whole kingdom, to the very shore opposite to *Jerûn*; to which he would fain have passed over, but could not for want of shipping; and it is said, that, for mere vexation, he designed to have levelled mountains to fill up the sea; while *Sâlgor* went about the island and city, singing verses to this purport: *my enemy's heart burns, because I am encompassed by the sea*. At length *Khâlîl* went away, without taking any thing from him, but what he had on the continent; where the king of *Hormûz* possessed, even in the time of our author (though not so absolutely as c before), seventy leagues along the coast, and twenty-eight within land; wherein are comprehended the *Amadizes* and *Gaules* (F), fierce and warlike nations. They enjoyed these lands, paying to the kings of *Persia* a certain acknowledgement, called *Mokararias*, that they might not ravage them; as they did sometimes when the tribute was held back. *Sâlgor* had no other remarkable war besides this, but spent his days in peace.

invaded by Khalil.

26. Shâh Weis.

SHAH WEIS ascended the throne on the death of *Sâlgor*; and, as no disturbance happened during his reign, *Hormûz* thrived considerably by the advantage of peace. *Shâh Weis* dying (G),

27. Seyfo'ddin.

SEYFO'DDIN inherited the crown of *Hormûz*, or *Ormûz* °. In his time, the *Portuguese* subdued this island, under the conduct of the renowned *Alfonso de Albuquerque*. This gene- f

° TEIXEIRA, p. 410, & seq.

° Ibid. p. 413, & seqq.

(D) Thus far *Teixeira* has taken from the history written by this prince, which ends here. What he adds cannot be very exact; for he omits *Mohammed Shâh*, under whom, in 1397, *Timûr* conquered *Hormûz*. See before, p. 541.

(E) This must be *Sufi*, or *Sofi Khalîl Mutulun*, general to *Bay Sanker Mirza*, son of *Takub Beg*, a prince of the *Ak Koyunlu* dynasty, who succeeded his father, in the year 896 of the *Hejrah*, and of Christ 1490; so that it could not be long before the time of *Sufi Ismael*, as *Teixeira* represents it. And the great distance of 118 years,

from *Turán Shâh's* death, shews there is an omission of one or more reigns.

(F) *Teixeira* knows not whether the fiction (or romance) of *Amadis de Gaul* may not be derived from hence.

(G) In the first place it is written *Shâh Weis*, which probably stands for *Shâh Weis*, *Weis*, or *Avîs*; and in this place *Shâh Weis*; but the *English* translation of *Teixeira*, (which we make use of) is faultily printed, as well as the original.

a ral sailed from *Lisbon* in *March* 1508, in company with *Nunno da Cunha*; from whom he parted in *August*, with seven ships and 460 soldiers; directing his course for the coast of *Ara-
bia* and *Persia*, pursuant to orders received from the king of *Portugal* before he set out. He first touched at *Kâlayât*, or *Kâlagât*, often mentioned before; and, settling a peace with the governor, proceeded ten leagues farther to *Kûriât*: where being ill received, he stormed and took the town, after great opposition, though with the loss of only three men. His soldiers plundered the place, and then burned it, with fourteen vessels in the harbour: after which he sailed eight leagues farther to *Maskât*, a place stronger than the former, and well provided with men; who flocked thither to defend it. But the governor, unwilling to hazard an assault, made peace with him, and sent provisions to his fleet; when on a sudden the cannon of the town began to play on his ships, and obliged him to draw off: for, having in the interim received a supply of 2000 men from *Hormûz*, the officers refused to stand to the treaty. But *Albuquerque*, landing his men next morning by day-break, attacked the town so boldly, that, as the *Portuguese* entered at one gate, the *Arabs* fled out of another.

AFTER having plundered *Maskât*, he passed on to *Sobâr* (H); whose governor submitted to pay king *Manuel* the same tribute which he paid to the king of *Hormûz*. *Orfukam*, a town fifteen leagues farther, being deserted by its inhabitants, was plundered; which done, he hoisted sail for *Hormûz*; whose reduction was the principal object of his voyage.

He arrived there about the end of *September*; at what time, the king being but twelve years old, *Hormûz* was under the government of *Khojâ Attâr*, a man of parts and courage: who, hearing of *Albuquerque's* exploits, had laid an embargo on the ships in harbour, and hired troops from the *Persians* and *Arabs*. So that, when the *Portuguese* fleet entered the port, there were in the city 30,000 fighting men; and in the harbour 400 vessels, sixty of considerable bulk, with 2500 men on board. *Albuquerque*, to shew those people the greatness of his resolution, came to an anchor among five of the largest ships; firing his cannon, to strike terror along the shore, which was soon covered with 8000 men. Finding that no messenger came from *Sayfo'ddin*, he sent for the captain of the biggest ship, and told him he had orders to take the king of *Hormûz* into his protection, and grant him leave to trade in those seas, provided he paid a reasonable tribute: but in case of refusal, he was to make war. It was doubtless no small presumption to offer a king the liberty of his own seas; and impose conditions on him, with that handful of men, and few ships, against such a numerous force.

THE message however, bold as it was, was delivered to the king, and *Khojâ Attâr*: who, after some delay, to gain time; on being pressed for an answer, sent word, that *Hormûz* used not to pay, but receive, tribute. Next morning discovered the walls, shore, and vessels; crowded with armed men; while the windows and tops of houses were filled with both sexes, as spectators of what should ensue. Presently, the cannon beginning to play furiously on both sides, the enemy, by favour of the smoke, twice attacked the *Portuguese* ships, with 130 boats well manned: but many were sunk, and the rest forced by the artillery to retire. By this time, several ships were sunk as well as taken, and thirty set on fire; which cutting their cables, were driven flaming on the *Persian* coast, where they burned others which lay aground. This struck so great a terror into all the gazing multitude, that they fled the city; and sending to offer *Albuquerque* whatever had been demanded, he stopped farther proceedings. Thus, with the loss of only ten men, most of the enemy's vessels, full of riches, were destroyed, and 1700 of themselves killed.

KHOJA ATTAR would have eluded the agreement; but, on the general's threats, the articles were drawn, and sworn to by both parties. Their substance was, that the king of *Hormûz* did submit himself to king *Manuel*, with a tribute of 15,000 Sharfins (I) yearly; and should assign the *Portuguese* ground to build a fort. The fort was immediately begun (at the point of *Jerân* before-mentioned), and much advanced in a few days: but the Wazîr, who could not bear it, designed to kill *Albuquerque*; and, for that purpose, urged him to give audience to ambassadors, which he pretended came from *Persia*. Finding his artifice did not succeed, he endeavoured to corrupt the *Portuguese* with money; and met with such success, that some of his captains opposed all his designs, gave intelligence of his small force to the enemy (K), and persuaded five sailors to desert: which animated *Khojâ Attâr* to break the peace.

9 DE FARIA Port. Asia, vol. i. p. 126, & seq. MAFHEY, Hist. Ind. 1. 2, & 3.

(H) Written also *Scar*, and *Zoar*; but faultily.

(I) Sharafin, or Xerefin, is about half a crown.

(K) Maffey says it was the building of the fort, which discovered the small number of *Portuguese*; whom *Attâr*

imagined to have been at least 2000; and that it was the being obliged to serve as labourers in that work, which made the men of quality, and others, to murmur.

Albuquerque
retires.

ALBUQUERQUE, burning with revenge, attempted to fire some ships in the arsenal: but, failing, resolved next to besiege the city, battering it for eight days with his cannon. There was a hot dispute at some wells, which supplied the besieged (L), where he was in great danger, his retreat being cut off by the king, and *Khojâ Attâr*, who came to support their men: but a fortunate ball opened a way for him, by putting the enemy's horse in confusion.

The treaty
eluded;

In these actions he found his soldiers but ill disposed to obey him. His captains jealous about the command of the fort, when built, three of them drew up a paper of reasons against the enterprise, and left him at a time when the city must have surrendered for want of water: two others would have done the same, if he had not, by severity, forced them to obey him. However, after sailing to the island of *Queyshom*, and burning the town there, he thought fit to return to the island of *Sokâtra*, finding he had but a few men left, and winter drawing on. But as soon as that season was passed, he set out again for *Hormûz*; though too weak to effect what he intended, yet at least to sound the designs of the king, and his Wazîr *Khojâ Attâr*. Having in the way taken and plundered *Kâlayât*, in revenge for some injuries lately done the *Portuguese*, he cast anchor before *Hormûz*, on the 13th of September, and sent notice to the king and his minister of his arrival. They answered, that they were ready to pay the tribute agreed on, but would not consent to the building a fort. As to that which *Albuquerque* had begun, *Khojâ Attâr* had finished it, the better to oppose him. Upon this, he resolved again to besiege the island, and stationed his ships accordingly; but the success was much the same as before. One of his captains, with eight private men, were killed, and he in great danger himself: whereupon he returned to *India*, and next year suc-

A. D. 1509.

ceeded Don *Francisco de Almeyda* in the dignity of viceroy.

ratified at last;

A. D. 1514.

ALBUQUERQUE was diverted from the thorough reduction of *Hormûz*, by other famous conquests, for the three first years of his government: but in 1514, resolving to complete his design, he set out from *Goa*, on the 20th of February, with a fleet of twenty-seven sail, and 1500 *Portuguese*, besides 600 *Malabars* and *Kanârans*. On the 26th of March, he anchored at *Hormûz*, and sent to demand of the new king (M), and his Wazîr, *Reis Nûro'd-dîn*, the delivery of the fort he had begun there, with the instrument of submission made of that kingdom by his predecessor *Sayfo'ddîn*; who was since dead. Every thing was consented to, because there was no power to resist, and the treaty ratified by the Wazîr. After this, *Albuquerque* went on with building the fort to his own mind; and, on a scaffold near it, received an ambassador, who came from *Shâh Ismâ'el*, king of *Persia*, to conclude a treaty of peace (N). Before the arrival of the viceroy, *Reis Ahmed* (O) was sent to *Hormûz*, with a design to seize it for *Ismâ'el*; and, having gotten the intire ascendant over the king, had brought people secretly into the city to kill him, when a favourable opportunity should present. To deliver him from this danger, *Albuquerque* procured an interview with him, though not without much reluctance on the part of the Wazîr; who entering foremost in a rude manner, and being known to be armed, as well as some of his followers, was presently slain by the viceroy's command. When the fort was finished, *Albuquerque* persuaded the king, against his will, that it was for the safety of the city to remove all its cannon thither. And thus was this rich kingdom brought in subjection to the *Portuguese*.

and a fort
built;

Condition of
the kings;

THE native kings were still allowed to reign from father to son, as they did before, with this difference: that what formerly they held independently of any other power, they afterwards enjoyed by grant of the king of *Portugal*; and had only the government of their *Mohammedan* subjects; nor even that without some restriction. They maintained the state of kings, and had considerable customs: but the *Portuguese* governors converted the greater part of it to their own use; and whereas his *Hormûzian* majesty could not go out of the island without leave of the governors, they for some time used to grant it, but afterwards wholly debarred him of that liberty. In this condition *Hormûz*, or *Ormûz*, continued; the natural kings succeeding one another, under the dominion of the *Portuguese*, the space of 114 years; till 1622, when it was taken from them by the *Persians*, assisted by the *English*, as hath been already related.

^r DE FARIA, p. 130, & seqq. MAFF. 1. 3, 4.

^s Ibid. ibid. p. 140, & seqq. & l. 4, & 5.

^t TEIX-

EIRA, Hist. Pers. p. 415.

^u See before, the reign of Shâh Ismael Sufi.

(L) These wells were at *Turumpûka*, or *Turumbâka*. Maffey writes *Turumbata*, in the S. W. part of the isle, as hath been already said.

(M) His name was *Tor*, according to Maffey. Soon after *Albuquerque's* departure the first time from *Hormûz*, *Attâr* died of age; and *Nuro'ddîn*, governor of the city, slew *Seyfo'ddîn*, setting up his brother *Tor*, and placing his own friends in the chief offices of state; among whom were the three brothers, *Modhaffer*, *Ali*, and *Ahmed*. Maff. Hist. Ind. 1. 5.

(N) According to Maffey, it was not till after the death of *Ahmed*, that the ambassador came from *Ismâ'el*; who,

finding *Hormûz* to be reduced with so small a force, thought it better to lose his tribute from thence, and make a peace, than begin a war with the conqueror.

(O) According to Maffey, he was the *Ahmed* mentioned in the last note but one, who, by degrees, got the power into his own hands, and, after *Tor* had yielded up the fort, would hear speak of no other conditions; chusing rather to yield the kingdom to the king of *Persia*, than him of *Portugal*, in case it was to be yielded. For this reason, and others which were discovered, *Albuquerque* had him killed; and then all things were easy.

B O O K XII.

The history of the Turkmâns and Uzbeks.

C H A P. I.

History of the Turkmâns.

S E C T. I.

The origin, name, branches, and settlements, of the Turkmâns.

^a **M**IRKOND, a famous *Persian* historian, often cited in our history of the first *Oriental* dynasties of the *Turks*, in his account of *Ogûz Khân*, the great ancestor of those *Turkmâns*,^b people, informs us; that the children of this prince, and part of the tribes *their origin*; descended from them, spread themselves not only over *Mâwara'nabr*, or the countries beyond the *Jibûn*, or *Amû*, which bounds *Persia* on the north; but also to the south of that river, and along the borders of *Khorassân*, a province of *Irân*, or *Persia* at large: that those people, taking wives out of the women of the country, their children retained in their speech something of the harshness found in that of their parents; and this gave occasion to the inhabitants of *Khorassân* to call them *Turkmâns*, or *Turkomâns*; that is to say, *Like the Turks*: for, in the *Persian* language, *Turkmân*, and *Turkmanen*, have this signification^a.

^b JEMALO'DDIN, in his history dedicated to *Mirza Iskânder*, a prince descended from *Timûr*, and named or *Tamerlan*, says, that the *Turkmâns* formerly dwelt in the country beyond *Turkestan*: from whence removing in great numbers into *Persia*, the inhabitants of those parts, who observed that they had a great resemblance of the *Turks*, their neighbours, and came from the same quarter, called them *Turkmâns*, in the sense above-recited^b. According to *Abû'lghazi Khân*, the *Turkmâns* are sprung from the antient inhabitants of *Turkestan*; and dwelt in the sandy grounds with the tribe of *Kânkli*; till, separating themselves, at length they went to inhabit towns and villages^c.

^c WHETHER the *Turkmâns* quitted their native country by constraint, or choice, does not *first migration*; distinctly appear: but this is certain, that in the reign of Soltân *Sanjar*, sixth Soltân of the *Seljuk Turks* of *Irân*, a colony of *Turkmâns*, under the name of *Gâz*, and *Ceshm Gâz*, settled themselves in the countries of *Baklân*, *Kandar*, *Khailân*, or *Kallân*, and *Khafanian*, in the province of *Badakhshân*, spreading themselves within a little way of the city *Balkh*, to the number of 40,000 families. In return for this liberty, they agreed to pay the Soltân, yearly, 24,000 sheep, by way of tribute: but the officer, who levied this tribute, happening into a dispute with their chiefs about the quality of the sheep which they delivered them, they fell from words to blows; and in the fray the officer was killed. After this, the *Turkmâns* ceased paying the tribute for some years; during which time, the Soltân's kitchen was supplied with the usual number of sheep at the expence of his steward; who at length complained to the governor of *Balkh*, letting him know that he could furnish no more provision of that kind, till the *Turkmâns* paid the tribute as formerly.

^d THIS affair being reported to the king's Divân, or council, the *Turkmâns* were adjudged *take Sanjar* to pay 30,000 sheep, instead of 24,000, which they paid before; and to receive an officer *prisoner*;

^a MIRKOND in *Ogûz Khân*, ap. D'Herbel. *Bibl. orient.* p. 900, art. *Turkmân*.
ubi supra.

^c ABU'LGHAZI KHAN, *Genealog. Hist. of the Turks*, &c. p. 32.

^b D'HERBEL.

from the court, that there might be no failure of the kind for the future. But the *Turkmâns*, refusing to admit of any officers over them, excepting those of their own nation, made away with him whom the Soltân had sent them. Hereupon the governor of *Balkh* marched out to chastise their insolence: but the *Turkmâns*, routing his forces, killed both him and his son. On the news of this defeat, Soltân *Sanjar* marched in person against these strangers: who, terrified at his approach, sent deputies to implore his clemency; and offer, besides the usual tribute, to pay two rubles of silver, which make about two marks, for every family. The Soltân was inclined to pardon them, and accept of the satisfaction: but he was dissuaded by the chief officers of his army; who engaged him in a very unfortunate war: for his troops were entirely defeated, and himself, with all his women, taken prisoners^d by the *Turkmâns*; among whom he remained a prisoner for some years, as hath been already related^b in the reign of that prince^c.

settle in Armenia;

THE *Turkmâns*, after this, passed into *Persia*, and settled in several provinces of it, by favour of the princes both of the *Seljuk* and *Karazmian* dynasties, who employed them in their service. By this means, at length, they migrated westward into the countries of *Azerbejdân*, and *Armenia*; where their power increasing, by the accession of numbers, who retired into those parts, either through choice, or to avoid the arms, first, of the *Karazmians*, and then of the *Mogols*, under *Jenghîz Khân*, they at length founded two monarchies; of which we shall treat hereafter. It has been already observed, that both the *Seljuk* and *Otmân* Soltâns have been considered as of the race of *Turkmâns*, by the Soltâns of other *Turkish* dynasties; but whether this be fact or not, it seems a very difficult matter to determine.

and Karazm.

AT the same time that several tribes, or bodies, of *Turkmâns* migrated in the manner now mentioned, another part of them staid behind, and settled about the banks of the river *Amû*, and the shore of the *Caspian* sea; where they still possess a great number of towns and villages in the country of *Astarabâd* and *Karazm*, which they inhabited long before the irruption of the *Tatars*. From these two different establishments of the *Turkmâns*, they may be divided into eastern and western. The former of these have been hitherto little known to the *European* historians and geographers; although they are much more numerous at present than the western *Turkmâns*: for those authors, who, before *D'Herbelot*, had given extracts from the oriental writers, take little notice of them; and others relate no more than what occurs in the *Byzantine*, and such western historians, who lived at too great a distance to be acquainted^d with their affairs.

Oriental Turkmâns;

ABU'LGHAZI, Khân of *Karazm*, who was a great enemy to the *Turkmâns*, settled in that country, of which he was sovereign, mentions them in his history on several occasions; sometimes, according to the parts which they inhabited, as when he speaks of the *Turkmâns* of *Mankishblâk*, *Abu'lkhân*, and *Dehistan*^f; which last territory belongs to *Persia*: but oftener on account of their different tribes, or branches: of which the chief are, 1. *Adâkli Khisserili*; these dwell on both sides of the *Amû*, from the province of *Pishga* to that of *Karakizet*^g. 2. *Ali-ili*; inhabiting from the province of *Karakizet* to the mountain of *Abu'lkhân*. 3. *Ti-u-âzi*; who possess the rest of the banks of the *Amû*, from *Abu'lkhân* to the sea: these three tribes are surnamed *Utzil*^h. Besides them, we meet with the following; viz. *Taka*,^e *Sarik*, *Yamut*, *Irsari*, *Khorassân-saluri*ⁱ (these five formerly made but one tribe); *Itzki-saluri*, *Hassan*, *Ikdur*, *Dsauduz*, *Arabaz*, *Koklân*, *Adâkli*^k, *Karâmit*^l, and some others less considerable^m. A curious *English* traveller in this country, in the sixteenth century, remarks, that all the country from the *Caspian* sea to *Urgbenj*, the capital of *Karazm*, is called the land of *Turkmân*ⁿ.

way of living;

THE oriental *Turkmâns* are tall and robust, with square flat faces, like the occidental; only they are swarthier, and have a greater resemblance of the *Tatars*. In summer, they wear long gowns of callico, or thick cloth; and in winter, the like gowns of sheep-skin. Cattle and husbandry afford them subsistence, according to the different parts they possess. In winter, they dwell in towns and villages about the river *Amû*, and towards the shores of the *Caspian* sea: in summer, they encamp where they can find the best pasturage, and good water (A). They are, as to belief, all *Mohammedans*. Such as are settled in the country of *Astarabâd* generally follow the *Persian* sect: but the tribes, who dwell in *Karazm*, conform with the *Uzbek Tatars*, in sentiments of religion; although neither one nor the other give themselves much trouble about it.

^d D'HERBEL. ubi supra.

^e See before, p. 184.

^f Genealog. Hist. p. 235.

^g Ibid.

p. 256.

^h Ibid. p. 236, 239.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 238.

^k Ibid.

^l P. 256.

^m P. 238.

ⁿ JENKINSON. Voy. to Bogar, in Purch. vol. iii. p. 237.

(A) *Jenkinson* says, that those of the land of *Turkmân* above mentioned, dwell in tents, roving in great companies, with their camels, horses, and sheep; which

last are large, and have tails weighing sixty or eighty pounds.

THESE *Turkmâns* are extremely turbulent; and submit with great reluctance to the *Tatar* their charac-
yoke in *Karazm*. They are very brave; and, at least, as good horsemen as their lords the *Uzbeks*: by whom being treated as conquered subjects, they are obliged to pay them tribute; and suffer several other impositions from those rigid masters. It is on this account chiefly, that they bear them so great animosity: but the *Turkmâns*, who dwell under the dominion of the *Persians*, are much better treated. Both together may amount to about one hundred thousand families.

WHEN the *Uzbeks* entered *Karazm*, under *Ilbars Khân*, that prince, after driving out the *Persians*, was joyfully received by the *Sârts*, or old inhabitants, and proclaimed *Khân* in 1505^a: but they met with great opposition from the *Turkmâns*. However, under *Sofian Soltân*, third *Uzbek Khân*, they submitted to a considerable tribute, part in sheep, and part in merchandize^b. Yet, not brooking this subjection, they often refused to discharge that obligation, till they were compelled by force. They likewise took part in the disputes, which, from time to time, arose among the *Uzbek* princes; who sometimes carried their point by means of their assistance. This naturally increased the stubborn humour of the *Turkmâns*, *Uzbeks of Karazm*, and made the *Uzbeks* jealous: insomuch that, although they had been very instrumental in setting *Abû'lghâzi Soltân* on the throne of *Karazm*, and were the first who proclaimed him *Khân* in the year 1644; yet, in remembrance of the troubles they had occasioned in the reigns of his predecessors, he cut off 2000 of them at one time by treachery. And, being resolved to reduce them so low, that they should not be able to raise disturbances for the future, he made several expeditions against them; in which they suffered severely^c. We find, by the latest accounts of travellers, that the *Turkmâns* still maintain a footing in the above-mentioned countries, and produce men eminent for their valour, and experienced in war; of which the late *Nadîr Shâh*, or *Tahmâsp Kûli Khân*, the conqueror of *Persia* and *India*, may be alleged as an instance. This is all that we think necessary to say of the oriental *Turkmâns*; who, having always been subject to the dominion of other princes, never erected any sovereignty of their own.

THE occidental *Turkmâns*, who for a long time possessed the western provinces of *Persia*, *Occidental* with the provinces westward as far as the *Euphrates*, are supposed, by some authors, to have *Turkmâns*; separated from their brethren of the east, when they first departed out of *Turkestan*; and, marching westward through the countries situated to the north of the *Caspian* sea, thence passed southward into *Armenia*, and the other provinces, which they afterwards subdued: but it seems more probable, that they migrated thither in the manner as hath been before sug- their various gested (B). These *Turkmâns* became very potent, under two dynasties, or successions, of fortune; their princes; and were, for some time, masters of a great part of *Irân*, or *Persia* at large (at least, of those provinces which the *Seljuk* Soltâns of *Irâk* had under their dominion); after they had driven out the descendants of *Timûr*, with all the *Tatars*, by the valour and conduct of *Usûn Hassan*, founder of the second dynasty. But since the race of *Haydr*, or the *Shâhs*, have possessed themselves of the *Persian* empire, and the *Othmân Turks* become masters of all the provinces west of the *Tigris*, the occidental *Turkmâns* have been reduced to a very low state. Nevertheless they still enjoy the finest plains along the banks of the *Euphrates*: but from being lords, as they were before, they are now fallen to be subjects of the *Turks*; who, for all their endeavours, have not been able absolutely to subdue their restless disposition, and reduce them every-where to a thorough dependence.

THEIR manner of living is much the same now that it was when they first came to settle their dwell- in these parts; dwelling under tents made of thick felt (C), without any fixed habitations. In make and features they resemble the oriental *Turkmâns*; but their women are very fair, and of a becoming size. They wear in winter long gowns of sheep-skins, with peaked bon- nets of the same; and, in summer, vests of callico, shaped like the *Kaftâns* of the *Turks*. They are good horsemen, and very brave. They profess *Mohammedism*: but perform the duties of it no better than their brethren in the east. They have their own chiefs, or heads of tribes; who govern them according to their laws (D). However, they are obliged to pay tribute to the *Othmân Soltân*, and to furnish a certain number of horsemen, whenever the *Porte* requires it. In winter, they come in quest of pasture along the banks of the *Euphrates*;

^a BENTINCK, in *Genealog. Hist.* p. 397, 426, & seq.
^b Ibid. p. 349, & seq.

^c Ibid. p. 220.

^d Ibid. p. 229, & seq.

(B) *Al Jamâbi* says, that these western *Turkmâns* left *Turkestan*, their native country, in the time of *Argûn Khân*. *Pocock. Suppl. ad Hist. Compend. Dynast.* p. 58. *Argûn* was the fourth *Khân* of the *Moguls*, successors of *Hû'akz*, in *Persia*; he began his reign in 682 or 683 of the *Hejrah*, and died in 690, or A. D. 1291.

(C) These tents are made in a round form, like towers. *Le Febvre, Theatre de la Turquie*, p. 362.

(D) They are governed by an *Aga*, or lord, of their own nation, independent of the *Pashâ*; who has nothing to do with the government of the *Turkmâns*. *Le Febvre*, ubi supra.

and, in summer, encamp in the vallies, inclosed within the mountains of *Armenia*, towards the a
springs of that river and the *Tigris*.

character; THESE *Turkmâns* are naturally great robbers; but the *Turkish* Pashâs, who command in
those parts, take all the care possible to bridle them: because they are interested in securing
the roads, as the frequent passage of the *Karawâns* makes a considerable article in their
revenue.

and strength; THE occidental *Turkmâns* are able to arm about 40,000 men. They are continually fight-
ing with the *Kurds*, or *Kyurds*, who are their neighbours to the east; and with the *Arabs*,
who border on them to the south: because these two nations often come and break the horns
of their cattle, and carry away their wives and daughters¹. They sometimes march two or b
three hundred families together, to secure themselves against the *Arabs*; attended with such
numerous droves of camels, goats, and sheep, that the land appears covered with them for
the space of two leagues: so that they pass for the richest shepherds in the *Othmân* empire.
They have some fire-arms among them; although they, for the general, make use only of
the bow.

very industri- BOTH men and women are never idle; but always doing something. Even on the road,
ous; they employ themselves either in spinning, or grinding their grain, with little hand-mills,
placed on the back of their camels: which carry a bag also on each side; one full of what is
to be ground, and the other to receive it when ground. Their language is the *Turkish*, a little
corrupted, and different from the vulgar tongue. They likewise approach nearer the *Turks* in
dress and religion, than any other nation inhabiting the *Othmân* empire². c

first settle- HAVING premised thus much concerning the manners and living of the *Turkmâns*, we shall
ments, proceed to give an account of the two dynasties founded by them in the west of *Asia*, which
went under the denomination of *Kara Koyunlû*, or the *Black Sheep*, and *Ak Koyunlû*, or the *White*
Sheep (E); so named from the figures of those animals being painted, or woven, in their ensigns,
or colours.

in the west. KONDAMIR observes, that, as these *Turkmâns* spread much in *Anatolia*, and dwelt there,
their name is still given to the country about *Trebizond*; which is called by the *Turks* *Kara*
Koyunlû-ili; that is, the *Country of the Black Sheep*. In like manner, the *Lesser Armenia*
retains the name of *Ak Koyunlû-ili*, or the *Country of the White Sheep*³. But this seems to d
be a mistake, for the *Greater Armenia*, or some neighbouring country to the east of the
Euphrates; and, according to *Al Jannâbi*, the *Ak Koyunli* kings began their dynasty in
Diyârbekr; which is part of *Mesopotamia*, adjoining to the *Greater Armenia*. The same
author says, that the *Kara Koyunli* princes erected their dominion about *Arzenjân*, and *Siwâs*,
in *Anatolia*⁴.

¹ BENTINK, ubi supra, p. 424.
Bibl. orient. p. 253, art. *Cara Coin*, & p. 900, art. *Turkmân*.

² LE FEBURE *Theatre de Turquie*, p. 362.

³ D'HERBEL.

⁴ Pocock, *Suppl. ad Hist. Dynast.* p. 58.

(E) The modern *Greeks* calls those two races *Mauro-
probatadæ* and *Asproprobatadæ*, which signify the same
things as *Kara Koyunlû* and *Ak Koyunlû*; or as others

terminate them in *li*, instead of *lu*. Some write *Koinlu*
for *Koyunlu*: but the latter seems the truer pronuncia-
tion.

S E C T. II.

The *Turkmân* dynasty of the *Kara Koyunlû*, or *Black Sheep*.

A. D. 1410.
Dynasty of
*Kara Koyun-
lû*;

THIS first dynasty of the *Turkmâns* does not properly take its rise from the dominion e
which their princes exercised over their own nation; although they seem to have had a
sort of independent authority in *Armenia*, and the other parts where they were settled; in the
life-time of *Kara Mohammed*, father of *Kara Yusuf*; but from the time that this latter, hav-
ing made himself master of *Azerbejân*, about the year 809 of the *Hejrab*, and of *Christ* 1406,
began a new succession of princes in that country: whose title, however, was not completely
established till 813, by the death of Soltân *Abmed Jalayr*; which put an end to the dynasty
of the *Ilkhânians*, and brought all their dominions under the power of the *Turkmâns*. This
happened on the following occasion.

their rise;
Hej. 783.
A. D. 1381.

AHMED JALAYR EBN AWIS, or Weis, ILKHANI (F), 4th Soltân of the *Ilkhânian* princes,
who reigned in *Irâk-Arabi*, and *Azerbejân*; having in the year 783, or the following, defeated

(F) Soltân *Awis*, or *Weis*, called also *Sheykh*
Weis, was son of the Amir *Sheykh Hassan Ilkhâni*, sur-
named, in *Turkish*, *Buzruk*, or the *Great*; who descend-
ed from *Abu Saïd*, last emperor of the *Moguls* in *Persia*.
For, after his death, several *Tatar* princes divided his
dominions among them. Of these *Sheykh Hassan Ilk-*

hâni, the father of *Sheykh Weis*, was one. *Abujaid* gave
him the government of *Anatolia*; and after his death,
which was in *Hejrab* 736, A. D. 1335, he conquered
several provinces. The title of *Ilkhâni* denotes his being
descended from *Hâlakû*, founder of the *Mogul* dynasty
in *Persia*; who was surnamed *Ilkhân*.

and

a and put to death his elder brother *Huffeyn*, who was in possession of those countries, *Adel Aga*, general of *Huffeyn*'s army, set up *Báyezíd*, the youngest brother, who, for fear, had fled to him, and defeated *Abmed*. Not content with this victory, he pursued that prince; who had retired to *Marualrúdb*, in *Khorassán*: but when he was advanced near that city, the principal officers of the army mutinied against him, in favour of *Abmed*; so that he was obliged to retire, with his new Soltán, to *Soltaniya*, in *Persian Irák*. On this advice, *Abmed* made haste to seize on *Tabríz*, or *Tauris*; which was abandoned: but he was scarce arrived, when, being informed that *Sheykh Ali* and *Pir Ali* were advancing to besiege him, he went out to meet them; and had certainly gained the victory, if, as the two armies came in fight, *Omar Kipchaki*, who was in the Soltán's army, had not gone over with his men to *Sheykh Ali*.

b AHMED, being weakened by this piece of treachery, made what haste he could to *Nakshiván*, there to join *Kara Mobammed*, or *Mehemed*, the *Turkmán*; who, putting himself at the head of 5000 horse, marched along with the Soltán against the two princes, whom they intirely defeated, and slew. *Abmed*'s affairs being by this means re-established, he returned in triumph to *Tauris*; and, to reward *Kara Mehemed* for so signal a piece of service, not only made him general of all his forces, but also gave him his daughter in marriage^r.

Four years after, *Timúr*, or *Tamerlán*, having, after the conquest of the rest of *Persia*, taken *Soltaniya*, *Tauris*, *Nakshiván*, and the rest of *Azerbeján*, from Soltán *Abmed*, with little or no opposition, he, in 789, marched from *Nakshiván* against the *Turkmáns*; who, he was informed, were continually molesting the *Mohammedans*, and attacking the *Karawáns*. In his way he plundered the castle of *Báyezíd*, called before *Aydín*, with the country about *Avenik*, or *Ván*, where *Meser*, son of *Kara Mehemed*, resided; and, having taken *Arzerúm*, he sent in pursuit of *Kara Mehemed* himself; who, having retired to the top of an inaccessible mountain, the troops were forced to return without success^z.

How long *Kara Mehemed* lived after this, does not appear from the authors in view. We find indeed, that, in 795, *Timúr*, being on his way to besiege *Bághdád*, met *Mehemed*, prince of the *Turkmáns*, near *Sberezúr*, in *Kurdestán*, whom he attacked, at the head of 100 men, and routed. Whether this was *Kara Mehemed*, or another chief of the *Turkmáns* in those parts, we are not positive; but this is certain, that, after his death, his son *Kara Yusef*, or *Iffuf*, succeeded to the command, not only of the *Turkmán* militia, who were in the Soltán's service, but also to that of all his troops, in the same extent that his father had enjoyed it^a. Mean time, Soltán *Abmed*, finding himself too weak to resist such a power as was coming against him, as soon as *Timúr* arrived before *Bághdád*, fled to *Hilleh*, a city on the *Euphrates*, with *Kara Yusef*; and, after some skirmishes, wherein he behaved with great bravery, escaped from a party of *Tatars*, sent in pursuit of him. *Timúr*, having thus become master of *Bághdád*, without opposition, staid there two months, and then departed, to reduce *Takrít*, a strong fortress, and the rest of *Irák Arabi*: which having done, he left a governor in *Bághdád*, and marched towards *Diyárbekr*^b.

KARA YUSEF had retired on this side, to defend his possessions in those quarters; but, on *Timúr*'s approach, in 796, to besiege the castle of *Alenjík*, he fled with his *Turkmáns*; whom the *Tatars* were ordered to pursue to the utmost. The same year, that conqueror took *Avenik*, or *Ván*, after a most obstinate defence, made by *Meser*, brother of *Kara Yusef*; who was sent prisoner to *Samarkand*, and *Atilmish* made governor. But some time after, while *Timúr* was in *Tatary*, *Kara Yusef* attacked *Atilmish*; and, having defeated and taken him, by way of requital, sent him in chains to *Bárkok*, Soltán of *Egypt*^c.

It is not certain whither Soltán *Abmed* was retired after his flight from *Bághdád*. *Ebn Arabsháh* says, he went to *Egypt*, and put himself under the protection of Soltán *Bárkok*: but that does not appear from *Sharíf Addín*'s history of *Timúr*; who, it is to be presumed, would in such case have made it an article of complaint against that Soltán. However it be, we find, that *Abmed* at length recovered *Bághdád*: for, in 801, *Mirán Sháh*, *Timúr*'s third son, who was governor of *Azerbeján*, marched to besiege him in that capital: though he was obliged to return, by an insurrection at *Tauris* in his absence. But, next year, the *Mírza Rástem*, son of *Omar Sheykh*, *Timúr*'s second son, set out from *Shíráz*, by his grandfather's order, toward *Irák Arabi*, with a design to reduce the country once more to his obedience. On advice of *Rástem*'s being arrived at *Mendeli*, in *Kurestán* (*), Soltán *Abmed* shut the gates of *Bághdád*, intending to sustain a siege. Just at this juncture a conspiracy was formed against him by *Sherwán*, *Timúr*'s governor of *Kurestán*; who, having revolted, fled to *Bághdád*; and,

^r D'HERB. p. 129, art. Avis Ahmed; and p. 253, art. Cara Coin, and Cara Coinlu. *Timur Beg*, l. ii. c. 49. p. 256, and 278. ^a D'HERB. p. 254. art. Cara Josef.

^z SHARIFO'DD. Hist.

^b Hist. Timur,

^c Ibid. c. 43, p. 468, and l. v. c. 17. p. 158.

(*) *Kurestán* seems to be put instead of *Kuzestán*, or *Khuzestán*.

by his money, bribed *Abmed*'s officers to his interest: but the Soltân, coming to discover this plot, by the account of money paid, which *Sherwân*'s secretary had accidentally dropped, put that traitor to death, with 2000 of his own corrupted officers^d.

retires to Tur-
key;

THIS done, not thinking himself safe, he fled by night into the country of *Kara Yusef*, and with him returned to *Bâghdâd*. Yet, soon after, hearing that *Timûr* was on his march to *Sivâs*, and fearing, if that conqueror should once more enter *Anatolia* and *Syria*, the passages would be blocked up, whilst he should be obliged to fly, they departed for *Anatolia*; and, at *Hâlep*, defeated *Temûrtâsh*, the governor, who advanced to oppose the Soltân's passage: but, on the way to *Sivâs*, being informed that a party of *Timûr*'s army was advancing against them, they turned out of the road. However, the *Tatars* overtook their baggage, and brought off the Soltâna *Dilshâde*, eldest sister of *Kara Yusef*, with his wife and daughter: but *Kara Yusef* himself and the Soltân, pursuing their route, escaped to the court of *Îlderîm Bâyezîd*, the *Othmân* Soltân^e.

Hej. 803.
A. D. 1400.

returns again;

Hej. 804.
A. D. 1401.

TIMUR, after the taking of *Sivâs*, instead of proceeding farther against *Bâyezîd*, turned towards *Syria*; which having subdued, he marched through *Mesopotamia*, subduing all the places as he went; and, in 804, encamped before *Bâghdâd*. This city was then governed by *Farraj* (or *Farruj*), who commanded in the absence of *Abmed*, with orders not to shut the gates against *Timûr*: but *Farraj* making opposition, the city was taken by assault, after a very strenuous resistance, and almost all the inhabitants (G) put to the sword. *Timûr*, not content with this slaughter, ordered all the buildings, except mosques, colleges, and hospitals, to be destroyed^f.

fies to Hellah.

HAVING taken this severe revenge on the once capital of the world, he marches back to *Anatolia*, in order to attack *Bâyezîd*; who, by the instigation of Soltân *Abmed* and *Kara Yusef*, had brought an army into the field; and, in revenge for the ruin of *Sivâs*, resolved to besiege *Arzenjân*, governed by prince *Tabârtan*; to whom *Timûr* had given it. As soon as *Abmed* was informed, that *Timûr* was advancing towards *Anatolia*, he left the *Othmân* camp at *Kaysariya*, and returned to *Bâghdâd*, with a design to rebuild it. But, before he could make any great progress, *Mirza Abubekr*, son of *Omar Shcykh*, arrived there one evening, when least expected. The Soltân was so surprised and pressed on this occasion, that he fled in his shirt; and, crossing the *Tigris* by boat, with his son *Taber*, got to *Hilleh*, and thence lower down the *Euphrates*, where he staid all winter; while the *Tatars* remained in the country, and then returned^g.

Kara Yusef

MEAN time, *Kara Yusef* continued in *Anatolia*, invading the provinces, and robbing the *Karawâns* under the protection of *Bâyezîd*; which made *Timûr* resolve to invade the *Othmân* dominions. *Bâyezîd*, on this advice, sent ambassadors with a letter, in very submissive terms, to *Timûr*; who, in answer, required, that *Kara Yusef*, the greatest robber and villain upon earth, as he called him, should either be put to death by the Soltân, sent in chains to *Timûr*, or expelled out of the *Othmân* dominions. Instead of complying, either on this or a second embassy, *Bâyezîd* sent a haughty answer; which determined *Timûr* to attack him, as we have before related in the reign of that Soltân: who, being defeated and taken, was reproached by *Timûr*, for hazarding a war, rather than deliver up the *Turkmân*^h.

takes Bâgh-
dâd;

fies to Egypt;
Hej. 805.
A. D. 1402.

WHEN *Timûr* was about *Cæsaria*, in his way to fight *Bâyezîd*, *Kara Yusef*, who was then at *Prusa*, or *Bursa*, fled to *Hilleh*, in *Arabian Irâk*, and thence to the deserts; where he assembled all the *Turkmân* hords at *Payan Hît*. At the same time, Soltân *Abmed* retired from *Bâghdâd*, to his son Soltân *Tâber*; who, excited by some of his father's *Amîrs*, crossed the *Tigris*, and revolted. Upon this, *Abmed* sending for *Kara Yusef* to join him, they both passed the river, and defeated the troops of *Tâber*; who was drowned in his flight. But afterwards, Soltân *Abmed* growing jealous of *Kara Yusef*, this last went to *Hilleh*; where gathering his troops, he marched back to *Bâghdâd*, and took it. Soltân *Abmed* in this distress hid himself in the city till night came, and then escaped to *Takrît*; from whence he retired to *Syria*, leaving *Kara Yusef* in possession of the country.

NEXT year, *Timûr*, being at *Kârs* in *Armenia*, sent his grandson, the *Mirza Abubekr*, to rebuild *Bâghdâd*, with orders to pursue and ruin *Kara Yusef*, who had made himself master of *Irâk Arabi* (H). *Abubekr*, having reached *Bâghdâd*, marched to *Hilleh*; where, being joined by *Mirza Rustem*, he passed the *Euphrates*, and met *Kara Yusef* over-against the town of *Sîb*, on the *Nabr al Ganam*, below that city. And although they had then with them

^d Hist. Timur, l. v. c. 1. p. 108, et c. 7. p. 131.

and ARABSHAH Hist. Timur, l. vi. par. 3.

c. 39. p. 230. and c. 43. p. 242. ARABSHAH, l. vi. p. 4.

^e Ibid. c. 15. p. 154.

^f Ibid. c. 32. p. 211.

^h Ibid.

(G) *Arabshâh* says, to the number of 90,000.

(H) *Mirkond*, father of *Kondamîr*, according to *Teixeira*, relates, that *Timûr* had bestowed *Bâghdâd* on Soltân *Abmed*; but that, while *Timûr* was gone into *Rûm*, or *Anatolia*, against *Bâyezîd*, *Kara Yusef* took it from *Abmed*; that *Timûr*, at his return, sent *Abubekr*,

his grand-son, who recovered it from the *Turkmân*, and restored it to the Soltân. *Teixeira*. Hist. Pers. ch. 45. But this is contrary both to *Sharifoddîn*'s History of *Timûr*, and that of *Kondamîr*; of which *D'Herbelot* has given an extract.

a but 3000 men, yet they attacked the *Turkmân* prince, who was intrenched with a numerous army, and defeated him, killing his brother *Yar Ali*. *Kara Yusuf* himself, with some of his domestics, fled into *Syria*: but his subjects, consisting of between 10 and 15,000 families, were pillaged, and his oxen, sheep, and camels, carried away. The soldiers of *Mirza Rûstem* brought in chains to their lord the wife of *Kara Yusuf*, mother of *Eskânder* and *Espendeh*, attended by the ladies of her court, and her relations. After this, *Mirza Abûbekr* ordered *Bâghdâd* to be rebuilt¹.

It may be presumed, that on this defeat *Kara Yusuf* fled to *Egypt*, as *Soltân Ahmed* had ^{is detained} done the year before. For we meet with no farther mention of their affairs in the history of ^{there,} *Timûr* till the year 807, when an ambassador arrived at *Samarkand* from *Mîlek al Nasr Farruj*, *Soltân of Egypt*, to that conqueror, who was preparing for his expedition to *China*, ^{Hej. 807.} A. D. 1404: with a letter concerning those two fugitive princes. *Timûr* sent back the ambassador with an answer^k, for the purport of which, not mentioned in *Sbarîfo'ddîn's* history of that monarch, we must have recourse to other authors.

According to *Kondamîr*, *Timûr* being informed that *Soltân Ahmed* and *Kara Yusuf* were ^{with Soltân} fled into *Egypt*, he wrote to *Farruj* to send him the first under a strong guard, and keep the ^{Ahmed.} latter prisoner. *Farruj*, who was willing to preserve the laws of hospitality, and, at the same time, in some measure satisfy *Timûr*, set guards over them: but, as they were not deprived of the liberty of conversing together, they made an agreement to attach themselves firmly to the *Egyptian* *Soltân*; and never make war on, but mutually assist, each other, as soon as ^c they should recover their liberty. This however did not happen till the death of *Timûr*, in the year 807, before-mentioned (I), soon after the ambassador of *Farruj* had left his court.

On the news of his death, *Farruj* caressed his prisoners exceedingly, and gave them their ^{Both released.} release. But *Kara Yusuf* was no sooner out of *Egypt*, than, putting himself at the head of his *Turkmâns*, he subdued great part of *Arabian Irâk*, and *Jazîreh*, or *Mesopotamia*, for *Soltân Ahmed*; who paying no regard to the complaints of the king of *Egypt*, this latter intirely withdrew his protection from him. The *Ilkhânian* prince, seeing himself abandoned by so powerful an ally, had recourse to stratagem; and, getting into *Bâghdâd*, with some of his followers disguised like beggars, raised such a sedition against the governor deputed by *Abûbekr Mirza*, to whom *Timûr* had given it, that the inhabitants drove him out, and proclaimed ^d *Ahmed* *Soltân*.

TOWARDS the end of the year 808, while *Abûbekr Mirza* was employed in the siege of *Kara Yusuf's* *Ispâhân*, the *Amîr Ibrâhîm* (K), marching out of *Shîrwân*, seized *Tauris*: but on *Soltân* ^{successes;} *Ahmed's* approach, he returned home. However, he did not let *Ahmed* long enjoy his diver- ^{Hej. 808.} sions there: for, next year, after he had taken *Ispâhân*, he obliged the *Soltân* to yield him ^{A. D. 1405.} *Tauris*, and make a precipitate retreat to *Bâghdâd*. Mean time *Kara Yusuf*, taking advantage of the divisions, fell with his fresh and warlike troops on the province of *Azerbejdân*; and, in two or three years, made himself intire master of it¹.

It is from this expedition (which he undertook about the year 809), that the beginning ^{begins to reign;} of his reign seems to be dated; at least from his conquest of *Tauris*, the capital of *Azerbejdân*, ^{A. D. 1406.} which he took, after having defeated and slain in battle the *Mirza Abûbekr*, son of *Mirân Shâh*, near the city of *Nakhshivân*, and afterwards *Mirân Shâh* himself, in the year 810.

SOLTÂN Ahmed, unable to see this conquest made of his patrimony without reluctance, ^{defeats Soltân} resolved to come to a rupture with the *Turkmân*; and, taking the opportunity, while he was at *Ahmed*; war against *Kara Otkmân* in *Armenia Major* (L), came and surprised *Tauris*; which he entered, without any opposition, in 813. As soon as *Kara Yusuf* heard of this loss, he marched with a ^{Hej. 812.} potent army against the *Soltân*; who went to meet him with all his forces, two leagues from that ^{A. D. 1409.} city: where a bloody battle was fought; in which *Ahmed* was defeated, and so hotly pressed, that he had scarce time to save himself in a garden, where he lay concealed for some time: but, being at length discovered, he was carried to his conqueror; who reproached him with his treachery, yet took not away his life. However, he disposed of his dominions, and laid him ^f under an injunction not to attempt any thing against his authority. But, soon after, the ^{puts him to} principal lords of *Irâk*, who were exasperated against the *Soltân*, advised *Kara Yusuf* to dispatch ^{death;}

¹ Hist. Timur, l. v. c. 51. p. 262. l. vi. c. 3. p. 302, 304, & c. 11. p. 325. p. 149. art. Avis Ahmed, and p. 254. art. Cara Josef.

^k Ibid. p. 25, 26.

¹ D'HERB.

(I) He died at *Otrâr*, or *Farâb*, on the river *Sihân*, in his way to *China*, the 10th of *Shaabân*, which answers to the 25th of *March* 1405.

(K) Doubtless the same whom *Teixeira*, from *Mirând*, calls *Sheykh Ebrahim*, king of *Shîrwân*.

(L) It is so in the article of *Cara Josef*; but in that of *Avis Ahmed ben Avis* he is said to have been in *Gur-*

jeshân, or *Georgia*. This may be reconciled from *Teixeira*, who says, he marched against *Kara Ozmân Bayânduri*, then possessed of *Diyâr-b. kr*; who, on his approach, fled; and that afterwards, in 815, he entered *Gurjeshân*, slew *Constantine* its king; then, returning by *Shîrwân*, brought away its king *Sheykh Ebrâkîm*. This is said to be done after the death of *Soltân Ahmed*.

him; under pretence, that, being naturally of a restless temper, he would not continue long without drawing on them a new war, which would complete their ruin (M). The *Turkmān*, following their counsel, ordered both him and his children to be put to death the same year. Thus fell the family of the *Ilkhānians*, and that of the *Black Sheep* took its place^m.

dies himself.

Hej. 822.
A. D. 1419.

AFTER the death of Soltān *Abmed*, *Kara Yusef* rose to a great pitch of power: for he possessed the provinces of *Irāk Arabi*, *Aljazireh* or *Mesopotamia*, and *Azerbejān*, a great part of *Gurjestān* (or *Georgia*), and *Armenia*. As he went on extending his dominions, he had begun to threaten *Syria* (N) and *Anatolia* with an invasion, when *Mirza Shāh Rūkh*, fourth son and successor of *Timūr*, after he had pacified the most eastern provinces of his empire, resolved, in the year 822, to revenge on him the death of his brother *Mirān Shāh*, which he had designed ever since that disaster. With this intent he entered *Azerbejān* with a formidable army; where *Kara Yusef*, with a like force of veteran troops, marched to meet him. In short, they were at the eve of one of the most bloody battles that ever was fought in *Asia*, when, luckily for *Shāh Rūkh*, *Kara Yusef* died in his camp at *Awjān* (O), near *Tauris*.

His reign;

THE *Turkmāns* being thus left without a commander (for none of either the children or relations of *Kara Yusef* were in the camp) they soon dispersed. Part of the troops rifled the tents of their prince. Some soldiers were so insolent as to cut off his ears, for sake of the pendants; and all in general abandoned his corpse, which continued a long time unburied; till some of his friends had it carried to *Arjīs* (P), and there interred it. The death of this prince happened in the year 823, and fourth of his reign.

A. D. 1420.
and children.

HE had six sons. *Pir Buda Khān*, who died before his father: *Amir Iskānder*, who succeeded him: *Mirza Jebān Shāh*, who succeeded *Iskānder*: *Shāh Mohammed*, who had the government of *Persia* (Q): *Amir Absal*, who died also before his father; and *Abu Saïd*, who was killed by his brother *Iskānder*ⁿ.

2. Iskānder
defeated
Hej. 824.
A. D. 1421.

AMIR ISKANDER, OR MIR ISKANDER (that is *Alexander*) second son of *Kara Yusef*, succeeded his father, in the year 824; and continued the war against *Mirza Shāh Rūkh*, by whom he was overthrown in *Diyārbekr*: after which he retired towards the *Euphrates*, while the victor marched back to *Tauris*. Yet he was obliged to withdraw into *Khorassān* with his army, not being able to gain that city, the inhabitants refusing to admit him, both for love and fear of *Iskānder*, who on *Shāh Rūkh*'s departure returned thither. In 828, he deposed and put to death *Amir Shāmsō'ddīn*, king of *Kalāt* (or *Akblāt*), in *Armenia*; and, in 830, did the like by Soltān *Abmed Kūrdi*, governor of the province of *Kūrdestān*.

by Shāh
Rūkh;

TWO years after, 832, he took *Soltāniyah*, in *Persian Irāk*: of which *Mirza Shāh Rūkh* being informed, marched again into *Azerbejān*; and, at *Salmās* (R), was met by *Iskānder*, and his brother *Jebān Shāh*; where they came to a battle; in which *Iskānder* being routed, fled into *Rūmestān* (or *Anatolia*). Yet could not *Shāh Rūkh* even this time make himself master of *Tauris*. However, having, upon his return to *Khorassān*, recruited his army, he marched back to the city of *Rey*, in *Irāk*, and took it. There *Jebān Shāh*, *Iskānder*'s brother, was reconciled to *Shāh Rūkh*, who made him a present of the city of *Tauris*, though not in his possession. Yet, on this grant, *Jebān Shāh* armed against his brother; who, being vanquished in battle, shut himself up in *Kalāt Alenjīk*, where the other besieged him. But, while *Iskānder* continued to defend himself in that almost impregnable fortress, his son, *Shāh Kobād*, tired with his father's ill fortune, murdered him, in the year 841 of the *Hejrah* (S), and sixteenth of his reign; as *Iskānder* had his own brother, *Abu Saïd*, soon after he ascended the throne, upon a very slight suspicion^o.

slain by his son.
Hej. 841.
A. D. 1437.

3. Jebān
Shāh.

AFTER the death of *Iskānder*, his brother *Jebān Shāh* possessed himself of his dominions; and, when well established in the throne, marched against the king of *Gurjestān*, or *Georgia*, whom he took prisoner. After this, moving about to several parts of *Pārs*, he reduced them all under his obedience; expelling from some of them the garrisons placed there by *Mirza Mahmūd*, the son of *Baysangor* (T), who was dead. These things he performed in

^m D'HERB. p. 149, art. Avis Ahmed; and p. 254. art. Cara Josef.
Josef. TEIXEIRA, c. 45. p. 324.
Elkander Emir.

ⁿ D'HERB. p. 254. art. Cara
TEIXEIR. Hist. Pers. c. 45. p. 325, and D'HERB. p. 320. art.

(M) *Arabshah* says, he was accused of governing in a very tyrannical and cruel manner.

(N) According to *Mirkond*, in *Teixeira*, he was marched as far as *Antāb*, in *Syria*, when the news of *Shāh Rūkh*'s invasion made him return.

(O) *Herbert* writes *Ojone*.

(P) A city in *Armenia*, on the north side of the lake of *Wān*, near *Kellat*, or *Akblat*.

(Q) He held it twenty-three years, till 833 of the *Hejrah*, of *Christ* 1431, when he was killed by *Abmed*

Hamadāni. *D'Herbelst* says, he was the second prince of the *Kara Koyunlū* race: that he succeeded his father, and reigned in *Persia* till slain, as above. See *Bibl. orient.* art. *Mohammed Schāh ben Kara Josef*, p. 614.

(R) A city about 70 miles from *Tauris*, on the *Shābi Dariasi*, or the *Shāb's lake*, which is about 80 miles long.

(S) *Al Jannabi* puts the end of his reign in 839.

(T) He was son of *Mirza Shāh Rūkh*, son of *Timūr*.

^a the years 856 and 857; in which last he also subdued the province of *Kermân*. In 861 (U), Hej. 856. he marched towards *Khorassân*; and, the next year, made war on *Mirza Ibrâhîm*, the son of *Allo'ddawlat*, whom he defeated: in which battle *Amir Zadoka Jagatay* was killed. Hereupon Soltân *Abû Saïd*, who then reigned in *Bâkk*, advanced against him: but *Jebân Shâh* having received advice that one of his sons had rebelled in *Tauris*, he came to an agreement with *Abû Saïd*; and, returning to his capital, seized the disobedient prince, and closely confined him.

This commotion was no sooner suppressed, than *Pir Budak*, another of his sons, who ^{His large d-} was governor of *Bâghdâd*, revolted also. *Jebân Shâh* marched thither with his forces; and, ^{minions;} after he had held him besieged a whole year, by the mediation of friends, matters were accommodated, about the year 869: but, when all things were amicably settled, his brother *Meh-* Hej. 869. ^b *med* murdered him without the father's knowledge. *Jebân Shâh* now arrived at a great pitch of power, being possessed of *Azerbeijân*, *Irâk*, *Pârs*, or *Proper Persia*, *Kermân*, and other parts of *Irân*, in the year 872, jealous perhaps of the growing power of the *Ak Koyunlû*. Hej. 872. ^c *Turkmâns*, turned his arms against their chief, *Uzûn Hassan Beg*, who was then no more A. D. 1467. than governor (X) of *Diyârbekr*; but he was forced to return, through the severity of the winter.

HOWEVER, he took the field again next summer: and, as it was his constant custom to make ^{slain by} himself drunk over-night, and sleep till far in the day, the army marched before, and he fol- ^{Hassan.} lowed afterwards, attended by about 1000 horse. *Uzûn Hassan*, who had intelligence of this, took 5000 men with him; and, waiting for him in an advantageous place, attacked him so ^c opportunely, that, before any relief could arrive, he was killed, and two of his sons taken. *Mehmed Mirza*, the elder, was put to death on the spot, and *Yusef* or *Issuf Mirza* had his eyes put out. *Jebân Shâh* lived seventy years, and reigned thirty-two. As to his character, he was reckoned the most lewd and wicked prince in those parts^p, at that juncture of time.

^d *KALKOKONDILAS*, in his history of the fall of the *Greek* empire, says, this prince, whom *Greek ac-* he calls corruptly *Tzanisa*, son of *Kara Yusef*, and lord of *Bâghdâd*, sent to offer *Mohammed II.* ^{cunt.} the *Ottomân* Soltân, 4000 quintals of butter and 1000 camels, not to meddle with the country about *Sebastê* (or *Siwâs*) in *Anatolia*. This the Soltân agreed to, although the other had begun the war, entering that country with 8000 men, after subduing *Armenia*: but that, in the mean time, *Trokkies* (so he miscalls *Shâh Râkk*), a descendant of *Timûr*, marching from *Samarkant*, conquered all the country before him: and, laying siege to *Bâghdâd*, sent from thence a great army, under the command of *Long Hassan* (*Uzûn Hassan*), to subdue *Armenia*, and the flat countries of *Asia*; which that general performed^q. So confused and erroneous are the accounts which that author has given of foreign affairs.

^e *HASSAN ALI*, third son of *Jebân Shâh*, inherited his father's kingdom, with all his treasures; 4. *Hassan* which being very great, he raised an army of 200,000 horse and foot, to revenge his death: *Ali* and, not being very wise, gave them a year's pay before hand. At the same time he was pre- Hej. 872. paring to march against another, Soltân *Abû Saïd*, before-mentioned, marched against him. A. D. 1488. The two armies met; but the battle was no sooner begun, than most of those who had received their pay in advance, went over to the enemy (Y). This treachery of his troops obliged *Hassan* to fly: but while he escaped from one enemy, he fell into the hands of another: for ^{defeated and} *Uzûn Hassan*, meeting him in the way, defeated the remains of his forces, and killed him ^{slain.} with two of his sons, in the year 873^r. Thus ended the sovereignty of the family or hord of the *Black Sheep*, which had continued for the space of sixty-four years, and passed to the family of the *White Sheep*.

^p TEIXEIR. c. 45. p. 325. D'HERB. p. 367. art. Gehan Schah.

^q KALKOKONDILAS, l. iii. c. 14. and TEIXEIR. c. 45. p. 325. D'HERB. p. 435. art. Hassan Ali.

(U) A. D. 1456.

(X) As it is not said under what prince, it may be presumed, he was sovereign of that country; though not under the title of Soltân or king.

(Y) This affair is told differently by the same author, in the reign of *Uzûn Hassan*, founder of the *Ak Koyunlû* dynasty.

S E C T. III.

The Turkman dynasty of the Ak Koyunlû, or White Sheep.

^f THIS dynasty went also by the name of *Bayandûriyab*, which they took from the tribe or hord from whence they sprang. Accordingly *Hay ibn Yokdan* dedicated his *Persian* history to Soltân *Nakib Bayandûrî*, the son of *Uzûn Hassan*, seventh prince of this race, though others reckon him but the second. For *Mirkond* and the author of the *Nighiaristân* make

Hassan the founder of this dynasty: perhaps, because that of the *Kara Koyunlû* seemed to hold the sovereignty before he put an end to it, and succeeded to the dominion of its princes. But *Al Jannâbi*, and other oriental authors, give five predecessors to *Uzûn Hassan*, and accordingly assign thirteen princes to this dynasty, instead of eight: to which number the before-mentioned historians would limit them^a.

1. Tûr Ali Beg.

THE first of these princes, who made any considerable figure among the *Turkmâns* of this tribe or branch, was *Tûr Ali Beg*. Yet there is nothing remarkable transmitted to us concerning him, further than that he erected his principality in *Diyârbekr*. Although others, as hath been observed, make *Armenia Minor* to have been the seat of the *Ak Koyunlû Turkmâns*.

2. Fâkro'ddîn Kotli Beg.

HE was succeeded by his son *Fâkro'ddîn Kotli* or *Kotlu Beg*: of whom nothing is mentioned, by the historians before us, more than of his father and predecessor. Nor have we so much as the dates, or length of their reigns: but matters begin to clear up a little in that of his successor,

3. Kara Ilûg Ozmân;
A. D. 1400.

KARA ILUG OZMAN, or OTHMAN, son of *Fâkro'ddîn Kotli Beg*. This prince having submitted to *Timûr*, and conducted him into *Asia Minor*^b; the conqueror, in return, bestowed on him the government of *Malatiah*, in *Anatolia*, near the *Euphrates*, after he had taken it from *Ildrim Bâyezîd*, Soltân of the *Turks*, in the year 803. He likewise conferred great honours upon him. The same year, when *Kara Ozmân* waited on him at *Bîr*, on the *Euphrates*, *Timûr* presented him with the *Kalaat*, or vest; and, marching forwards through *Diyârbekr*, ordered him to form the blockade of *Mardin*, while he went forward to besiege *Bâghdâd*, from which Soltân *Abmed Jalayr* had retired. On *Timûr*'s return from that expedition, in 804, *Kara Ozmân* joined his army, on its way back to *Anatolia*, in order to give *Bâyezîd* battle. On which occasion the *Turkmân* prince, in conjunction with the *Amîr Jêhân Shâh*, did wonders, breaking through the left wing of the *Othmâns*. After this, *Timûr*, at *Siwâs*, conferred on him several honours, and then sent him back to his principality.

Hej. 804.
A. D. 1406.
his bravery;

rewarded by
Timûr.

THIS is the account we meet with in *Sharîfo'ddîn Ali*'s history of *Timûr*^c; which does not agree with what the other oriental writers before us relate concerning *Kara Ozmân*. They say, that he obtained of *Timûr*, for his services, the government of the cities of *Arzenjân*, *Mardin*, *Roha* or *Orfa*, with other territories of *Diyârbekr*, and even of *Siwâs* itself^d. But as nothing of this appears from the history of *Timûr*, just now mentioned, there may be room to doubt of its being fact. On the contrary, the government, not of *Siwâs*, but *Malatiah*, was bestowed on him, and *Mardin* continued in the hands of Soltân *Aysa*, its own prince. The same author tells us, that he was afterwards slain in battle by *Iskânder*, son of *Kara Yusef*, second prince of the *Kara Koyunlû Turkmâns*, in the ninetieth year of his age, and of the *Hejrah* 809. But this date, at least, must be a mistake: for, according to *Mîrkond*, he was living in 813 or 814, when *Kara Yusef* drove him out of *Diyârbekr*^e; and *Eskânder* did not succeed his father till the year 823. If therefore we substitute 829 in the room of 809, it will give his successor a reign of twenty-eight years instead of forty-eight; which seems too long.

His death.

Hej. 829.
A. D. 1425.

4. Hamza Beg.

HAMZA BEG succeeded his father *Kara Ilûg Ozmân*; with regard to whom we find nothing more than that he died in the year 848.

5. Jêhân Ghîr.

HAMZA had for his successor *Jêhân Ghîr*, son of *Ali Beg*, son of *Kara Ozmân*. He died in the year 872; having been deprived of almost all his power by his brother *Uzûn Hassan*.

6. Uzûn Hassan.

UZUN HASSAN signifies, in *Turkish*, *Long Hassan*; whence the *Arabs* call him *Hassan al tawîl*, which imports the same. He is also named *Hassan Beg*, or *Beyg*; that is, *Lord Hassan* (A). It has already been observed, in the life of *Jêhân Shâh*, third prince of the *Kara Koyunlû* family, that *Uzûn Hassan* slew him at an attack, in the same year; whereby he revenged the injury done his grandfather *Kara Ozmân*, by *Kara Yusef*, father of *Jêhân Shâh*. *Hassan Ali*, who succeeded this last prince, immediately sent to implore the assistance of *Abû Saïd Mirza*, third successor in the empire of *Timûr* (B), who then wintered at *Marû*, in *Khorassân*. *Abû Saïd*, led by generosity, but more by ambition, thinking this would open a way to enlarge his conquest westward, he set forward, at the head of a great army, with a design to attack the provinces of *Irâk* and *Azerbejân*. When he arrived on the borders of this last

^a See D'HERB. art. *Ac Coinlu*, *Baianduri*, and *Turkman*.
cock Suppl. p. 59.

^c L. v. c. 17, 29, 30, 38, 64.

^e See before, p. 696.

^b D'HERBELOT, art. *Turkman*, and Pocock Suppl. p. 59. D'HERB. art. *Turkman*.

(A) Corruptly written *Ozun Azem Bek*, by *Teixeira*; and *Uzun Cösfan*, or *Casan*, by *Leunclavius*, and other European authors.

(B) He was son of *Mohammed*, son of *Mirân Shâh*, son of *Timûr*. and succeeded *Abdallah*, son of *Ulug Beg*, son of *Shâh Rûkh*, in the dominions of the province of

Mawarâ'lnahr; having been in possession of *Khorassân* before. He afterwards extended his empire, from *Kâshgar* eastward, in *Little Bukhâria*, to *Tamris* in *Persia*, westward. He had also *Kermân*, in *Persia*, and *Indostân*, as far as *Multân*.

a province, *Hassan Beg* sent several ambassadors, to demand peace: but *Abu Saïd*, still insidious, ^{see Abu Saïd,} that the other should come to his camp, at the same time marched in order to pass the sum-
mer at *Karabâg* (in the province of *Arrân*), where *Hassan Beg* usually resided. But this *Turk-*
man having the address to cut off his provisions and torage, the greater part of the army dis-
 perfed, and the rest went over to his enemy. In this distress, fearing to be hemmed in, he
 took to flight: but, being pursued, he was brought to *Hassan*; who would have spared his
 life; but, by advice of his council, put him to death, in 873^c.

AFTER this defeat, *Hassan Beg* defeated and killed *Hassan Ali*, as hath been related; whereby ^{Hej. 873. A. D. 1468. and Hassan Ali.} *Tauris* and *Azerbejdân* fell into the hands of the conqueror. When *Jebân Shâh* was slain, his
 son *Mirza Yusef* was taken, and had his eyes put out, as was said before; in which condition
 b he retired to *Shirâz*, the capital of *Pârs*, or *Proper Persia*. Where he continued as sovereign,
 but not long: for *Uzûn Hassan*, after the defeat of his brother *Hassan Ali*, marched against
 him; and, entering *Shirâz* by force, put blind *Yusef* to death. Being thus become master
 of the province of *Pârs*, he entered that of *Kermân*, and subdued it. Afterwards he turned
 toward *Bâghdâd*, and took it, with the rest of *Arabian Irâk*.

THESE great successes, in so short a time as two or three years, made him think himself a ^{D. defeated by} match for *Mohammed II.* Soltân of the *Othmân Turks*; whose dominions he invaded in the ^{Moham-}
 year 876 (C): but, being met by the Soltân near *Arzenjân*, was overthrown, and his son *Zey-*
 nel (or *Zeino'ddîn*) governor of *Kasbîn*, slain, as is before related^d. *Al Jamûbi* observes, that ^{A. D. 1471.}
 after this defeat his affairs were not prosperous. He died in 882, after a reign of eleven years; ^{A. D. 1477.}
 c as did much about the same time *Ogurlu Mohammed*, the eldest of his seven sons. The five
 who survived, were *Khalil Mirza*, *Maksûd Beg*, *Yakûb Beg*, *Masîb Beg*, and *Yusef Beg*. Of ^{his death.}
 these, *Khalil*, *Maksûd*, and *Masîb*, reigned after him^e. He had to wife the daughter of *Kalo-*
Johannes, emperor of *Trebizend*, who brought him a daughter, named *Martha*: which *Mar-*
tha, according to the western historians, was mother of *Ismaël Sofi*, founder of the next dynasty
 in *Persia*.

KHALIL BEG, by some called *Khalîl Soltân*, ascending the throne upon his father's death, ^{7. Khalil Beg.}
 immediately sent his brother *Yakûb Beg* to govern the country of *Diyârbekr*. Presently after,
Morâd Beg invading his dominions, he routed his forces, and made him fly to *Firûz Kâb*, a
 strong fortress; whose commander, *Husseyn Beg Jelobi*, admitted him, and then sent him pri-
 d soner to *Khalil*, who put him to death. In the interim, *Yakûb Beg*, revolting in *Diyârbekr*,
 marches with his army to *Tauris*, attended by his brother *Maksûd Beg*. On advice of this,
Khalil hastes to meet them; but is routed and killed by his brother *Yakûb*, in 884, when he
 had reigned but six months^f and fifteen days. Others say, he was so hated by his subjects, on
 account of his cruelty, and other vices, that they assassinated him^g.

YAKUB BEG, having slain his brother, took possession of the throne. In the year 886, one ^{8. Yakûb Beg;}
 of his generals, called *Byander Beg*, rebelled against him; but, being met by him with the
 forces at *Savab*, or *Sawab*, a city near that of *Kom*, was defeated and slain. This same year,
 Soltân *Mohammed II.* died at *Constantinople*, and was fatal also to *Shaykh Hayder*: who, march-
 ing from *Ardevîl* into *Shirwân*, in order to revenge himself on *Ferokhzâd* (D), its king, who
 e had slain his father in a former invasion, was routed, and killed in battle, by the assistance
 of the troops of *Yakûb Beg*, under the conduct of *Soleymân Beg Bigan*. This prince died
 at *Karabâg*, near *Tauris*, in 895, in the 28th year of his age, after a reign of twelve years
 and eight months^h. Other authors say but two months; and that he was taken off by poison. ^{A. D. 1490. his death.}
 This misfortune is attributed to the death of his mother, a woman of excellent qualities;
 which happened eighteen days only before that of her son. Her custom was every week to
 assemble the principal persons of that family, about twenty in number, and inculcate such
 things as tended to keep up peace among them: but, with her, concord also departed; and
 they began to quarrel among themselves. He was reckoned to be learned; and composed
 verses both in *Turkish* and *Persian*. He corresponded by letters with *Bayezîd II.* Soltân of
 f the *Turks*; between whom and himself there was a friendshipⁱ.

BAY SANKER MIRZA, son of *Yakûb Beg*, succeeded his father; and, being only ten years ^{9. Bay Sanker;}
 old, was put under the tuition of *Sufi Khalîl Musulu*, one of his generals^k. There were great
 commotions and troubles upon his accession to the throne; because those of the hord of *Bayan-*
durîyah were for advancing *Masîb Beg*, or *Mirza*, uncle to the infant king, and brother to
 his father. These, joining with him, made war on *Sufi Khalîl*; who, presently taking the

^c D'HERB. art. Abu Saïd Mirza, p. 34.
^d D'HERB. p. 916. art. Uzun Hassan.
^e P. 330. D'HERB. p. 457. art. Jacob Begh.

^d See Hist. Othmân Turks.

^e TEIX. ubi supra.

^f Pocock, Suppl. p. 60.

^g Pocock, ubi supr.

^h TEIX. c. 46. p. 329.

ⁱ TEIX. p. 331.

(C) Some oriental authors place this action two years after. See D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. art. Mohammed Khân, p. 614.

(D) In *Teixira* he is called *Farrokyazar*.

field, came to a battle, wherein *Masib* was defeated and killed: his nephew *Rustam Beg*, son a to his brother *Maksūd*, was taken alive, and sent prisoner to the fortrefs of *Alenjik* (in *Armenia*). At this time, *Soleymān Beg Bigan*, who had routed and slain *Soltān Hayder*, as is more-mentioned, advanced from *Diyārbekr*, in defence of *Ferokzād*, king of *Shirwān*, whom *Khalil* overthrew and killed at *Mogān* (E).

slain by
Rustam.

In the mean time, *Haybe Soltān Bayandurī*, who had the command of some troops, assaulted *Alenjik*, and rescuing *Rustam Beg*, proclaimed him king. The new monarch, with these forces, joined with many more which resorted to him, marched towards *Tauris* in quest of *Bay Sanker*; who, on their approach, abandoned the country, and fled with his governor to *Diyārbekr*: but, being pursued by a body of *Rustam's* troops, *Khalil* was taken, and put to death: however, *Bay Sanker* escaped for that time, and *Rustam Beg* remained in possession of the b kingdom¹. This is the account given by *Mirkbond*. *Al Jannābi*, who places *Masib Beg* in the throne, instead of *Bay Sanker*, says he had for a competitor, besides this latter *Ali Beg*, son of *Khalil Beg*, the sixth prince of this dynasty: but the author of the *Lebtarikh* reckons neither *Masib* nor *Ali Beg* among the number, any more than *Mirkbond*^m.

10. Rustam
Mirza;
Hej. 897.
A. D. 1491.

ROSTAM MIRZA (or *Beg*, as in *Teixeira*), son of *Maksūd Beg*, and grandson of *Uzūn Hassan Beg*, as soon as he came to *Tauris*, released *Ali Mirza*, or *Pādishāh*, and *Shāh Ismael*, two sons of *Shaykh Hayder*, out of prison; and, taking the field with the first of them, marched in quest of *Bay Sanker*; who came to meet them between *Ganjeh* and *Bardaa* (F): but was there by them routed and slain. After this victory, *Ali Mirza*, to whom it was in great measure owing, retired with his brother to *Ardevīl*, his native country, with the permission c of *Rostam*; who, repenting that he had let him go, as fearing his presence, and the memory of his father, might occasion some commotion in that city, presently set forward at the head of his army towards *Ardevīl*, in order to get *Ali Mirza* and *Ismael* once more into his hands. The two brothers, resolving to defend their liberty, with what forces they could gather, gave him battle, and were defeated. *Ali* was killed on the spot; but *Ismael* the younger had the good fortune to escape into the province of *Gbilān*, or *Khilān*, in *Persia*, bordering on the *Caspian* sea.

releases Hay-
der's sons;

is slain.

A. D. 1496.

AFTER this, in the year 902, *Abmed Beg*, son of *Ogūrlu Mohammed*, and grandson of *Uzūn Hassan Beg*, marched from *Diyārbekr* against *Rostam*; who, engaging him near *Tauris*, lost the victory, and fled to *Gūrjestān*, or *Georgia*; where he was killed, when he had reigned d five years and six monthsⁿ; and was succeeded, according to *Al Jannābi*, in the year 904, by his conqueror.

11. Ahmed
Beg;

Hej. 904.
A. D. 1498.

AHMED BEG (or, as *Al Jannābi* names him, *Soltān Abmed*), having expelled *Rostam*, ascended the throne. He gave the government of the kingdom of *Kermān*, in *Persia*, to *Haybe Soltān*; and that of *Pārs*, or *Proper Persia*, to *Kazem Beg Pernāki*. These two, in requital of his favours, conspired together, and rebelled against him. *Abmed*, on the news of their revolt, marched against them; but, after some encounters, he was slain in a battle, which he lost near *Ispāhān*, in *Persian Irāk*^o. According to *Al Jannābi*, this prince had fled to *Constantinople*, for fear of his uncle *Yakūb*; from whence he was invited by the great lords of the kingdom: but that, having a mind, after his accession to the throne, to introduce the more severe *Oth-* e *mān* discipline among his soldiers, the principal officers of his army were so disgusted with him, that they conspired to depose him. For this purpose, they sent to *Morād Mirza*, son of *Yakūb Beg*, who was then in *Shirwān*, to come and take the kingdom. *Morād*, hastening to *Azerbe-* *bejān* on this invitation, attacked *Abmed Beg*; and, having vanquished his forces, put him to death, when he had reigned about one year. After this the same licentious officers, violating their faith to *Morād*, called in *Alwand Beg*, or *Mirza*; who, by their assistance, seized on, and threw him into prison^p.

put to death.

At the time of *Abmed Beg's* death, there remained of all the race of *Uzūn Hassan Beg* only three youths, his grandsons; *Soltān Morād* (or *Morād Mirza*), who was in *Shirwān*, as hath been said; *Alwand Beg*, the son of *Tusef Beg*, in *Azerbejān*; and *Mohammed Mirza*, f brother to *Alwand*, at *Yazd*, or *Yezd*, in *Pārs*. All the dominions of *Persia*, which had been in possession of the hord of *Ak Koyunlū*, were then divided among them^q.

12. Alwand
Beg;

ALWAND, or *Alwend Beg*, was saluted king by *Kāzem Beg Pernāki*, and *Gāzi Beg Bayāndurī*, his generals, and kinsmen: these were joined at *Tauris* by *Haybe Soltān*; who came from

¹ TEIX. p. 331. D'HERB. p. 901. art. Turkman and Massih, p. 561. p. 61.

^m Id. ibid. and Pocock, Suppl. ⁿ MIRKHOND ap. Teixeir. cap. 46. & ap. D'Herb. p. 740. art. Rustam Beg. ^o MIRKHOND, ubi supr.

^p AL JANNAB. ap. Pocock. Sup. ad Hist. Dynast. p. 61. D'HERB. Bibl. Orient. p. 901. art. Turkman. ^q MIRKHOND, ubi sup.

(E) *Teixeira* writes *Moan*: it is a plain country to the south of the rivers *Arrās* and *Kūr*, bordering on the *Caspian* sea.

(F) Cities in the province of *Arrān*, between the rivers *Kūr* and *Arrās*; to which *Erizān* belongs.

a *Kermân*. At the same time, *Mohammed Mirza*, who was at *Yazd*, assumed the title of king of *Ispâhân*, or *Irâk*; but, on *Alwand*'s marching against him, he withdrew, without making any opposition, into the fortress of *Sthâ*, then governed by *Husseyn Keyah Jelobi*. This commander joining *Mohammed*, they both advanced towards *Alwand*, who was then upon his return; and, coming up with him, engaged in battle; which *Alwand* lost, and retired to *Tauris*. Being pursued thither by *Mohammed*, he ventured out again; and was again routed, with the loss of *Haybe Soltân*; upon which he fled to *Diyârbekr*.

DURING these confusions, the brothers of *Haybe Soltân* declared *Soltân Morâd*, who was then in *Shîrwân*, king of *Irâk*; and, conducting him thence with a considerable army, moved in quest of *Mohammed Mirza*; whom they met near *Ispâhân*, defeated and killed, in 905, after he had reigned one year^r. *Al Jannâbi* says, that although *Mohammed* had dispossessed his brother *Alwand* of the throne, yet he could not mount it himself: for that *Morâd Beg*, being delivered out of prison, seized it, and put him to death^s. A. D. 1499.

By this means he obtained the kingdoms of *Pârs* and *Irâk*, while *Alwand* remained possessed of *Azerbejân*. In the year 906, they both raised forces; and, taking the field, met at *Kasbîn*, or *Kajvîn*; where, without the decision of the sword, by the interposition of friends, they agreed that each party should hold what was already his own. This was a miserable time all over *Persia* for robberies, violence, famine, pestilence, and universal confusion. Next year, A. D. 1501. *Ismaël*, son of *Sheykh Hayder*, or *Haydor*, marched with his army from *Nakhshivân* to *Tauris*, the residence of *Alwand*; who, abandoning the country, fled to *Bâghdâd*, and thence to *Diyârbekr*; where he afterwards died. Thus *Azerbejân* fell under the dominion of *Ismaël*; who, in 908, made war on *Soltân Morâd*. This prince advanced from *Shîrâz* to meet him; A. D. 1502. and joining battle at *Hamadân*, was defeated with the loss of 10,000 men. Hereupon he fled back to his capital; but soon after, leaving *Pârs* and *Kermân* to the victor, retired to *Bâghdâd*; where he was received by the governor, *Bari Beg*. However, *Ismaël* would not let him remain there: for next year, advancing with his forces against them, they abandoned that city, and fled to *Karamân*, or *Karamânia*. *Morâd*, having continued there for some time, returned to *Diyârbekr*; where the *Kezilbâsh* (G) killed him, in 920: and in him ended the sovereignty of the hord of *Ak Koyunlû Turkmâns*, in *Persia*^t. A. D. 1514.

^r MIRKHOND, ubi sup.

art. *Morad Beg*. AL JANNABI, ubi sup.

^s AL JANNABI, ubi sup.

^t MIRKHOND, ubi sup. D'HERB. p. 624.

(G) Or *Red Heads*; that is, the *Persians*, so called in sneer by the *Turks* and *Tatars*, from their red bannets.

C H A P. II.

The history of the Uzbeks.

S E C T. I.

The origin and affairs of the Uzbeks, till their settlements in Great Bukhâriâ, and Karazmî.

d I T has been observed before, in the history of the Khâns of *Kipjâk*, that the *Uzbeks* derive their name from *Uzbek*, the seventh Khân of that country, descended from *Jenghîz Khân*; whence named, which his subjects assumed in honour of him, for having introduced the *Mohammedan* religion into his dominions. This prince tried his fortune twice against *Abusaïd Khân*, the last sovereign of the *Mungls*, in *Irân*, or *Persia* at large; and died in the year 1342. But, to give our readers the history of the *Uzbeks* and their Khâns more distinctly, it will be necessary to ascend as high as *Fuji*, or *Tusbi Khân*, eldest son of *Jenghîz Khân*, and first Khân of *Kipjâk*.

This prince, intending to make war on the *Cherkas* (A), *Bashkîrs* (B), *Urûs's*, (C), and *Bâtû's* other bordering nations, had caused a prodigious quantity of provisions to be gotten ready; but

(A) Or *Cherkassians*: the *Italians* write *Circassi*; whence we corruptly *Circassians*, instead of *Chirkassians*.

Rubruquis, dwelling in the north part of the kingdom of *Astrakhân*.

(B) A tribe of *Turks* or *Tatars*, called *Paskatir* by

(C) *Rûs*, or the *Russians*.

death preventing him, his father, *Jenghiz Khân*, resolved that *Bātu*, son of the deceased *Juji*, a called by our author *Bātu Saghin Khân*, should prosecute the design. Yet was it obstructed a second time by the death of that conqueror, till it was revived by *Ugaday* (or *Oktay*), successor of *Jenghiz Khân*, in the eastern parts of *Tartary*: who, after his return from his expedition into *Kitay*, or *Katay* (that is, the northern part of *China*), sent *Bātu* (D), with a numerous army, into the countries above-mentioned; where, after he had taken many cities from the *Urús* (or *Russians*) he, at length, sat down before *Moskow*; near which the *Urús*, with their allies, the *Nemetz* (E), had intrenched themselves.

Sheybáni
Khân;

his settlement.

BATU, having tried in vain for three months to force them, his brother *Sheybáni*, who accompanied him in the expedition, procured of him a reinforcement of 6000 men; then causing all his troops to alight, at day-break he attacked the enemy behind, while *Bātu* charged them in front, with such bravery, that they fled, after losing 70,000 of their best soldiers. This great victory rendered the conquest of several other cities and provinces easy. After his return, loaded with riches and glory, *Orda*, surnamed *Itzen* (F), eldest son of *Juji*, to reward *Sheybáni's* good services, made him a present of 15,000 families. *Bātu* did the like, giving him, at the same time, all the places conquered from the *Russians* and their allies; with as many people out of the tribes of the *Kuris*, *Naymans*, *Karliks*, and *Vigúrs* (or *Oygúrs*), as were necessary for the guard of those towns, and support of his court: but on condition, that settling in the country between his (*Bātu's*) dominions and the lands of *Orda Itzen*, he should pass the summer about the mountains of *Arál* (or *the Eagles*) and river *Jaik*; and the winter more to the south, about *Karakum* (G), *Arakum*, and the rivers *Sir* and *Sara Su*. Accordingly, he sent one of his sons to take possession of the *Russian* and *Nemetzian* cities, where he and his descendants dwelt: but, because of the distance, our author could not tell where they were situated.

Dawlet
Sheykh.

Hej. 1003.

Abu'lgayir
Khân.

SHEYBANI KHAN, who left twelve sons (H), was succeeded by *Bábadr*, his second; and *Bábadr Khân* by *Badakul*, the eldest of his four (I). After *Badakul Khân*, his only son, *Mengu Timúr* (for his wit and courage named *Kutluk Mengu Timúr*) ascended the throne. He had six sons (K); from the last of whom, *Bekkondi*, was descended *Kujum Khân* (L); who, after forty years reign in the country of *Turán* (M), becoming blind with age, was driven out by the *Russians*, in 1594, and retired to the *Mankats* (N). *Mengu Timúr* dying, *Fulád*, his third son, succeeded: after whose death, his sons, *Dawlat Sheykh Oglán*, and *Arabsháh*, divided the dominions; dwelling in summer towards the river *Jaik*, and in winter about the *Sir*.

DAWLET SHEYKH had a son, named *Abu'lgayir*; who made himself formidable to all his neighbours. He had eleven sons; of whom *Shabadakh Soltán*, the eldest, had two: the first called *Mahamed*, surnamed *Sháhbakht*; the other *Mahamed Soltán*; whose son, *Obeyd Khân*, reigned in *Great Búkbária*. The second son of *Abu'lgayir* was *Khoja Mahamed*; but being exceeding foolish, the *Uzbeks* called him *Khoja Amtintak*. His son, *Janibek*, was as foolish as his father; and *Iskander Khân*, the son of *Janibek*, was no less silly than his father and grandfather. However, he was very devout; and loved both hunting and hawking. The son of *Iskander* was *Abdo'llah Khân*; whose son, *Abdo'lmu'min*, was the last of that branch of *Sheybáni Khân*; of which two princes, who were men of understanding, something farther will be said hereafter^a.

Yadigar
Khân.

ARABSHAH, the other son of *Fulád*, was succeeded, in his share of his father's dominions, by his son *Haji Taulay*; who had his son *Timúr Sheykh* for his successor. *Timúr Sheykh* was a prince of great hopes: but dying young, and without issue (being killed in an engagement with the (O) *Kalmúks*, all his subjects retired to other princes, excepting the *Vigúrs*; who, when they went to take leave of the *Khân's* widow, being informed by her, that she was three

^a *ABU'LGAZI KHAN. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 205. part 8. c. 1.*

(D) Who had accompanied *Oktay* in his expedition to *Kitay*, with five of his brothers.

(E) The orthography in the translations of *Abu'lghâzi Khân's* history is so corrupt, that it is difficult to tell whether this word must be pronounced *Nemetz*, *Nemej*, or *Nemesh*. By these people are to be understood the *Germans*. The *Arabs* call *Germany Nemshia*.

(F) It may be read also *Ijen*, or *Ichin*.

(G) That is, *Black Sand*. Some desert towards *Kip-ják*.

(H) Their names are, 1. *Baynal*; 2. *Babadr*; 3. *Karak*; 4. *Balka*; 5. *Zirik* (or *Jirik*); 6. *Mergán*; 7. *Kurtga*; 8. *Ayaji*; 9. *Sagkilgan*; 10. *Bayanjar*; 11. *Majar*; 12. *Konj*.

(I) *Viz.* 1. *Badakul*; 2. *Bik Timúr*; 3. *Yaukajar*; 4. *Teffubuga-Badakul*.

(K) 1. *Iljak*; 2. *Janta*; 3. *Fulád*; 4. *Siunji*; 5. *Temur Bunga*; 6. *Bekkondi*.

(L) Or *Kuchum Khân*. He was the son of *Murtáza Khân*, son of *Mamudak Khân*, son of *Hajim Moham-med Khân*, son of *Ali Oglan*, son of *Bekkondi*.

(M) Rather the country of *Tura*, in *Siberia*, where this *Khân* reigned.

(N) The same with the *Kara Kalpaks*; who are at present possessed of the western half of *Turkeshán*.

(O) So the *Elúths*, or *Alúths*, are nicknamed by the *Uzbeks*; who are, in return, called by them *Haffak Púrúh*. See before, p. 144, note (E).

a months gone with child, they resolved to stay till the time of her delivery; when she brought forth a son, called *Yadigar*. Hereupon they sent word to the *Naymāns*; who, having hovered about to wait the event, upon this advice, returned to their obedience: and ever since the *Vigūrs* have complimented them with the left hand; which is the most honourable post.

YADIGAR KHAN had four sons. The first, named *Būrga Soltān*, was a prince of much courage. His breast was formed of one single bone. He lived in the time of *Abū'lgayir Khān* above-mentioned; but was much younger than he. *Abusaïd Mirza*, (descended from *Amīr Timūr* (or *Tamerlan*), who then reigned in *Mawara'nabr* (or *Great Bukhāria*), after slaying *Abdo'llatif Mirza*, over-ran the whole country, and forced his son, *Mahamed Juki*, to fly for refuge to *Abū'lgayir* (P); whose wife was *Juki's* aunt. Some time after, news being brought that *Abū'lgayir* had marched, with all his forces, towards *Khorassān*, and from thence to *Māzānderān*, *Abū'lgayir* sent 30,000 men, under *Būrga Soltān*, and *Mirza Mahamed Juki*, towards *Tāshkunt*; which surrendered without opposition. Proceeding thence to *Shāh Rukhīya* (or *Fenagovernor*, *Amīr Masiet*, advancing to meet them, was intirely defeated. After this, they reduced all the towns in the countries of *Kuzīn Karmīnā* (Q), and *Mawara'nabr* (R); excepting *Samarkant* and *Bokhāra*.

ABUSAID MIRZA, who, on the first news of this invasion, turned back with all his forces, being arrived at *Bālkh*, *Būrga Soltān* was for preventing his passage of the *Amū*: but *Mahamed Juki*, and the lords of the country, contrary to his advice, repassed the *Sīr*, and got into *Shāh Rukhīya*; which, after four months siege, surrendered to *Abusaïd*, in 860 (S). Some time after, *Mūsa Bey*, who dwelt in the dominions of *Yadigar Khān*, having been defeated by *Khojash Mirza*, another lord, fled for assistance to *Būrga Soltān*. This prince, who had a great respect for him, was willing to have succoured him: but perceived he could not do it effectually, till his father, *Yadigar*, was proclaimed Khān; though he had already been acknowledged as such by his subjects. As soon as this affair was settled, *Būrga Soltān* raised troops, and took the field with *Mūsa Bey*; advancing through the snow, which fell very thick: nor would turn back, and put off the expedition to another time, although his troops suffered more and more every day. At length, when importuned by *Mūsa Bey*, and his officers, he declared, that he would give over the pursuit, in case they did not, within two days, hear any news of the enemy. After this, in crossing a high mountain, they discovered troops marching in the valley beneath; and finding by his spies, that it was *Khojash Mirza*, whom he was in quest of, he advanced with his forces; and attacked the enemy so briskly, that he intirely defeated them. A great number of men were killed, and among the rest *Khojash*; whose daughter, *Malay Khānzādek*, being found among the captives, *Būrga Soltān* married her in the winter-quarters, which he took up thereabouts.

MEAN while, *Abū'lgayir Khān* was become so formidable to all the neighbouring princes, that, uniting their forces, they declared war against him: and, having defeated his troops by dint of numbers, put him to death, with such of his children as fell into their hands. On this occasion, *Būrga Soltān*, willing to fish in troubled water, appropriated to himself certain lands and subjects belonging to the deceased Khān, notwithstanding the great friendship which had always subsisted between them; and that action cost him his life: for some years after, *Shāh Bākht Soltān* returning into the dominions of his grandfather *Abū'lgayir Khān*, all the antient subjects of that prince came and submitted to him. But although he had thus re-entered into the possession of his patrimony, he did not immediately demand restitution of *Būrga Soltān*: on the contrary, dissembling his resentment, he lived in good understanding with him; not doubting but time would furnish him with an opportunity of revenge.

At length, in 886, *Būrga Soltān* happening to fix his winter-quarters near those of *Shāh Bākht* who surprised *Soltān*, who was posted on the banks of the *Sīr*, this latter ordered a great number of his people to attend him, under pretence of a hunting-match the next day: but, setting forward at midnight, he on a sudden turned towards *Būrga Soltān's* camp, telling his soldiers that he was going to attack that prince, and forbidding them to plunder, till they had secured his person. Being arrived there at break of day, he pressed forward directly to the *Soltān's* tent: but *Būrga*, on hearing the noise, jumped out of bed; and, wrapping himself in a robe of sable, passed out at one side of the tent, as the soldiers entered the other. In this condition he fled to a pond at some

(P) This was about the year 1449.

(Q) In *Great Bukhāria*, towards *Karazm*.

(R) It is an *Arabic* word, and signifies *Transoxana*, or, literally, *the country beyond the river*; meaning the *Jibūn*, or *Amū*; and is restrained commonly to *Great Bukhāria*.

(S) That is, A. D. 1455: but in the reign of *Abūsaïd*, we find this affair marked, *Hejrab* 865, A. D. 1460; which is doubtless the true date of it.

distance, and hid himself among the reeds : but had the ill luck to wound his foot by the way ^a so deeply, that he had much ado to stop the blood.

puts him to death.

MEAN time they who had been sent by *Shâh Bâkht Soltân* to pursue such as fled, having met with a *Vigûr* of distinction, named *Munga*, he told them that he was the person they looked for : and being asked by *Shâh Bâkht*, who easily perceived the deceit, what were his reasons for so acting? replied, “ He had so many obligations to *Bûrga Soltân*, that he thought it his duty to risque any thing to deliver him from danger ; and judged that his personating him would create a delay, which might secure his escape.” This answer exceedingly pleased *Shâh Bâkht*, and gave him a high idea of *Munga*’s virtue. However, he did not forbear searching after *Bûrga Soltân*, but sent out men a second time ; and, as it had snowed that night, some of them happened to discover the prints of bare feet ; and, following the tracks, found at length drops ^b of blood, which brought them to the place where he lay concealed. In this condition, they led him to *Shâh Bâkht Soltân* ; who, after being convinced that they were not deceived a second time, commanded him to be put to death immediately, and seized upon all his subjects ^b.

Khoja Mahamed.

KHOJA MAHAMED SOLTAN, the son of *Abû’lgayir Khân*, who had accompanied his nephew in this expedition, espoused the widow of *Bûrga Soltân*, daughter of *Khojash Mirza*, above-mentioned, called *Malay Khânzâdeh*. This *Khoja Mahamed* is the same who, for his silliness, was named *Khoja Amtintak* ; and although every body knew that the widow of *Bûrga Soltân* was with child at the death of her husband, yet he was willing to have it thought, that *Jâni Bek*, of whom she was delivered (six months after), was his own son : and for such indeed he must have passed, had his foolishness been a proof in the case.

Uzbek dynasties ;

ALTHOUGH, by this misfortune which happened to their father, the children of *Bûrga Soltân* were deprived of their patrimony, yet some years after they acquired new dominions ; to which the conquests, achieved by *Shâh Bâkht Soltân*, cleared the way for them. And here it may be proper to observe, that the descendants of *Shaybânî Khân* established two considerable dynasties in the countries to the south of the river *Sîr* : the first in *Great Bukhâria*, possessed by those of the branch of *Abû’lgayir* ; the second in *Karazm*, whose Khâns were of the posterity of *Tadigar Khân* ^c ; of whom we shall treat in their order.

why so named.

HERE likewise we cannot forbear touching on a particular, which we have taken notice of elsewhere ^d ; viz. how the name of *Uzbeks* came to be appropriated to those tribes who were subject to the descendants of *Shaybânî Khân*, and passed with them into *Great Bukhâria* and *Karazm* : for the name, we are told, came from *Uzbek Khân*, a descendant of *Bâtu*, the brother of *Shaybânî* ; who possessed a different part of *Kipjâk* ; and that it was assumed by *Uzbek Khân*’s subjects. Yet, at present, we find it transferred to the posterity and subjects of *Shaybânî Khân* ; while those of *Bâtu* no longer retain it.

^b ABU’LGHAZI KHAN, Hist. Turks, &c. p. 210, & seq. Karazm which follows this.

^c Ibid. p. 220.

^d See the history of

S E C T. II.

The Uzbek Khâns of Great Bukhâria.

Introduction.

THE memoirs and extracts, transmitted to us from the oriental historians, speak but very ^e little, and confusedly, of the *Uzbek* princes who have reigned in this large region, which has been already described ^a. They give us neither all their names, in order of succession, nor the time when their respective reigns began, or ended. What is more extraordinary ; although the dominion of the *Uzbeks* still subsists, both in that country and *Karazm*, yet the authors, from whose hands we have received those extracts, represent it as extinct above 200 years ago (A). However, we learn from other quarters, that their power is still in being ; although those authors afford little more particulars concerning them : but the *Shajarek Turks* of *Abû’l-gbâzi*, Khân of *Karazm*, who was an *Uzbek* himself, published in *English*, not many years since, furnisheth us with a series of the affairs of his own country, in the reigns of its Khâns, down to the middle of the last century. With the history of *Karazm*, he hath occasionally ^f mixed that of *Great Bukhâria*, on account of the wars, which happened from time to time between those two states : so that it affords the best memoirs concerning these *Uzbeks*, to be met

^a See before, p. 497.

(A) See D’Herbelot Bibl. p. 771. art. *Schaibek Khân* ; and Teixeira Hist. Pers. p. 336.

a with any-where; although they fall far short of forming a complete history of them, as he did not undertake to write it with the same preciseness that he did that of his own country.

AFTER *Shâh Bâkht Soltân* (B) had surprisèd and put to death *Bûrga Soltân*, in the manner ^{1. Khân Shâh} before related, he, by degrees, subdued all the neighbouring princes in *Tartary*; and having, ^{Bakht.} by a long train of victories, considerably augmented his forces, he entered *Great Bukhâria*, with a numerous army, in 904 (C); and made himself master it, after he had driven out *Soltân Bâbr*, the last of the descendants of *Timûr Bek* in that country; and from this year is his reign dated. *Shâh Bâkht*, with an intent to extend his conquests, passed the *Jihûn*, and invaded *Khorassân*; where he was opposed by *Soltân Hussayn Mirza*, who obtained some signal victories over the *Uzbeks*, and designed to have expelled them. For this end, he raised a numerous army, in order to invade *Great Bukhâria*: but dying by the way at *Wadekis*, in 911, ^{A. D. 1505.} *Shâh Bâkht*, in his turn, invaded *Bâdi Azzamân*, the son and successor of *Soltân Hussayn*; who, not being able to oppose him, abandoned the country to the enemy, and fled to *Kandahâr*; where, raising forces, he returned to meet the *Uzbek*: but, being defeated, fled into *Persia*, to *Shâh Ismaël Sofi*².

MEAN time, *Shâh Bâkht Soltân* conquered the greater part of *Khorassân*, and put to death all those of the family of *Soltân Hussayn Mirza*, who fell into his hands: so that, as numerous as this family was but a little while before, not more than two or three of them escaped the slaughter. After this, *Shâh Bâkht* marched into *Karazm*, which had been under *Soltân Hussayn*'s dominion; and subdued it also. Five or six years after this revolution, *Shâh Ismaël*, espousing *Bâdi Azzamân*'s cause, marched against the *Uzbeks* in 916; and, meeting them near ^{Hej. 916.} *Marû*, a bloody battle was fought, wherein *Shâh Bâkht* was killed, with the greater part of his ^{A. D. 1510.} army, after he had reigned twelve years: in consequence of which, *Karazm*, and most of what the *Uzbeks* had acquired in *Khorassân*, fell under the dominion of *Shâh Ismaël*: but, on his death, *Karazm* revolted to the *Uzbeks*.

SHAH BAKHT KHAN was succeeded by *Kushânji Khân*; who is reckoned the most noble and powerful of all the *Uzbek* princes who reigned in *Great Bukhâria*. In 918, *Soltân Bâbr* ^{2. Khân Ku-} returned out of *India*; and, being joined by *Abmed Isfâbânî* (D), passed the *Jihûn* (or *Amû*), ^{shânji.} and ravaged the country about *Kârshi*. In short, they had almost reduced the whole country, when *Kushânj, Khân*, setting forward with an army, met and defeated them. The *Persian* ^{A. D. 1539.} general was killed on the spot; and *Bâbr* fled back to *India*. In 936, *Kushânji Khân* marched into *Persia* against *Shâh Tahmâsb*, son of *Ismaël*: but was defeated, and retired to his own dominions. After this, he returned to *Marû*, and would again have broken into *Persia*: but a peace being concluded between the two monarchs, *Kushânji* went back to *Samarkant*; where he died the same year, after a reign of 28 years^c.

THIS prince was succeeded by his son *Abusaid Khân*; who reigned four years, without doing ^{A. D. 1532.} any thing remarkable; and died in 939^d.

OBEYD KHAN succeeded *Abusaid*, and was the son of *Mohammed Soltân*, brother of *Shâh Bâkht Khân*, who reigned in *Great Bukhâria*. This prince, entering *Khorassân*, took some ^{3. Khân Abu-} cities; while the *Uzbeks* of *Karazm* doing the like on their side, *Shâh Tahmâsb* thought fit to con- ^{faid.} clude a peace with those unwelcome guests. Stirred up by *Omâr Gâzi Soltân*, who fled to ^{4. Khân} him from *Karazm*, this *Khân*, in conjunction with the *Khâns* of *Samarkant* (E) and *Tâshkent*, ^{Obeyd.} in 949, entered that country; which they over-ran, seizing *Avânish Khân*, and all the princes of his family: whom he divided, together with the towns, among his confederates. *Dîn Mahammed Soltân*, eldest son of *Avânish Khân*, invading *Karazm*, as soon as *Obeyd Khân* was withdrawn, retakes *Khayuk* and *Urgbenj*. On this news, *Obeyd Khân* returns with a numerous army: but being met the same year by *Dîn Mahammed*, with much inferior forces, was intirely defeated; and the princes, his relations, restored by an exchange of prisoners^e.

ABOUT the year 957, *Obeyd Khân*, entering *Khorassân*, took *Marû* from the *Persians*; but ^{A. D. 1550.} growing jealous of the governor, and sending an army to displace him, that officer surrendered it to *Dîn Mahammed*, then *Khân* of *Karazm*. After this, *Nûr Mahamed Soltân*, grandson of *Dîn Mahammed Khân*, being envied the possession of his grandfather's estate in *Khorassân*, by the princes of his family, they combined to take it from him. Hereupon he delivered up

^b ABU'LGH. ubi sup. p. 222. D'HERB. Bibl. Orient. p. 38, 163. art. Abusaid Mirza, and Miran Shâh; also TEIX. hist. Pers. p. 320. ^c TEIX. hist. Pers. p. 335. D'HERB. Bibl. Orient. p. 771. art. Schaibek. ^d TEIX. hist. Pers. p. 335. D'HERB. Bibl. Orient. p. 771. art. Schaibek. ^e ABU'LGH. ubi sup. p. 255, 256. ^f Ibid. p. 273, 277.

(B) He is also called *Shaybeg*, and *Shaybek Khân*, by authors.

(C) Some place this invasion in the year 900.

(D) Perhaps the same with *Najemi* (rather *Ajemi*)

Soni; whom, according to *Mirkband*, in *Teixira*, *Ismaël* sent with an army to assist *Bâbr*.

(E) In 1556, *Perrak Khan* reigned at *Samarkant*, and *Seyd Burhan* at *Beklâra*. *De la Croix. Hist. Geogr.* 1. 394.

his four cities of *Marû*, *Nasay* (or *Nesa*), *Taurfurdi*, and *Durubn*, to *Obeyd Khân*; imagining ^a that this prince would leave him in possession, and be content with receiving tribute from him: but he found himself deceived ^f. The time of *Obeyd Khân*'s death is not mentioned. *Teixeira* and *D'Herbelot*, after *Mirkbond*, place it in 1540 (F); allowing no more than six years to his reign: but this must be a great mistake. According to *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, he must have reigned above fifty years; and died about 1584, or the year following ^g.

5. *Khân*
Iskânder.

OBEYD KHAN seems to have been succeeded by *Iskânder Khân*, son of *Jâni Bek*, son of *Khoja Mahamed*, son of *Abû'lgayir Khân*, who reigned in *Kipjâk*. There is nothing remarkable mentioned, relating to this prince, who was not right in his senses. On the death of his predecessor, *Nûr Mahamed* went and recovered his four cities out of the hands of the *Bukhârian* *Uzbeks*. *Shâh Abbâs I.* of *Persia*, being also desirous to profit by that event (G), went and ^b took *Marû* from him ^h. We find nothing which may give light, either as to the beginning, end, or length, of his reign.

6. *Khân*
Abdo'llah.

ABDO'LLAH KHAN, son of *Iskânder Khân*: when he began his reign is likewise uncertain: only we find, that some years after the death of *Ali Soltân*, which happened in 1571, *Abdo'llah* invaded *Karazm*; but retired, on the approach of *Hajîm*, or *Azîm*, *Khân*. Some time after, the sons of the latter having stripped a *Turkish* ambassador at *Urgbenj*, who was on his return from *Great Bukhâria*, *Abdo'llah Khân* entered *Karazm* a second time, with a great army; and, having conquered it chiefly by fraud, carried ten princes of the *Khân*'s family into *Bukhâria*; where he put them all to death.

Hej. 1006.
Hej. 947.

MEAN time *Hajîm Khân* retired into *Persia* to *Shâh Abbâs*, in the year of the *Serpent* (H). ^c Two years after this, *Abdo'llah Khân* invading *Khorassân*, *Hajîm Khân* took the opportunity, while the *Shâh* marched against the invader, to surprise *Urgbenj* and *Khayuk*: but those places were soon recovered again by the troops of *Abdo'llah Khân*; who in person besieged *Hazarâsb*, and reduced it. After this, he returned into *Great Bukhâria*; where he died the last day of the year 1597, called *Taûk*, or the *Hen*. According to *Teixeira* and *D'Herbelot*, this active prince died in the year 1540, and reigned but six months ⁱ.

7. *Khân* Ab-
do'lmomin.

ABDO'LMOMIN KHAN, son of *Abdo'llah Khân*, by a daughter of *Dîn Mahamed*, *Khân* of *Karazm*, succeeded his father. Being at the time of his father's death in *Khorassân*, he set forward to return home: but, on his way, at *Zamîn* on the river *Amû*, was slain by his own people ^k.

Hej. 1030.

IMAM KULI KHAN, son of *Yar Mahamed Soltân*, succeeded *Abdo'lmomin Khân* (I). In the year 1620, *Arap* (or *Arab*) *Mahamed*, *Khân* of *Karazm*, having been defeated by his two rebellious sons ^l; *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, who had joined his father, fled, after the battle, into *Great Bukhâria*, and was received kindly by the *Khân*. In 1622, *Isfândiar Soltân*, having recovered *Karazm*, and having put his two rebellious brothers to death, *Abû'lghâzi* returned to *Urgbenj*: but his subjects leaving the country on the appearance of a comet, a year or two after he retired to *Turkestan*; where he staid two years at the court of *Tursum Khân*, and then went into *Great Bukhâria* (K) to *Imâm Kûli Khân*; who receiving him but coldly, because he had first taken refuge with his enemy, he returned again to *Karazm* on the invitation of the *Turkmâns* ^m. *Imâm Kûli Khân* died about the time (L) that *Abû'lghâzi Khân* was proclaimed *Khân* of *Karazm* ⁿ.

8. *Khân*
Nadîr Mahamed.

HE was succeeded by his brother *Nadîr Mahamed Khân*. In 1644, the *Turkmâns*, who resided about *Kayuk* and *Hazarâsb*, in *Karazm*, refusing to submit to *Abû'lghâzi* upon his being proclaimed *Khân*, put themselves under the protection of *Nadîr Mahamed Khân*; who conferred the government of those two places on his grandson, *Khîsseran Soltân*: but soon after recalling him, he sent one of his lords to command in his room. In the mean time he was himself dethroned, in 1646, by his vassal lords, for his harsh treatment of them ^o.

9. *Khân* Ab-
do'laziz.

HE had for his successor his son *Abdo'laziz Khân*. This prince having formed a design to conquer the country of *Bâlkh*, its sovereign, *Subhân Kûli Khân*, sent to intreat aid of *Abû'lghâzi Khân*; who, laying hold of so fair an opportunity to revenge the injuries done to his family by *Abdo'llah Khân*, entered *Great Bukhâria* for several years successively, destroyed ^f

^f ABU'LGH. p. 273, 277. ^g See the hist. of *Karazm* in the next chapter. ^h ABU'L. p. 278. ⁱ Ibid. p. 290, 300, & seq. ^k Ibid. p. 309, & seq. ^l Ibid. p. 324. ^m Ibid. p. 315, 324, 344, & seq. ⁿ Ibid. p. 336. ^o Ibid. p. 356, & seq. & TEIX. hist. Pers. p. 336.

(F) In the city of *Bokhâra*; yet, in 1556, according to a former note, *Bokhâra* had its own *Khân*; to whom possibly *Obeyd* succeeded by inheritance, or conquest.

(G) As from hence it appears, that *Abbâs* took *Marû* soon after *Obeyd Khân*'s death; and, as *Abbâs* began his reign in 1585; therefore *Obeyd Khân* must have lived till that year, if not beyond it: unless the name of *Tah-*

mâsb should be put instead of *Abbâs*; which would reduce the date of that event to 1575.

(H) This, reckoning back from the death of *Abdo'llah Khân*, must be the year 1593.

(I) In the year 1598, it may be presumed.

(K) About the year 1627.

(L) Perhaps in 1642.

a several towns, and committed great ravages. At length, in 1658, a peace was concluded between them^p, as will be related more at large hereafter^q. Since that time we have no regular account of the Khâns of this country.

THE *Persian* historians, according to *Teixeira*, and *D'Herbelot*, make *Abdo'llatif*, son of *Kushânji Khân*, to succeed *Abdo'llah Khân*, 1540. The first says, he died the next year; and that in him ended the sovereignty of the successors of *Jenghîz Khân*, in *Marwarâ'nabr*. But this is probably some mistake committed by *Teixeira*, since *D'Herbelot* says, from the authority of the *Lebtarîkh*, that *Abdo'llatif* was living in the year 1541, when that book was written. However that be, the reader may perceive a wide difference between the account of the *Usbek* affairs given by *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, and by the *Persian* historians; although, at the same time, he can be at no loss to determine which of the two authorities is most fit to be relied on.

^p ABU'LG. ubi sup. p. 365, & seq.
^r TEIX. ubi sup. p. 336.

^q See the history of *Usbek Khâns* of *Karazm*, in next chap.
^s D'HERB. ubi sup. p. 772.

C H A P. III.

Kingdom of Karazm.

S E C T. I.

A description of Karazm, its name and extent, soil and produce, rivers and lakes.

c **K** A R A Z M, or *Karez*m, as this country is called by *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, and the *Persian* writers, is pronounced by the *Arabs* *Khovarazm*; it was known to the antient *Greeks* by the name of *Khorsmia*, as appears from *Herodotus*, *Ptolemy*, and other authors of that nation. It was in this country, that *Kay Khosrû*, third king of *Persia*, of the *Kayamian* race, defeated and slew *Sheïdah*, son of *Afrâsiab*, king of *Turkestan*; and the facility with which this victory was gained, gave name to this province; for *Kowarezm*, in the *Persian* language, signifies an easy victory.

THIS kingdom is at present bounded on the north by the country of *Turkestan*, and the dominions of the great Khân of the *Elûths*, or *Kalmûks*: on the east by *Great Bukharia*; from which it is separated partly by the mountains of *Irdar*^a, and partly by the deserts of *Karak* and *Gâznab*: on the south by the provinces of *Asterabad* and *Khoraassân* (A) belonging to *Irân*, or *Persia* at large; from which it is divided by the river *Jihûn*, or *Amû*, and sundry deserts of a vast extent: and on the west by the *Caspian* sea.

IT may be about 440 miles in length, from south to north; and 300 from west to east; being situated between the 39th and 46th degrees of latitude, and the 71st and 77th degrees of longitude. The country consists for the most part of vast sandy plains, like those of *Great Tartary*. Some of them are barren deserts: but others afford excellent pasture. There is good land in several of the provinces, where vines grow; of which wine is made: however, water is very scarce; the rivers being very few, as well as the mountains^b.

c K A R A Z M, according to *Bentink*, is extremely fertile, where watered; and *Abû'lghâzi Khân* himself recommends it as a fine country^c. The melons here, called by this last author *Arbûs* (and by *Jenkinson* *Karbûs*), are the true water melons. They are of the size of ordinary gourds, or pompions; commonly round, and green on the outside: but within of a much deeper colour than the common melons; although some are perfectly white: but these are not the best. Their seed is quite black, and shaped like that of the pompion; but rounder. It is also transparent, and dispersed all through the fruit; the whole of which is eaten, excepting the rind and seed. The substance is much finer, and of a better flavour, than that of ordinary melons. It is exceedingly cooling, and one may eat as much as he will, without the least danger. The

^a See ABU'LG. hist. Turks, p. 364.
p. 253.

^b Short way to know the world, or Compend. of Mod. Geogr.

^c Hist. Turks, ubi sup. p. 230, & 419.

(A) *Kämpfer* confounds *Khoraassân* with *Khovarazm*. *Annan Exst.* p. 137.

fruit will keep a long time; on which occasion our author observes, that they carry them from *Astrakbân* (where they are near as good as in *Karazm*) to *St. Petersburg*, for the court of *Russia*; and that they are as good in the middle of winter, as in their proper season: but he adds, that they are gathered green, and ripen afterwards^d.

Rivers.

The Amû,

KARAZM owes all its fertility, in a manner, to three rivers, and a great lake. The rivers are the *Amû*, *Khesel*, and *Sîr*. The *Amû*, as it is called by the *Usbeks* and *Persians*, is the *Jibûn* of the *Arabs*, and *Oxus* of the antient *Greeks*. It has its source to the N. N. E. of the kingdom of *Kashmîr*, towards the frontiers of *Little Bukhâria*, in those high mountains which separate it from the dominions of the *Great Mogul*. It crosseth the southern part of *Great Bukhâria*, from east to west; then, winding north-westward along the borders of that country, enters *Karazm* in the same direction; and, forty leagues from its mouth, divides in two arms b or branches. That on the left hand, turning westward, falls into the *Caspian* sea (B), towards the borders of the province of *Astarabâd*, belonging to *Persia*. But the right-hand branch, which formerly passed before the city of *Urgbenj*, and met the sea (C), twelve leagues to the north of the former, about fourscore years ago, quitted its antient chanel, six leagues from changes its bed. the place where it separated from the other branch; and, changing its course more to the north, threw itself into the river *Khesel*, on the other side of the little town of *Tûk*: so that its old chanel, which ran before *Urgbenj*, is at present dry; which, leaving that city destitute of water, has greatly impaired it. The *Amû* abounds with all sorts of excellent fish: and its banks are the most charming in the world. Along them grow those excellent melons, and other fruits, so much esteemed in *Persia*, the *Indies*, and *Russia*; whither they are carried.

The Khesel;

its course turned.

THE river *Khesel*, *Khesil*, or *Kesil*, as the *Usbeks* name it, rises in the mountains to the north-east of the province of *Sogd*, or *Samarkant*; and running westward, with some turning to the north-west, between the *Amû* and *Sîr*, falls into the lake of *Arâl*, fifty or sixty miles after it has been joined by the *Amû*. The sides of the *Khesel* are exceedingly fertile, where-ever they are cultivated: but then it must be confessed, that the greater part of them are neglected by the inhabitants: nor do they make use of those excellent pastures which are found along this river: although they are much better than those which enrich the sides of the *Amû*. At present, there is not one considerable town to be seen upon the *Khesel*. Besides, the few small ones, that are situated on it, are half desert: because the *Usbek Tatars*, of both *Great Bukhâria* and *Karazm*, chuse rather to be near the frontiers of the *Persians*, than of the *Elûths* (or *Kalmûks*), and *Karakalpaks*; seeing there is more to be gained by their incursions on one side than on the other. The waters of this river are vastly increased by the junction of the *Amû*, before-mentioned. But, of late years, the *Tatars* of *Karazm* have also turned the course of the *Khesel* from the *Caspian* sea (D) into the lake of *Arâl* (or *Eagles*), on the following occasion.

The Daria.

PETER I. emperor of *Russia*, having been informed, that gold ore was found in great abundance on the coast of the *Caspian* sea, at the mouth of the river *Sîr*, called also *Daria*; and judging that a new course of trade, between *Siberia* and the southern countries of *Asia*, might be carried on by means of that river, ordered certain persons, skilled in maritime affairs, to accompany the *Kossîks* of *Jaïk* in several of their expeditions along the shores of that sea, in order to discover the mouth of the *Daria*. These people, finding that no considerable river discharged itself e into the *Caspian* sea, between the *Yemb*, or *Yemba*, and the *Amû*, excepting the *Khesel* (E), concluded that this must be the river which they looked for: especially as the *Kossîks* assured them, that it was named *Daria*: not knowing that the word *Daria* is an appellative, signifying a river in general, among the *Persians* (F).

Expedition of Beckowitz.

HOWEVER that be, after they had sounded the entrance of the *Khesel*, and taken notice of several marks whereby to know it again; they returned, and made their report to the emperor: who thereupon, in 1719, sent one Brigadier *Beckowitz*, by the way of *Astrakbân*, with 2,500 men, to take possession of the mouth of that river. He pitched upon that officer, because he was a *Cherkassian* (G), and understood the *Tatar* language perfectly well. But the *Tatars*, growing jealous to see him arrive several times on that occasion, turned the course of the *Khesel* f northwards, by three chanel, the land being low on that side, into the lake of *Arâl*; and then stopped up the entrance towards the sea: so that *Beckowitz*, arriving some time after with his vessels to the mouth of the river, found it quite dry.

^d Hist. Turks, p. 433, & seq.

(B) Perhaps at the town of *Munkisblak*.

(C) It fell into the gulf, or bay, of *Bâlkân*, or *Abâlk-bân*.

(D) It fell into *Peter's Bay*, in the north part of the eastern coast of the *Caspian* sea, according to *D'Arville's* map.

(E) For the *Sîr* falls into the lake of *Arâl*.

(F) Likewise among the *Usbeks*.

(G) *Webber* says he was a *Cherkassian* prince, captain of the *Tsar's* guards: that he was immensely rich, and had married the most beautiful lady in all *Russia*; and that he had been sent before this, in the year 1715.

- a NOTWITHSTANDING this discouragement, in obedience to his orders, he landed his troops; *The Khân's* and began to build forts thereabouts, as well as the ground, which was exceeding sandy, would *artifice* permit. They were scarce in a condition of defence, when the *Tatars* of *Kiva* (so the *Russians* call the *Usbeks* (H), or *Karazm*), came down upon him with great numbers of troops: but *Beckowitz* opposed them with so much resolution, that the *Khân*, who was at the head of them, despairing to conquer him by force, set about to ensnare him by fraud. To this end, he sent to inform him privately, "that in his heart he was sincerely a friend to the *Russians*, and desired
 " nothing more than to see them settled near his own dominions: but that at the same time he
 " was obliged to seem their enemy in appearance, and oppose them, in order to comply with
 " the humour of the princes, who were his relations and neighbours. In short, that it was
 b " resolved in council to make a last effort the day following; and, in case they had no better
 " success than in their former attacks, he would do his endeavour to bring about an accommoda-
 " tion."

BECKOWITZ gave credit the more easily to this declaration, as the *Khân* had already caused *to ensnare him*. protestations of the same kind to be made at the court of *Russia*, by an envoy sent for that purpose. Next morning, the *Tatars* did not fail to renew the attack; which they did with such vigour, that great numbers of them, contrary to custom, alighted off their horses. But having been repulsed, at length, with loss, the *Khân* sent one of his *Mursas* to the *Russian* general, to know on what account he had landed an army in his dominions, and what he wanted? Hereupon *Beckowitz* demanded, that the sluices, made in the river *Khesil*, should be
 c stopped up; and the mouth of it opened again, that so the current might resume its former course. The *Tatars* having remonstrated that it was not in their power to dam up the channels, the water ran into them with such rapidity; *Beckowitz* offered to go and do it with his own troops, provided they gave him hostages for his security. As this was just what the *Tatars* wanted, they readily agreed to his demands.

HEREUPON the *Russian* commander, leaving some men to guard the forts, set forward with *The Russians* the rest to execute his design: but the hostages, who served for guides, led him through *slain*. places quite desert, where there were only certain holes of stagnant water, not sufficient for his troops; so that, after five days march, they found themselves quite destitute of means to quench their thirst. In this distress, their guides proposed to divide into several bodies, and
 d march by different roads, that they might the more easily find a supply. *Beckowitz* was obliged to consent to this proposal, although he saw the danger of it. In short, the *Russians* having thus separated into parties, the *Tatars* surrounded them, one after another, and, slaying their leader (I), with most of his men, carried the rest into slavery. When they, who were left in the forts, heard of this misfortune, they reembarked, and returned to *Astrakhan*.

THE lake of *Arál*, that is *Eagles*, before-mentioned, separates the province of *Arál*, to *Lake of Arál*; which it gives name, from the eastern provinces of *Karazm*. It is one of the largest in the north parts of *Asia*; being above twenty-five *German* leagues in length, from south to north; about half as much in breadth, from east to west; and above eighty in circumference. Its
 e waters are exceeding salt, and breed great quantities of the same sorts of fish which are found in the *Caspian* sea; with which, however, it does not seem to have any communication: neither does it ever overflow its banks; although it receives the waters of the *Sir*, the *Khesil*, and several other smaller rivers. The *Karakalpaks*, who inhabit the northern coast of *affords much salt*: it, towards the mouth of the *Sir*, and the *Turkmans* of the province of *Arál*, in summer, convey the water of this lake, by means of small canals or ditches, into the neighbouring plains; whose surface, when the moisture is exhaled by the sun's heat, is covered with a fine crust of crystalline salt: with which the inhabitants of all *Karazm* and *Turkestan* are plentifully supplied.

ACCORDING to *Kyrillow's* map of the *Russian* empire, this lake resembles in figure the *situation and*
 f *Caspian* sea, and is more than half as long; being 340 miles from south to north, and 160 *extent*. broad in the south part; although not half that breadth in the north end: but, in all probability, these dimensions are too great, as well as its distance from the *Caspian* sea; which is there made to be 200 miles. Into this great lake the *Khesil* discharges itself, on the south side, by three canals; and the *Sir*, on the north side, by two: of which last river we have given an account elsewhere.

^c ABU'LGH. Hist. ubi supra, p. 444, & seqq.

(H) From the *Khân's* camp, called *Khiva*, or *Khi-vák*.

(I) *Webber* says, that, refusing to kneel on the red cloth, in order to be beheaded, they hamstrung and mangled him barbarously.

S E C T. II.

Provinces of Karazm.

Provinces.

KA R A Z M is divided into many provinces, as appears from *Abû'lghazi Khân's* history, ^a who mentions several of them; which *Bentink*, his commentator, has succinctly described. From him, therefore, we shall insert an account of them; which will be of great use to the reader, in perusing the subsequent history of the Khâns of this country. These provinces, so far as we know of them, are twenty in number; which that author mentions in the following order.

Ogurza.

1. OGURZA (or *Ogurja*), is a large province, situate towards the coast of the *Caspian* sea. It was very fertile heretofore, when the northern branch of the river *Amû*, which ran through it, took another course: since that time it became a desert, for want of water to moisten its lands. This country takes its name from the great quantity it formerly produced of cucumbers; which, both in the *Tartarian* and *Russian* language, are called *Ogurza*.

Pishga.

2. PISHGA, a little province, situate to the east of the city of *Urgbenj*; which has been but thinly inhabited ever since the northern branch of the river *Amû* ceased to pass through it, as formerly. ^b

Karakizit.

3. KARAKIZIT (or *Karakijit*), a small province, situate between those of *Pishga* and *Ogurza*, which is grown very thin of people, since the river *Amû* deserted *Urgbenj*; to the west of which it lies.

Ghilkupruk.

4. GHILKUPRUK, a small province, situated to the south of the southern branch of the river *Amû*, in the confines of the provinces of *Khorassân* and *Astarabâd*.

Gordish.

5. GORDISH, a little province lying between those of *Pishga* and *Kumkant*. It is one of the most fruitful, and best cultivated, in all *Karazm*, as being watered by the *Amû*; which in this country quitted its old chanel to join the *Khesel*, as before-mentioned. ^c

Kumkant.

6. THE small province of *Kumkant* lies to the east of *Gardish*, towards the northern banks of the river *Amû*; which in the borders of those two provinces divides into two branches.

Yanghi Shâhr.

7. YANGHI (or *Yenghi*) *Shâhr*, a little province near the right bank of the southern branch of the river *Amû*; which is of no great consequence at present.

Burma.

8. BURMA, one of the largest provinces of *Karazm*, to the east of the city of *Wazîr*, towards the frontiers of *Great Bukhâria*. It is very populous, as well as fertile; and produces the most delicious melons in all the kingdom.

Bayalkiri.

9. BAYALKIRI, a little province to the north of *Urgbenj*. It is very sandy and desert; ^d because it wants water.

Kefel Rabat.

10. KESIL RABAT lies towards the *Khesel*, or *Kefil*, and to the north-west of the town of *Tûk*. This little province is very populous, and produceth all kinds of delicious fruits in abundance.

Gardankhast.

11. GARDANKHAST, a large province, situate between the cities of *Kayuk* and *Hazârâsh* (A). It has pretty good pasturage; and is almost wholly peopled by the *Sarts*, who are the antient inhabitants of *Karazm*.

Yanghi-arik.

12. YANGHI-ARIK, a small province on the north side of the *Amû*, and bordering on *Great Bukhâria*; at the foot of the mountains which separate it from *Karazm*.

Bakirgan.

13. BAKIRGAN, a large province, on the north side of the river *Khesel*, and north east of the town of *Tûk*. ^e

Kuigan.

14. KUIGAN, another large province, north of *Bakirgan* and the *Khesel*, extending as far as the borders of the *Karakalpâks* and the *Kalmûks* (or *Elûths*). It consists, for the most part, of vast plains; producing excellent pasture, like all the other sandy grounds of *Great Tartary*.

Ikzi Kumani.

15. IKZI KUMANI (B), a little province towards the southern banks of the *Khesel*, and west of the territory of *Khayuk*.

Khika.

16. KHIKA, another small province on the south side of the *Khesel*. It lies east of the territory of *Tûk*, and west of the province of *Ikzi Kumani*.

Tarkhân.

17. TARKHAN, a little province, situate to the north of the *Khesel*, and west of *Bakirgan*. It abounds with excellent pastures; but lies uncultivated. ^f

Bamaburinak.

18. BAMABURINAK, a little province to the north of the *Khesel*, towards the southern coast of the lake of *Arâl*, and west of the province of *Tarkhân*.

(A) In the *French*, *Hassaraassap*.

(B) Or *Ikzi Kumani*. This seems to be a remains of the *Kumani*, or *Komani*; a warlike nation, who, for a

long time, possessed the country along the north side of the *Caspian* sea, as far as the river *Don*, till conquered by *Jinghiz Klân*, and his successors in *Kipjak*.

19. KOGERTLIK,

^a 19. KOGERTLIK, a large province, situate on the borders of *Great Bukhâria*, and north Kogertlik, of the province of *Yanghiarik*.

20. THE province of *Arâl*, towards the coasts of the *Caspian* sea, is very large; extending *Arâl* from the mountains of *Abûlkân*, to the north of the old mouth of the northern branch of the *Amû*; which is now dry, as far as the country of the *Karakalpâks*. This part of *Karazm* is, at present, almost wholly inhabited by *Turkmâns*; who find there, in many places, excellent pasture for their flocks. But, for the general, the province of *Arâl*, which takes its name from the lake before described, is mountainous, sandy, and barren ^a.

BESIDES the provinces above described, *Abû'lgâzi Khân* mentions others in his history; *Other provinces*, particularly, those of *Abû'l Khân* and *Dehestân* ^b. The first seems to be situate where the mountain of *Abû'l Khân* stands, on the north side of the antient chanel of the northern branch of the *Amû*; and the latter properly belongs to the province of *Khorassân*, bordering on that of *Forjân*.

^a ABU'LG. Hist. p. 434.

^b Ibid. p. 235.

S E C T. III.

The cities, and other remarkable places, of Karazm.

^c **K** A R A Z M was in former times full of cities, towns, and castles; remarkable for their beauty, strength, and abundance of people. This was its case, it may be presumed, for a long series of ages, as well antiently under its own kings, as while it was a province of the *Persian* and *Arabian* empires; but, in all probability, it flourished most when it became an independent kingdom, under the family of the *Kharazm Khâns*; who annexed to it, by conquest, all *Irân*, or *Persia* at large; and *Turân*, or the countries to the north of the *Jibûn*, or *Amû*; forming a great empire, of which *Orkanj* was the capital. But at present the cities of *Karazm* are but few, and reduced below the condition of ordinary towns, through the destructive power of the *Uzbeks*; who have brought ruin and poverty where-ever they settled ^a.

^d *ORKANJ*, or, as it may also be written, *Urgbenj*, is still the capital. This, we are told, *Orkanj*, or is the *Mungl* name which it took after the time of *Jenghîz Khân* ^b; before it seems to have *Urgenj* had the name of the country *Karazm*, or *Khowarazm*, as we often find it was called. The *Persians*, instead of *Orkanj*, write *Korkanj*. In the tables of *Abû'lfeda*, *Nasro'ddîn*, and *Ulugh Beg*, we find two cities of the name of *Korkanj*, *Great Korkanj*, or *Nu Korkanj*, and *Korkanj the lesser*, or *Forjaniya*, of *Khowarazm*, to distinguish it, doubtless, from *Forjaniya*, of *Persia*. The first was the metropolis of the country; and both were situated on the west side of the *Jibûn*, or *Amû*, ten miles asunder ^c. At present it is called *Urgbenj*, or *Urkenj*, by the *Uzbeks*; for so *Abû'lgâzi Khân* names it (A). *Jenkinson* writes it *Urgence* ^d; and *Johnson*, his fellow traveller, from a merchant of *Bokhara*, *Urgensh*, and *Urgense* ^e. The *English* traveller, at the end of *Tavernier*, says, that some call it *Turgench*; others *Jurgench*, which comes near *Forjaniyah*: ^e he likewise writes *Urgensh* ^f. Whence this variety of names arises, we know not; unless from the custom of different nations, to alter the names of foreign places.

This city, called *Orkanj*, *Jurjench*, or *Urjensh*, is situated in a great plain, to the north of the river *Amû*, twenty-five *German* leagues from the eastern shores of the *Caspian* sea. The place was very considerable in ages past: but since the *Tatars* became its masters, it has fallen so much to decay, that, at present, it makes but a pitiful figure, being no more than a great scambling town, about a league in circumference. This is owing partly to the disorderly government of the *Uzbeks*, and partly to the desertion of the northern branch of the *Amû*, which formerly ran by the walls of the city; but having, for some time past, taken another course, and by that means deprived both the city and its territory of water, it has caused many of the inhabitants to forsake it, and rendered the neighbouring country barren, which before was very fruitful.

^f THE walls of *Urjensh* are of sun-burnt bricks, with a kind of ditch, which is very narrow, and full of rubbish in several places. The houses also are no better than paltry cabbins of earth. It has indeed a castle, built with bricks; but so ruinous, that scarce a fourth part of it is inhabitable. The brick mosks likewise are nearly in as bad a condition: for the *Tatars*

^a ABU'LG. Hist. ubi supra, p. 438.
Defer. Chowarasm, p. 23, 25. Edit. Hudson.
Collect. vol. i. p. 335.

^f P. 115.

^b LA CROIX Hist. Geng. p. 240.

^d PURCHAS Pilgr. vol. iii. p. 236.

^c ABU'LFEDA
^e HAKL.

(A) In the *French* and *English* translations it is written *Urgens*; the *g* being hard, according to the *German* orthography; so that it answers to *Urgbins*, or *Urkins*:

but in the name, as given by the *English* authors, it is doubtless soft, or stands for *j* consonant.

trade incon-
siderable;

in general are very ready to destroy buildings, but very backward either to erect any new ones, ^a or to keep the old in repair. The only thing belonging to this city, which they take any care of at present, is a great broad street, towards the middle of it; which serves for the common market-place, and is covered from one end to the other, to preserve the goods sold there from the weather. Although *Urjensh* is situated very conveniently for commerce, being the rendezvous of all the business carried on between the *Bukhârs* and the countries on the west side of the *Caspian* sea, yet, at present, the trade is very inconsiderable: because foreign merchants, finding no security among the *Mohammedan Tatars*, very few of them will venture thither. The ordinary duties paid at *Urjensh* are no more than three *per Cent.* but the extraordinary amount, very frequently, beyond the whole merchandizes.

THE Khâns of *Karazm* commonly winter in this town; but in summer they encamp on ^b the banks of the *Amû*, or in some other agreeable place of the country, as best suits their conveniency ^c.

capital of Ka-
razm;

URJENSH has not always been the capital of *Karazm*. According to *Abû'l-feda*, *Kath*, or *Kar*, was formerly the metropolis ^b. The governor of *Karazm* was surprised in this city by him of *Jorjân*, in *Persia*, in the reign of *Nub ibn Mansûr*, of the *Sammânian* family ⁱ. How long it continued so is uncertain: nor does it appear on what occasion the royal seat was removed, as it seems to have been, from *Urjensh*; though possibly that happened on account of the inundation which once ruined it ^k. However that be, *Urjensh*, under the name perhaps of the city of *Karazm*, was, in all probability, the seat of the *Karazmian* empire, founded by *Kothbo'ddîn*, in 489; and so continued ever since, excepting now-and-then that the ^c *Uzbek* Khâns have thought fit to reside for a while at *Wazîr*, *Khayuk*, or some other place.

A. D. 1092.

once very
great;

A. D. 1186.

ALTHOUGH at present *Urjensh* is reduced to so low a state, yet it was once, like all the other cities of this country, both rich and populous. In the year 582, when *Soltân Shâh* besieged it, the inhabitants, who had submitted to his elder brother *Takash*, were so numerous, that they kept their gates open in his view ^l: and thirty years after, when *Jenghîz Khân* took it, in 1221, the *Mungls* put 100,000, some say 200,000, people to the sword ^m. *Urjensh* began to flourish again under the family of the *Sofi's*; and was a great city, when *Timûr Bek* (or *Tamerlan*), having, in 1379, taken (C) it from *Yusef Sofi*, and conquered the kingdom, caused it to be razed in 1388, and the ground sowed with barley ⁿ. It is probable, that it was repaired three years after, when, by the conqueror's order, the country was re-peopled, ^d and restored to its antient splendor. But from that time, it may be presumed, that *Urjensh* never was able to recover itself; and the government of the *Uzbeks*, which since then it has fallen under, so injurious to commerce, joined to the inconveniencies attending the turning of the river *Amû* off from the town, has completed its ruin ^o.

at present mi-
serable:

URJENSH seems to have been in no better condition when Mr. *Jenkinson* was there, in 1558, as appears from his account of it; which is as follows. The city, or town, stands on level ground: its walls, as well as houses, are of earth; and, by estimation, four miles in compass. The buildings within it are ruined, and out of good order. It hath one long street; which is covered above, and is the place of their market. It has been won and lost four times within seven years, by civil wars. Hence it comes to pass, that there are but few merchants ^e dwelling in it; and these so poor, that he could not sell above four pieces of kersey in the whole town. The chief commodities sold there come from *Boghâr* (or *Bokbâra*), and *Persia*; but in very small quantities, not worth mentioning. All the country from the *Caspian* sea to this city is called the land of *Turkmân*, and is subject to the Khân ^p.

its latitude.

THE latitude of this city, as given by the same author, is 42 degrees, 18 minutes ^q: which seems the more exact, as it differs but one minute from that assigned it by the most famous oriental astronomers (D). This *English* traveller, who passed through *Karazm* in his way to *Boghâr*, or *Bokbâra*, mentions two or three other places in the country, as *Manguslau*, *Sellizûr*, and *Kayt*.

Manguslau.

MANGUSLAU, a very good port, twelve leagues within a bay. Both governor and people ^f proved very bad, as exacting double the ordinary price of carriage and provisions. *Jenkinson* gives the latitude of this place 45 degrees: but, in all probability, it is the same place with *Man-kishlak*, hereafter mentioned; and, consequently, cannot have more than about 40 degrees of latitude.

^z BENTINK ap. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 438, & seq.
Hist. Pers. p. 160.

^k Descr. Chowar. p. 23.

^m LA CROIX, Hist. Gengh. p. 256.

Turks, p. 440, & seqq.

^p PURCH. ubi supr.

^h Descr. Chowar. p. 27.

ⁱ TEIXEIRA, D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. p. 835, art. Takash.

ⁿ Hist. Tim. Bek, vol. i. p. 306.

^o ABU'LG. Hist.

^q HAKLUYT's collect. vol. i. p. 335.

(C) *Korkanj Minor* was then the regal seat, according to *La Croix*, in the notes.

(D) Viz, 42° 17' according to *Albirûni*, a native of *Karazm*; which latitude was afterwards adopted by *Ulugh Begh*, in his tables.

a SELLIZUR, called also *Shayzûr*, is twenty-four days journey of the Karawâns from *Mangush-Sellizûr-lau*, and two from *Urjensh*. It was a castle, seated on a high hill, where then resided the king, called *Azim* (F) *Khân*, with three of his brothers. The palace was not strong, being built of earth, and made a poor figure.

To the south of the castle the land is very low, but very fertile; producing many good fruits; *Fruits and particularly one called a Dinie. It is very large, and full of moisture; the people eating it after grain.* meat, instead of drink. There is another, called *Karbûs* (G), the size of a great cucumber, yellow, and sweet as sugar. Here is also a certain corn, called *Jegur*, whose stalk resembles a sugar-cane, and is as tall: but the grain is like rice, growing at the top like a cluster of grapes. The water with which all this country is supplied, is conveyed by canals out of the *Oxus* (or *Amû*); so that it falleth not into the *Caspian* sea, as formerly: and, in a short time, all that land is likely to become a wilderness, for want of water*. Which prediction of our author has come to pass.

THE towns besides *Urjensh*, mentioned by *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, and described by *Bentink*, are the following seven.

TUK, a little town, six leagues to the north-east of *Urjensh*, at a small distance from the *Tak*. southern bank of the *Khesel*.

KHAYUK lies towards the borders of *Great Bukhâria*, half a day's journey from the river *Khe-Khayuk-sel*. It is the best city in all *Karazm*, next to *Urjensh*: yet the houses are no better than miserable cabbins, being as inconvenient within as without. The neighbouring country is fertile enough; but very ill cultivated. However, one meets there with some vines; which the *Sarts*, who dwell in this town, take care of. They make also a kind of red wine, which is pretty good.

WAZIR, situated towards the northern bank of the river *Amû*; but, like the rest of the *Wâzîr* towns, is at present inconsiderable.

KUMKALA is a small town, in the middle of *Karazm*, to the north of *Wazîr*; but not worth *Kumkâla* taking notice of.

THE town of *Kâbt*, *Kâth*, or *Kât* (H), is situated on the north side of the *Khesel*, towards *Kât*. *Great Bukhâria*; and is of consequence at present only on account of its passage over that river.

d HAZARASB, situated on the north side of the *Khesel* (I), is also become inconsiderable, since *Hazârâsb* it fell into the hands of the *Uzbeks*.

MANKISHLAK, a small town on the shore of the *Caspian* sea, on the north side of the southern *Mankishlâk* branch of the mouth of the river *Amû* (K). The town itself is inconsiderable, consisting of about 700 houses, or rather pitiful cabbins, built of earth; but its port is magnificent, and the only one to be found in all that sea. As it is large, secure, and deep, it would in any other hands but those of the *Tatars*, soon become a place of great trade; but, at present, seldom any ships arrive there (L). The town is inhabited only by *Turkmâns*, who can bear the neighbourhood of the sea better than the *Uzbeks*†.

e ABU'LGHAZI KHAN mentions several other towns of *Karazm* in his history, besides the pre-Other cities. ceding*. The *Uzbeks* of this country have likewise some others in *Khorassân*; which, by degrees, they conquered from the *Persians*. As *Durûn*, *Nasay* (or *Nesa*), *Ibûrd* (or *Bawerd*), *Mahân*, *Bâghabâd*, *Tawrsurdi*, and *Marû*. These places however were, in all likelihood, recovered from them a few years ago, by the late *Nâdir Shâh*; who, we are told, chastised them severely, and drove them beyond the river *Amû*. But whether they have not taken the opportunity of the troubles which arose in *Irân*, or *Persia*, on that prince's death, to re-enter into possession of those cities, is what we cannot venture to assure our readers.

* PURCH. ubi supr.

† BENTINK Hist. Turks, p. 442, & seqq.

‡ Ibid. p. 235, & alibi.

(F) In the translations of *Abû'lghâzi Khân's* history, *Hakim*; that is, *Hazim*, or rather *Hajim*; the *h* being commonly used to express the English *j* consonant.

(G) Or *Arbus*, before described.

(H) *Abû'lfeda* calls it *Kâth*; *Jenkinson*, *Kait*; and only says, it is a castle where *Soltân Saramet* resided. *Purch. Pilgr.* vol. iii. p. 237. It was formerly the capital of *Karazm*; and there were two of the name, as well as of *Orkanj*, or *Urjensh*.

(I) This must be a mistake, unless it be a town of modern building: for *Abû'lfeda* places it on the *Jibûn*, or *Amû*. The name signifies, in *Persian*, a thousand horses.

(K) This situation is agreeable to what may be inferred from *Abû'lghâzi Khân's* history; who frequently mentions it, as lying towards the bottom of the *Caspian* sea; and, as *Jenkinson*, in his passage from *Mangushau* to *Urjensh*, came to the bay where formerly the *Oxus*, or

Amû, fell into the *Caspian* sea before it was turned into another river, *Mangushau* must, we presume, be the same with *Mankishlâk*. For the mouth of the dry chanel lies in a latitude considerably more south than *Urjensh*; and it is not likely, if *Mangushau* was in the north part of the *Caspian* sea, that they should travel so far south, and round about, instead of taking the direct and shorter road thro' the country. Either, therefore, *Jenkinson*, or the printer, mistook as to the latitude of *Mangushau*, or some other particulars, or his journal was corrupted, as we have been credibly informed it was, to serve some particular purposes.

(L) In the flourishing times of the *Karazmian* empire, it may be presumed, a great trade was carried on here; and it is still a place of passage for ships from the coast of *Shirwân*, and other parts of the *Caspian* sea.

S E C T. IV.

The inhabitants of Karazm; their manners and customs.

The Sarts.

KA R A Z M is at present inhabited by three sorts of people; the *Sarts*, the *Turkmâns*, and the *Uzbek Tatars*. a

WITH regard to the first of these, we are only told, that they are the antient inhabitants of the country, and support themselves, like the *Turkmâns*, by their cattle and husbandry². What we are to understand by the antient inhabitants, seems not easy to determine: whether the original inhabitants, who first possessed the country; or those who were settled there before the *Uzbeks* became masters of it: which latter is most probable. Nor is it so likely that they are a people sprung from one and the same stock, as a mixed people, composed of the remains of *Persians*, *Arabs*, *Turks*, and other *Tatar* tribes, who have successively conquered the country; especially those of the latter kind, which their way of living in good measure confirms. But as neither *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, nor his commentator *Bentink*, has thought b
unable to satisfy the curiosity of our readers.

1. *Of the Turkmâns.*

*Turkmâns,
their origin.*

THE *Turkmâns*, or *Turkomâns*, as our historians call them, came originally from *Turkestan*, or the parts of *Tartary* to the north of *Karazm* and *Great Bukhâria*. They separated from the *Kankli*, with whom they dwelt in that country, towards the eleventh century, with an intent to seek their fortune somewhere else; and settled in *Karazm*, long before the *Tatars*, as *Abû'lghâzi Khân* relates. They divided into two parties, one of which went round the north c
side of the *Caspian* sea, and settled in the western parts of the *Greater Armenia*; from thence called *Turkomania*, or the country of the *Turkomâns*. The second party turned south, and rested about the banks of the river *Amû*, and the shores of the *Caspian* sea (A): where they still possess a great number of towns and villages, in the countries of *Karazm* and *Astarabâd*, a province of *Irân*, or *Persia* at large.

*Oriental
Turkmâns;*

THIS branch of the *Turkmâns* has been hitherto unknown to the *European* historians and geographers; although they are much more numerous at present than that of the western *Turkmâns*. The authors who have given extracts from the eastern writers, take but little notice of them; and others relate no more of their history, than what occurs in the *Byzantine* and such western historiographers, who lived at too great a distance to be acquainted with their d
affairs.

THE *Turkmâns* seem to be descended from the *Turks*, or to differ from them, only as the wandering *Arabs*, called *Badwîns*, who live under tents, do from those who dwell in cities. As the western branch of the *Turkmâns* formed the famous dynasties, under the denominations of the *Black* and *White Sheep*, in *Armenia*, and the neighbouring provinces; so from this eastern branch some oriental authors derive the three famous dynasties of the *Seljuk* Soltâns, who, for several ages, held in subjection the countries of *Asia* from the *Archipelago* to *Hindûstân*.

*Shape, dress,
religion;*

THE *Turkmâns* of this latter branch are shaped much like the western: that is, are tall and robust, with square flat faces; only they are much swarthier, and have a greater resemblance of the *Tatars*. In summer they wear long gowns of callico, or thick cloth; and, in winter, sheep-skin gowns, of the same kind. Cattle and agriculture afford them subsistence, according to the different parts they possess. In winter they inhabit towns and villages about the river *Amû*, and towards the coasts of the *Caspian* sea. In summer they encamp where they can meet with the best pastures, and good water. They all profess the *Mohammedan* worship. Such of them as are settled in the country of *Astarabâd* generally follow the *Persian* sect; but they who dwell in *Karazm* conform with the *Uzbek Tatars* in sentiments of religion; although neither one nor the other give themselves much trouble about it.

*Character, and
number.*

THESE eastern *Turkmâns* are exceedingly restless, and with great difficulty submit to the *Tatar* yoke. They are very brave, and, at least, as good horsemen, but not so great f

² BENTINK Hist. Turks, p. 235.

(A) *Jenkinson* found them possessed of all the coast from *Manguslaw*, where he landed, till he left the shore, four days before he reached *Sellizûr*.

^a robbers, as the *Uzbeks*: by whom being treated as conquered subjects, they are obliged to pay tribute, and suffer several other impositions. To this is principally to be imputed the great animosity which they bear those rigid masters: but the *Turkmâns* who dwell under the dominion of the *Persians*, are treated in a much better manner. Both together may amount to 100,000 families. These people are still divided into tribes, like all the other branches of the *Turkish* nation; and their chiefs enjoy the same prerogatives ^b.

ABU'LGHAZI KHAN, who was a great enemy to the *Turkmâns*, and from time to time destroyed great numbers of them, makes frequent mention of them, on several occasions: sometimes according to the country they inhabit, as the *Turkmâns* of *Mankishlâk*, *Abû'lkbân*, and *Debistân*^c: which last territory belongs to *Persia*: but oftener by the names of their respective tribes. The principal of which are, 1st, *Adâkli Kisser-ili*. These dwell on both sides of the *Amû*, from the province of *Pishga* to that of *Karakizet*^d. 2. *Ali-ili*, inhabiting from the province of *Karakizet* to the mountain of *Abû'lkbân*. 3. *Ti-u-azi*, who possess the rest of the banks of the *Amû*, from *Abû'lkbân* to the sea. These three tribes are named *Utzil*^e. Besides these three tribes, we meet with the names of several others, whose particular settlements are not mentioned; viz. *Tâka*, *Sârik*, *Yamut*, *Irsâri*, *Khorassân Saluri*^f (these five made formerly no more than one tribe), *Itzki Saluri*, *Hassan Ikdur*, *Jândur*, *Arabâz*, *Koklan*, *Adâkli*^g, *Karamit*^h, and some others, less considerable ⁱ.

JENKINSON remarks, in his travels to *Bokhâra*, that all the country from the *Caspian* sea to *Urgens* is called the land of *Turkmân*; and that the inhabitants between that sea and the castle of *Sellizûr*, as well as of all the countries about that sea, live without either town or house, in the open fields; removing from place to place in great companies, with their cattle^k.

2. Of the Uzbek Tatars.

THE name of *Uzbeks*, which the *Tatars* of *Karazm* and *Great Bukhâria* bear at present, is derived from *Uzbek Khân* of *Kipjâk*, as related by *Abû'lghazi Khân*^l: and this custom, to assume the name of the prince, in token of his people's affection, has always been in use with the inhabitants of *Tartary*: of which we have instances in the names of *Moguls*, or *Mungls*, *Tatars*, and the like.

Name and
origin.

WHEN *Ilbârs Soltân* was invited by the inhabitants of *Urgensh* to come and take possession of *Karazm*^m, about the year 911, the *Uzbeks* possessed all the country of *Kipjâk* (or *Kapchâk*), eastward to the river *Irtish*, and southward as far as the river *Sir*, besides *Great Bukhâria*, A. D. 1505; which they had newly subdued under the conduct of *Shâh Bakht* (*) *Soltân*. This prince likewise added to his other conquests the greater part of *Khorassân*, with *Karazm*, which then depended on that province. However, a small number of *Uzbeks* seem to have settled in the country, till such time as *Ilbârs*, and his brother, brought the rest of them out of *Kipjâk*.

THE body of *Uzbek Tatars*, both in *Karazm* and *Great Bukhâria*, is composed out of four *Uzbek tribes*; viz. the *Vigûrs*, or *Oygûrs*, *Naymâns*, *Durmâns*, and *Kunkurats*, or *Kongorats*. The two first were of the four given to *Sheybani Khân*, son of *Juji Khân*ⁿ. On which occasion a certain author observes, that if all the inhabitants of *Kipjâk* took the name of *Uzbeks* from *Uzbek Khân*, it is strange none but those four should retain it. Nor is there any accounting why the *Tatars* of *Krim* are not called *Uzbeks*; but by supposing, either that the name extended only to those four tribes, and that the subjects of *Uzbek Khân* were limited to them; or else, that the rest of the *Tatars*, who inhabited *Kipjâk*, changed it by degrees, according to the above-mentioned custom, so much in use with them.

THE *Uzbeks*, for the most part, live by rapine, resembling in all respects those of *Great Bukhâria*; excepting that they are far less polite, and more restless. They dwell in winter in the towns and villages which are towards the middle of *Karazm*; and in summer the greater part of them encamp in the neighbourhood of the river *Amû*, and in other places where they can meet with favourable pasture for their cattle; always waiting for some convenient opportunity to rob and destroy. They never cease making incursions upon the adjacent territories of *Persia* or *Great Bukhâria*; and are to be restrained by no treaties or engagements whatever, in regard all their riches and support consist in the slaves and plunder which they carry off on those occasions.

ALTHOUGH there are excellent pasture-lands in many parts of the country towards the banks of the *Khesel*, yet the *Uzbeks* seldom remove thither with their cattle in summer; because there is nothing to plunder on that side: for the *Karakâlpâks* (or *Mankâts*), who are their northern neighbours, are as dextrous at the business as themselves; and what they can find to steal from one another is not worth the trouble of going for. Besides, the *Mohammedan Tatars* (*Elâts*), who border on *Karazm* to the north-east, they usually quit the borders of the *Moham-*

^b BENTINCK ap. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 426, & seq.

p. 236 & 239.

^c Ibid. p. 238.

^e Ibid.

^d Ibid. p. 235.

^f Ibid. p. 236.

^g Ibid.

Pilgr. vol. iii. p. 237.

^h ABU'LGHAZI. Hist. Turks, p. 235.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 256.

^j Ibid. p. 238.

^k PUKCH.

p. 709.

^l ABU'LGHAZI. Hist. Turks, p. 207.

^m Ibid. p. 226.

(*) See before,

of making
inroads:

medan Tatars towards the beginning of summer, that they may not be exposed to their inroads; and return not thither again till the winter, when the rains and snow have rendered the roads impassable on that side. a

arms and diet;

HENCE it is that none but the *Sarts* and *Turkmâns* reap the benefit of the pastures. The former seek those which lie eastward, towards *Great Bukhâria*, and the *Turkmâns* go in quest of such as are situated towards the shores of the *Caspian* sea, and mouth of the *Amû*. However, the *Uzbeks* frequently encamp on the sides of this river; where they are at hand to throw themselves into the *Persian* provinces, on the first occasion which presents, and carry off wherewithal to make good cheer in the winter. Although the *Uzbeks* have fixed habitations, yet, in travelling from one place to another, they carry with them all their effects of value, like the *Elûths* and *Mungls*; conformable to the way of living in use among their ancestors before they had settled dwellings °. b

their cattle;

ACCORDING to *Jenkinson*, these *Tatars* never ride without their bow, arrows, and sword, although it be in hawking, or taking any other pleasure. They have no arts or sciences among them, but live an idle life; sitting round in great companies in the fields, and passing their time in idle discourse. They have not the use of bread: neither do they till or sow. They are great devourers of flesh; which they cut in small pieces, and eat greedily by handfuls: especially horse-flesh. Their chief drink is sour mare's milk, like that in use with the *Nogays*; with which they will get drunk. They have no rivers, nor places of water, in this country, from *Manguslau*, where the author landed, to the bay where he arrived, twenty stages distant; excepting some wells of brackish water, more than two days journey asunder. They eat their victuals upon the ground, sitting with their legs double under them; which is their posture also when they pray. c

their money.

THE same author observes, that the inhabitants dwelling between the *Caspian* sea and *Urjensh* (including, without doubt, the *Uzbeks* as well as *Turkmâns*), have abundance of camels, horses, and sheep, both wild and tame. Their sheep are extraordinary large, with great tails, weighing sixty or eighty pounds. There are many wild horses in the country, which the *Tatars* frequently kill with their hawks. These birds are lured to seize upon the head or neck of the beast; which, being tired at length with toiling to get rid of this cruel enemy, the hunter, who follows his game, comes up and kills him. There grows no grass throughout this part of the country, but a brush or heath; which yet is very fattening. *Jenkinson* adds, that these people have not the use of gold, silver, or any other coin; but barter their cattle for necessities P. d

PERHAPS this author speaks of the *Turkmâns* only in this respect: for we find there is money in the kingdom; particularly a piece of silver called *Tanga* (B), which is current both in *Karazm* and *Great Bukhâria*. It is large, and *Bentink* believes the only silver money coined by the *Khân* of these provinces. This is round, pretty fine, and in value near the fourth part of a crown. It has on one side the name of the country, and on the other that of the country with the year of the *Hejrâb*. The rest of the money made in this country consists in small pieces of copper, of different sizes, which answer to our pence, half-pence and farthings. The money of *Persia* passes also in these provinces, especially towards the borders of that country ².

° BENTINK ap. Hist. Turks, p. 429, & seqq.
Hist. Turks, &c. p. 428.

² PURCH. Pilgr. vol. iii. p. 237.

³ BENTINK ap.

(B) *Abûlghâzi Khân* mentions it in his history, p. 239.

S E C T. V.

The government and revolutions of Karazm.

The Khân's
authority.

KARAZM is commonly divided among divers princes of the same house; of whom, notwithstanding, only one has the title of *Khân*, with a kind of superiority over the others, just as he has power or skill to improve it. The usual place of his residence is *Urjensh*, or some other city which he chuses; although, during the summer, he, for the general, encamps on the sides of the river *Amû*. And, as his camp is called *Khiva*, his subjects are commonly denominated *the Tatars of Khiva* (C). This *Khân* is sovereign in his own dominions, and in no sort depends on him of *Great Bukhâria*, or any other prince ³.

JENKINSON informs us, that, in 1558, when he was in this country (which, however, he

³ BENTINK ap. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 423, & seq.

(C) That is by the *Russians*, as hath been observed before, in the account of *Beckovitz's* expedition to discover the *Darîa*.

a no-where names) it was in the hands of ſix brothers ; one of whom, called *Azim* (D), had the title of Khân : but adds, that he was very little obeyed, excepting in his own territory, and the place where he reſided (E). For that each would be king in the ſhare which belonged to him ; and one brother fought continually to deſtroy another, for want of natural affection ; which our author aſcribes to their being born of different women, and commonly the children of ſlaves. Every Khân or Soltân hath at leaſt four or five wives (F), beſides concubines. Theſe brothers are generally at war together : and when any of them is vanquiſhed he flies to the deſart, with his followers ; and there lives, by robbing the Karawâns, and all they meet with, till he is ſtrong enough to invade ſome of his brothers again ^b.

Nor is it difficult to bring this about : for *Bentink* obſerves, that as the *Turkmâns*, who were the firſt occupants, are always in oppoſition to the *Uzbeks*, the princes of the reigning houſe know how to make uſe of this jealousy, and draw to their ſide the faction which thinks itſelf neglected by the Khân. It is to this extreme facility of making a party, that thoſe troubles, which continually diſtract *Karazm*, are principally owing.

THIS ſtate can with eaſe ſet on foot forty or fifty thouſand able horſe. What *Abû'lghazi Khân* reports of his infantry and muſketeers ^c, ſhews that he had profited by his imprisonment in *Persia* : for, before his time, that way of fighting was entirely unknown to the *Uzbeks*. Nor do they ſeem to have retained that kind of warfare ; for, at preſent, they take the field only on horſe-back : and it is a rarity to ſee fire-arms among them ^d.

KARAZM is an antient kingdom, and hath undergone a great many revolutions. In the time of *Herodotus* it was ſubject to *Persia*, having been one of the provinces over which *Darius* placed Satrapas. But nothing very material occurs concerning it, till it was poſſeſſed by the *Arabs*, in the year 61, and for a long time after ; farther than that it was a province of their empire, under a governor, like the reſt of the countries conquered by them. Upon the declenſion of the power of the Khalîfahs, when the governors ſeized the provinces intruſted to their care, it is probable that *Karazm* acted like the reſt, in ſetting up for itſelf ; although in the hiſtories hitherto come to our knowledge, we meet with no king of this country before *Mamûn ebn Mohammed*, who reigned ſome time after the year 385. For, not long before that, we find it under a governor, named *Abu Abdo'llah* ^e ; but it does not appear for whom. At length it fell under the dominion of Soltân *Mahmûd Gâzni*, king of *Khoraffân* ; who, after the death of *Mamûn ebn Mamûn*, in 407, took that kingdom from the uſurper, and made it a province of his empire ^f.

KARAZM continued in this ſtate under the families of *Gâzni* and *Seljûk*, ſucceſſively, till, upon the death of *Mâlek Shâh*, ſurnamed *Jâlâloddîn*, third Soltân of the *Seljûk Turks*, in 489, *Kotboddîn* (G), then governor of that province, taking advantage of the broils which enſued upon the demife of that great monarch, aſſumed the title of king ^h. But that title was better eſtabliſhed by his ſon and ſucceſſor *Mohammed*, ſurnamed *Atsîz* ⁱ ; though not without great oppoſition from Soltân *Sanjer*, ſon of *Malek Shâh*, who often reduced him to a dependency. But it was *Takaſh*, ſixth Soltân of this dynasty, who firmly eſtabliſhed the empire of the *Karazmians*, by the ruin of that of *Seljûk* : which he put an end to in *Irân*, by the death of *Togrul Arſlân*, in 590 or 593 ; and added the dominions of that brave but unfortunate prince to his own. His ſon *Kotboddîn Mohammed* extended the empire yet farther, by the conqueſt of all *Irân*, or *Persia* at large, and *Mawarâ'lnâbr*, or *Great Bukhâria* ; and was the greateſt prince in all *Aſia*, in 615, when *Jenghîz Khân* invaded and deprived him both of his territories and his life.

As *Jagatay Khân*, ſon of that conqueror, had only a part of *Karazm* in his ſhare of his father's dominions, as ſet forth by the oriental hiſtorians ^j, it looks as if the whole country had not been ſubdued, or, at leaſt, that part of it revolted, and became independent. Be that as it will, it is very probable, that on the declenſion of the power of the Khâns of *Jagatay* (H), on the death of *Gbazân*, or *Khâzân Khân*, in 749, if not before, *Karazm* either

^b PURCH. Pilgr. vol. iii p. 237.

^c Ibid. 357.

^d Ibid. p. 431.

^e TEIXEIR. Hiſt. Perf. p. 260.

^f ABU'LFARAJ Hiſt. dynaſt. p. 220. D'HERBEL. p. 534.

^g LA CROIX Hiſt. Gengh. p. 129. D'HERBEL.

Bibl. orient. p. 126.

^h D'HERBEL. Art. Atſîz.

ⁱ LA CROIX hiſt. Timûr Bek, p. 307. ABULGH.

Hiſt. of the Turks, &c. p. 165.

(D) In *Abû'lghazi Khân's* hiſtory written *Hadſim*, which may be pronounced either *Hazim* or *Hajim*. He was elected Khân in 1557, and had five brothers living.

(E) He dwelt then, according to *Jenkinſon*, at *Sellîzûr*, two or three ſtages weſt of *Urjenſh* ; of which laſt *Ali Soltân* was king. We ſhall find, in the following hiſtory of the Khâns, that *Ali Soltân* had for his ſhare, *Urjenſh*, *Hâzarûſh*, and *Kât*.

(F) As *Mohammedans*, they can have no more than four.

(G) He ſucceeded his father *Buſtekin*, formerly ſlave to *Balkatekin*, his predeceſſor, but advanced by *Mâlek Shâh* to the government of *Karazm*.

(H) So the countries ſubject to *Jagatay* were called after him.

set up a king of its own, or fell a prey to some other power^k: for in the time of *Timûr Bek*,^a we find it possessed by *Hussayn Sofi*, son of *Tang-bâday*, of the hord of *Kongorat*, one of the four *Uzbek* tribes, which, at present, possess *Karazm* and *Great Bukhâria*. What is still more remarkable, it is called a great empire^l; and continued in that family of the *Sofi's*, till conquered by *Timûr*, in the year 781 and 790, when he razed the capital (called the city of *Karazm* in his history) to the ground, and sowed it with barley, as before related. But three years after, he restored both the city and kingdom to the condition it had been in before.

A. D. 1379, and 1388. *by the Uzbeks.* AFTERWARDS *Karazm* continued in the hands of the descendants of *Timûr Beg* in *Mawarâ'lnâbr* and *Khorassân*; on which last it was then dependent, till the famous *Shâh Bakht Soltân*, with his *Uzbeks*, subduing those two provinces, about the year 904, it fell of course into the hands of that conqueror. Soon after, *Shâh Bakht* having been defeated and slain by *Shâh Ismael*^b *Sofi*, in 916, *Karazm* returned once more under the dominion of the crown of *Irân*, or *Persia* at large: but, about two years after, the inhabitants, revolting against the governors, sent for *Ilbârs Soltân*; who coming with his *Uzbeks* out of *Turkestân*, was proclaimed Khân, in 918 (I), at *Wazîr*^m: and his descendants have continued ever since in possession of the countryⁿ.

^k LA CROIX, *ibid.* p. 147. & seqq.

^l *Id. ibid.* p. 148.

^m ABU'LGH. *ubi supra*, p. 226.

ⁿ *Ibid.* p. 420.

(I) In the original it is 911; but this must be a mistake.

S E C T. VI.

History of the Uzbek Khâns of Karazm.

1. The Khâns from Ilbârs Soltân, till his descendants were expelled Karazm.

Revolution in Karazm. **B**URGA SOLTÂN, son of *Yadigar Khân*, having been slain by *Shâh Bakht Soltân*,^c elder *Ilbârs*, the other *Bilbârs*, who was surnamed *Bilikaj*; because he became lame in his feet by a fit of sickness, which he had when a child. These two brothers were very brave, and lived on lands belonging to their father's dominions, as private men. Mean time *Shâh Bakht Soltân*, growing very powerful, conquered *Great Bukhâria*, with most of *Khorassân*; and having subdued *Karazm*, which at that time depended on *Khorassân*, placed a governor in *Urgheñj*, or *Urjensh*, the capital of that kingdom. But five or six years after this revolution, in 916, being defeated, and slain, near *Marû*, by *Shâh Ismael Sofi*, his governor of *Urjensh* fled; upon which the *Shâh* sent magistrates to the cities of *Khayuk* and *Hazârâsh*, *Urjensh* and *Wazîr*. The governor of this last city, on his arrival, gave the principal inhabitants a sumptuous entertainment, and made them presents: but *Omar*, the Kâzi (or judge), who absent-ed himself, under pretence of being indisposed, sent for some of them next day, and repre-sented, that the church was in danger from this governor, *Shâh Ismael* having changed the faith (A) thirteen years before. The citizens, alarmed at the thoughts of innovations in religion, went two years after to a person noted for piety, in the province of *Bakirgan*, proposing to make him Khân, and cut the throats of the *Persian* garrison. But he rejected the offer, and advised them to elect *Ilbârs*, son of *Burga Soltân*; whom he recommended for his good qualities, having often seen him in his annual journies into the country of the *Uzbeks* (B).

Ilbârs invited; THE burghers, taking this holy man's advice, dispatched two of their number to *Ilbârs* with a letter, inviting him to repair to *Wazîr*. *Ilbârs* set forward immediately with the deputies, and stopped near that city; while the conspirators, who were the principal lords, causing the inhabitants to take up arms, cut the throats of the governor and all his people. Next day they set out to meet *Ilbârs*, who, being joyfully received, both by the *Sârts* and *Uzbeks*, was proclaimed Khân, in the year 911, which is that called *Koy*, or the *Sheep* (C). *Wazîr* had then depending on it, of all its towns, no more than *Tarsak* and *Tengbi Shâhr*; which last was given to *Bilbârs Soltân*. The governor of *Tarsak* escaped to *Urjensh*; and having informed the governor *Subhân Kûli* of what had happened at *Wazîr*, the latter summoned the citizens, and told them, "that if they were weary of submitting to his orders, or wished for a change, they might freely declare it; for that he did not intend to be any charge to

(A) Asserting *Ali* to be the true successor of *Mohammed*, instead of *Abûbekr*, *Omar*, and *Othmân*, whom he reckoned usurpers: a point of vast importance among *Mohammedans*.

(B) They then inhabited all the country of *Kipchak*, or *Kapchak*, from the river *Jûik*, in the west, to the *Irtish* eastward, and the *Sîr* southward.

(C) See the *Mungl Kalendar*, vol. i. p. 309.

- a " them, or to reſide in their town againſt their wills." They unanimouſly answered, " that
 " as they had no reaſon to complain either of him or the Shâh, they deſired he would con-
 " tinue among them ; adding, " the *Uzbeks* were naturally ſo inconstant, that they would
 " ſoon leave their new Khân in the lurch."

THE governor, upon theſe aſſurances, backed by an oath, reſolved to ſtay among them; ^{takes Urjenſh;} and ſent a ſpy to *Wazîr*, to learn the ſtrength of the enemy, while he put himſelf in a condi-
 tion of defence. Three months after, *Ilbârs Khân*, advancing to *Urjenſh*, defeated the gover-
 nor's army; and, entering the city with them, put him and all the *Persians*, with the princi-
 pal inhabitants, who had aſſiſted them, to the ſword: but, finding that he had not men
 enough to ſecure his conqueſts, moſt of the *Uzbeks* being ſubject to his uncles, he propoſed
 b inviting the ſons of *Abûlah* and *Amûnak* (D); all approved of this motion of the Khân,
 excepting one *Vigûr*, of the common people; who alleged, " that it was a favourite maxim
 " of ſovereigns, if they had a mind to preſerve peace to themſelves, to keep their relations at
 " a diſtance from their dominions; that the reſtleſs ſpirits among them ſhould not be in a
 " ſituation to diſturb the tranquillity of the ſtate." But the Khân, and the lords of his coun-
 ſel, were ſo far from approving of this advice, that they took it very heinouſly, as ſpoken out
 of enmity to the princes; and to ſow diſcord in his family.

- As ſoon as the matter was ſettled, *Ilbârs Khân* gave his kiſmen to underſtand, that he had ^{calls in other}
 c already gotten poſſeſſion of *Wazîr* and *Urjenſh*; but, not having had forces enough to reduce ^{princes.}
Hazârâſh and *Khayuk*, he invited them to come with their ſubjects, and ſhare in the conqueſt
 of ſo fine a country. The princes, on this encouragement, immediately repaired to *Ilbârs*
Khân, who gave up to them *Urjenſh* with its dependencies, and returned to reſide at *Wazîr*.
 The new-comers, by their incurſions, ſo incommoded the *Persian* garrifon of *Khayuk* and
Hazârâſh, that they abandoned thoſe towns. After this, they carried the war into *Khoraffân*;
 and, after the death of *Shâh Iſmaël*, took all the towns between *Durûn* (E), and the moun-
 tains to the weſt of the city of *Khoraffân* (F); but they were ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, as well by
 the *Turkmâns*, who poſſeſſed the towns which lay on the borders of the provinces of *Aſtara-*
bâd and *Khoraffân*, as thoſe who dwelt towards *Abûlkhân* and *Mankiſhlâk*, on the *Caspian* ſea
 d in *Karazm*. *Bilbârs Soltân*, the Khân's brother, was in moſt of theſe actions; and, though
 lame, led on his troops bravely among the thickeſt of the enemy, being carried in a light
 chariot, drawn by a ſingle horſe, and accompanied only by five or ſix choſen men.

- THESE two brothers died within a little while of each other, and left ſeveral ſons. *Ilbârs* ^{2. Khân}
 Khân was ſucceeded by *Soltân Haji*, ſon of *Bilbârs Soltân*, who was the eldeſt of all the family ^{Soltân Haji.}
 (G), and proclaimed at *Wazîr*: but, as he had only a few ſubjects, the whole power fell into
 the hands of *Soltân Gâzi*, eldeſt ſon of *Ilbârs Khân* (H), a prince of great genius. *Ilbârs*
 Khân gave to all his ſons the ſurname of *Gâzi*, which ſignifies a man who ſubdues people of
 another religion; in memory of their having vanquiſhed the *Persians* at *Urjenſh* and *Wazîr*:
 but our author knew not the reaſon why *Bilbârs Soltân* gave the name of *Haji* (I) to his ſons.
 e AFTER the death of *Haji Khân*, that honour was conferred on *Haffan Kûli*, ſon of *Abûlak*, ^{3. Khân Haf-}
 who reigned in *Urjenſh*, as being the eldeſt prince of the houſe of *Yadigar Khân*: for, although ^{ſan Kûli.}
 they were all deſcended from the three brothers, *Burga Soltân*, *Abûlak*, and *Amûnak*, and ſo
 made but one houſe, yet each had his own particular dominion. The ſix ſons of *Amûnak* (K)
 had at this time ſix ſons, of age to do for themſelves, beſides younger children. *Haffan Kûli*
Khân, who was the only ſon of *Abûlak*, had likewise ſeveral ſons; of whom *Bilâl*, the eldeſt,
 reſembled his father in every thing, as well as his good diſpoſition. In the reign of this Khân, ^{The princes}
 the ſeed of envy and diſcord began to ſow itſelf among the aforeſaid princes: for as the Khân's ^{rebel.}
 revenue greatly exceeded thoſe of the reſt, they at length grew uneaſy at it; and, joining their
 forces againſt him, laid ſiege to *Urjenſh*. Hereupon *Haffan Kûli Khân* fallied out, on foot,
 f with all his men, and, poſting himſelf on the counterscarp, fought bravely, from morning till
 night, againſt the confederates: of whom, among others, was ſlain *Aganay*, the youngeſt of
Amûnak's ſons, then only twenty years old; whoſe head was cut off, and ſent into the city:
 which ſo enraged his brothers, and the other chiefs of their party, that they forced the Khân to
 retire into *Urjenſh*, and fight within the walls^b.

^a ABU'LEH. Hiſt. Turks, &c. p. 224, & ſeq.

^b Ibid. p. 228, & ſeqq.

(D) The brothers of *Burga Soltân*. The firſt had
 one ſon, the other ſix ſons.

(E) Written alſo *Daruan* and *Dargan*.

(F) *De l'Iſte*, in his laſt map of *Persia*, places this city,
 or the remains of it, near *Abiwerd*, or *Barwerd*, in lati-
 tude 39 degrees.

(G) The eldeſt of the reigning family is always cho-
 ſen Khân, except in extraordinary caſes.

(H) *Ilbârs Khân* had ſeven ſons; but our authors

knew the names of only two, *Soltân Gâzi*, the eldeſt,
 and *Mahamed Gâzi*, the ſecond. *Bilbârs* left five; but
 only *Soltân Hâji* is named.

(I) Perhaps he conſidered his expedition along with
 his brother, in this *Gâzi*, or holy war, as a kind of reli-
 gious pilgrimage.

(K) They were, 1. *Safan*. 2. *Buzzûga*. 3. *Avâ-*
naſh. 4. *Kâbl*. 5. *Âkattay*; and, 6. *Aganay*.

puts him to death.

AFTER the siege had continued four months, provisions became so very dear, that many people deserted to the confederates; which, by degrees, so weakened the Khân's forces, that the allies, having at length given a general assault, entered the city, sword in hand, in spite of the incredible efforts made by that prince, and the few men he had left, of whom they made a great slaughter. After this they put to death *Hassan Kâli Khân*, with his son *Bilâk*, and banished the rest into *Great Bukhâria*: where, at the time our author wrote, there were living fifteen of their male descendants.

Divisions of Karazm.

THE confederates, having thus gotten the whole power into their hands, agreed on a new division of the cities of *Karazm*. To the descendants of *Burga Soltân* fell those of *Wazîr*, *Yenghi Shâbr*, *Tarsak*, and *Durûn*, with the *Turkmâns* of *Mankishlâk*: the posterity of *Amûnak* had all the other towns, viz. *Urjensh*, *Khayuk*, *Hazârâsh*, *Kât*, *Buldumsaz*, *Nikijkûta*, *Borunda*, *Bâghabâd*, *Nasay* (L), *Iburdu* (M), *Zabarda*, and *Mabâna*, with the *Turkmâns* who inhabit the countries of *Abû'lkhân* and *Dehestân*.

4. Khân, Safian Soltân.

HEREUPON *Safian Soltân*, eldest son of *Amûnak*, who succeeded *Hassan Kâli Khân*, sent to tell those of *Abû'lkhân*, that, unless they agreed to pay a yearly tribute, he would destroy their habitations. The *Turkmâns*, voluntarily assessing themselves, sent him the tax, as a free gift: but the Khân, not content with such a precarious contribution, next year dispatched forty men to levy it both in *Abû'lkhân* and *Dehestân*. These tax-gatherers having dispersed themselves through the country for that purpose, expecting to meet with no opposition, the *Turkmâns* took them, and cut all their throats, at the same time. Upon this news *Safian Khân*, accompanied by his four brothers, marched against them, at the head of his army; and, arriving at the first habitations of them, along the *Amû*, to the west of *Urjensh* (N) met, at first, with much resistance; but, at length, the *Turkmâns* fled to the mountain *Dsu* (or *Ju*), three stages north of *Abû'lkhân*; where, being distressed for want of water, they submitted to pay 40,000 sheep yearly; viz. the tribes of *Tâka*, *Sârik*, and *Yamut*, 8,000; those of *Irsari* and *Khorassân Saluri* 16,000 each.

The Turk-mâns submit.

THE other tribes agreed also to pay in the following proportions; *Ijki Saluri*, 10,000; *Hassan* 16,000; *Ikdâr* and *Jawdâr*, 12,000; *Arabâz*, 4,000; *Koklân*, 12,000; *Adâkli*, 12,000; besides a tenth more, each, for the Khân's kitchen. As for the tribes called *Uchil*, or the three branches, who dwelt on the *Amû*, it was stipulated, that *Adâklik Hisser-illi* would furnish yearly a certain number of soldiers for the Khân's service; while they of *Ali-illi* and *Tiuâzi* should pay their contribution in merchandizes.

5. Khân, Buzzûga.

SAFIAN KHAN dying, after a reign of some years, left five sons (O): but his brother *Buzzûga Soltân* succeeded him. About that time *Obeyd Khân* (P), who then reigned in *Great Bukhâria*, took some towns of *Karazm*, which the *Persians* before possessed; and his *Uzbeks* made continual war upon the rest of the towns of that country, which were still under the dominion of the Shâh, carrying away great numbers of captives. On the other side, the *Uzbeks* of *Karazm*, who possessed the cities of *Iburdu*, *Nasay*, and *Durûn*, did no less annoy the inhabitants of *Khojân* and *Esferayn* (Q), towards the borders of *Ghilkûpruk* province, *Nasay* being only one day's journey distant. Shâh *Tabmâsh* (R), unable to remedy these disorders, because he was at war with the Soltân of *Rûm* (S), resolved to make an alliance with the *Uzbeks*. For this end, he dispatched an envoy to *Urjensh*, to demand a princess in marriage; saying, his master thought it a great honour to wed a lady of the blood of *Jenghîz Khân*, after the example of *Amir Timûr*, who, on that occasion, got the name of *Kuragân* (T).

Peace with Shah Tahmas.

BUZZUGA KHAN, accepting the proposal in favour of his niece *Aysba Bika*, daughter of *Safian Khân*, because he had none of his own, sent *Agbîsh Soltân*, one of his brothers, and nine vassal lords to the *Persian* court to finish this alliance. The Shâh received that prince with great distinction, and made him a present of the town of *Khojân*. He sent to *Buzzûga Khân* ten wedges of gold, and as many of silver, each as large as a tile; with ten fine horses, whose saddles and harness were trimmed with gold. To his spouse he sent nine pieces of cloth of gold, 1,000 pieces of silks, and abundance of magnificent habits; after which she was conducted to the Shâh's court.

6. Khân, Avânâsh.

BUZZUGA KHAN died (U), after he had reigned twenty-seven years, and *Avânâsh*, his bro-

* ABU'LGH. Hist. Turks, p. 234, & seqq.

(L) Or *Nesâ*, called also *Little Damascus*.

(M) Also *Abiwerd*, or *Bawêrd*.

(N) See before, p. 718.

(O) Viz. 1. *Yussif*. 2. *Yunus*. 3. *Ali*. 4. *Agbîsh*.

5. *Paluânkûli*.

(P) He was the son of *Mahamed Soltân*, brother of *Shah Bakht Soltân*, who conquered *Great Bukhâria*, as before related.

(Q) *Esferayn* lies near the borders of *Forjân*, in *Persia*.

(R) Or *Tabmâsh*. This prince is commonly called *Shâh Tahmas I. of Persia*.

(S) So the orientals stile the *Ottomân* emperor, because possessed of the countries formerly subject to the *Romans*.

(T) Others write *Kurkhân*, and *Gurkhân*, which signifies the son-in-law, and relation of the Khân.

(U) *Buzzuga Khân* left three sons; 1. *Dost Mahamed*. 2. *Isf Mahamed*. 3. *Buram*, otherwise named *Isf Dost*.

ther

- a ther was proclaimed Khán. His eldest son *Dín Mahamed* (X), who had an early genius for war, when he was nineteen years old, resolved to make an incursion with forty men towards *Atarabid*. Passing the south branch of the *Amú*, at *Sidálik Táka*, he met, in the defile of *Dinár*, a man belonging to a lord of *Mahamed Gázi Soltán*, who resided at *Durán*, driving nine camels and thirty sheep. Among these he observed a yellow goat, and desired he might have it, for his people's subsistence on the road, promising to make his master amends at his return: but the fellow refusing to gratify his request, he ordered his men to beat him, and take all his drove. After this, *Dín Mahamed* pursued his journey, and had the wished-for success: but, on his return, was met on a party sent out by *Mahamed Gázi*, who took all his booty of cattle, and himself prisoner, letting his followers go their way. Being brought before the
- b Soltán, he for a time confined him; and then, having punished him, sent him, under the guard of *Risba Khudayberdi* and six men, to his father *Avánash Khán*; with orders to tell this prince, that he had sent him his *Tugma* (Y), after punishing him for invading the *Per-sian* territories, without his permission, and stripping some of his people^d.

MAHAMED, impatient to be at liberty, from time to time, made great outcries, that if *Dín Mahamed* any of his men had stopped on the road, they might come to his assistance. On the other med hand, every time he made a noise, the lord, who conducted him, bawled out *Risba*, which was his usual word: but *Dín Mahamed*, believing he made those exclamations with design to insult him, took such offence at it, that it cost *Risba* his life. One day, when his guards were asleep, in the country of *Gordísh*, some of his men, who knew his voice, and had followed

c him at a distance, coming up, set him at liberty, and cut the throats of his guards; whom they buried out of the way, deep in the sands. On his return, his father, who did not love him, having asked him, how he got out of the scrape? he answered, that *Mahamed Gázi* was indeed angry with him at first: but was soon reconciled, and sent him back with a present of some horses and habits: which his father believed to be matter of fact.

AFTER this, *Dín Mahamed* getting two seals engraved, one with his father's cypher, the *kills Mahamed* other with that of his mother-in-law, who was sister to *Mahamed Gázi*; he wrote letters to med Gázi, him in both their names, informing him, that she was very sick, and earnestly desired to see him. Her brother immediately set forward; and arriving in an evening, when the Khán was out a hawking, went directly to his sister's apartment. As he perceived her to be very

d well, and she told him she had sent no letter, he began to suspect some treachery, and left her that instant, with design to take horse again: but, hearing much noise in the street, which faced the castle, he made to the Khán's stables, thinking to escape by a back-door that opened into a by-lane; which being full of people, he hid himself in a heap of dung that lay in a corner.

DIN MAHAMED, who had seen *Mahamed Gázi* go up to his sister's apartment, followed *Ali Soltán* with some of his forty men: but, not finding him there, he went, by the direction of some *slain* women slaves, towards the stables; where, after much search, one of them perceived a bit of his scarlet robe sticking out of the dung; on which he went and told *Dín Mahamed*, who came and slew him on the spot. Upon this alarm, one of *Mahamed Gázi*'s men ran to *Wázir*, to

e inform his brother *Soltán Gázi*; who, in the first transports of rage, slew *Ali Soltán* (son of *Safian Khán*), his wife's brother, who unfortunately was just then come to visit her. When *Avánash Khán* returned from hunting, and was made acquainted with the murder committed by *Dín Mahamed*, who had made his escape, he assembled his council, to deliberate what was to be done upon so extraordinary an occasion: but they were scarce come to a resolution in the affair, when a courier arrived with the news of the murder of *Ali Soltán*; which threw them into farther confusion^e.

MEAN time the Khán's nephews, who were all of *Amúnak*'s posterity, being informed of *Burga* what had happened at *Urjensh* and *Wázir*, foresaw that it would occasion a civil war: and *Soltán's posterity* therefore repaired to *Urjensh*: from whence, on the other hand, *Mahamed Gázi*'s people re-^{nity} tired to *Wázir*. *Avánash Khán*, for his part, had no inclination to a war; but his nephews, in some measure, forced him to raise an army, and march towards that city. On this advice, *Soltán Gázi* sent to the descendants of *Bilbárs Soltán*, at *Yenghi Sháhr*: but, without staying for them, advanced with what troops he had, to meet the Khán, as far as the province of *Komkint*, which lies to the west of *Wázir*. He was chagrined, on ranging his troops, to find that there were not men enough to make a front equal to that of the enemy; but more, to hear a soldier, by way of mockery, for he was not beloved, say, "that he might supply

" the defect with his horses and cows; of which, till then, he had made more account than of

" his warriors." In short, the two armies coming to an engagement, he was there killed, with *forced out of Karazm*;

^d ARU'LEH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 238, & seqq.^e Ibid. p. 247, & seqq.(X) He had two other sons, *Mahmúd* and *Ali*.(Y) *Tugma* is a word of reproach, and signifies *Basard*.

fifteen princes descended from *Ilbârs Khân*. His sons, *Omar Gâzi Soltân* and *Sbîr Gâzi Soltân*, and two daughters, falling into the hands of *Akkatay Soltân*, brother of the Khân, he sent them into *Great Bukhâria*. a

THE other princes, who made haste to join *Soltân Ghâzi*, hearing of this disaster, fled also into *Great Bukhâria*, not daring to return to *Yenghi Shâbr*. After which, the descendants of *Amûnak* put to death all the posterity of *Burga Soltân* who fell into their hands; excepting the women, whom they kept as captives. Thus was the race of *Ilbârs*, once so numerous, almost extinguished; at least, none of them were to be found in *Karazm*. After so great a revolution, the country was divided among the descendants of *Amûnak*; and *Dîn Mahamed Soltân* had for his share the city of *Durûn*.

MEAN time *Omar Gâzi Soltân*, son of *Soltân Gâzi*, arriving in *Great Bukhâria*, put himself b in the service of *Obeyd Khân* (Y); and, although no more than sixteen years old, signalized himself on several occasions. He bestirred himself so effectually in his own behalf, that the Khân, in conjunction with *Juanmart*, Khân of *Samarkant*, *Barak*, Khân of *Tâshkunt*, and the prince of *Hissâr*, entered *Karazm* with their united forces. On the news of their approach, the princes possessed of *Kbayuk*, *Hazârâsb*, and other neighbouring towns, repaired, with their troops, to join *Avânash Khân*: but he, not daring to wait the enemy's coming, retired into the deserts. The confederates, arriving at *Urjensh*, detached some troops after the fugitive princes: who being taken, *Obeyd Khân* made a division of them; and, as *Avânash Khân* fell to *Omâr Gâzi*'s share, he instantly put him to death. The Khân gave *Urjensh* to his son *Abdo'lazîz Soltân*, and one of the four *Uzbek* tribes who dwelt in *Karazm*, to each of the four c invading powers; who, after appointing their intendants over them, returned to their own dominions.

WHEN *Avânash Khân* was made prisoner, his two sons, *Mabmûd* and *Ali*, took refuge with *Dîn Mahamed Soltân*, their eldest brother, at *Durûn*; whither also fled *Yusef* and *Yunus*, two sons of *Safian Khân*, with other princes, and young men of quality. But *Kâbl Soltân* and *Akkatay Soltân*, brothers of the Khân, were carried into *Great Bukhâria*, with all the children of the latter, excepting *Hajim Soltân*: who, being at that time eighteen years of age, put on a mean garb, and retired to an old domestic of his father's, whose horses he kept, as if one of his slaves; till, the affair taking wind, his protector, for both their safeties, conveyed him to *Durûn*. d

NOT long after this, *Dîn Mahamed*, accompanied by all the refugee princes, set out for *Urjensh*, with 2000 men, whom he reinforced in the province of *Gordish* by 1000 *Turkmâns*: but it appearing, when they came to the country of *Pishga*, that their forces were too few to attack the city, and besides wanting boats to pass the *Amû*, they bent their course towards *Kbayuk*: because on that side there was no need of boats, and they had hopes of getting thither undiscovered, as but few people dwelt on that road. Being arrived, they took the city, without much difficulty; and put to death the commander, with some of his garrison. Upon this news, the governor of *Hazârâsb* repaired to *Urjensh*; and *Abdo'lazîz Soltân*, fearing to fall into *Dîn Mahamed*'s hands, retired into *Great Bukhâria*. *Obeyd Khân*, on his son's return, immediately raised a numerous army, and marched towards *Urjensh*; but, arriving at the *Karamit Turkmâns*, stopped there, with part of his forces, and sent forty thousand men, under two generals, to that city. d

ON the first advice of the enemy's march, *Dîn Mahamed Soltân* left *Kbayuk*, with design to meet them: but as his forces did not exceed 10,000 men, the princes and lords, who accompanied him, advised him to return to *Durûn*; alleging, that as soon as *Obeyd Khân*, who came only to secure *Urgbenj*, perceived they were retreated, he would retire also; and that then they might turn back, without noise, and take the city. But *Dîn Mahamed* persisting in his resolution to give the enemy battle, 220 of his principal officers alighted; and, falling at his feet, intreated him to return. Having renewed their supplication in this manner three times, he at last fell in a passion, and flung himself off his horse also: then taking up a handful of dust, scattered it on his head, and cried out, "I devote myself to God, and my body to the earth." After this, turning to the lords who surrounded him, he said, "I consider myself as a dead man; and if you esteem your lives more precious than mine, you are at liberty to return: but if you will share with me the glory that attends us, let us march." Hereupon, remounting his horse, he continued his march; and all his army followed, shedding tears. f

MEAN time *Dîn Mahamed* being informed, that the enemy had in the night passed by *Hazârâsb*, and would be upon his back the next day, he halted in the evening at a pond, since

^f ABU'LGH. Hist. Turks, p. 251, & seqq.

(Y) He was nephew to *Shâh Bakht Soltân*, and son of a grandson of *Atâlgabâr Khân*; which last is the common ancestor of the *Uzbek* princes settled in *Great Bukhâria*.

^a called *Shikast Kâli*, in the province of *Jardankhast*. He ranged his troops on the west side of the pond, which was then dried up; and having had notice before day, by his scouts, of the enemy's approach, first sent his brother *Ali Soltân*, who was but eight years old, with six trusty men, a little aside from the field of battle (to the end that, if he lost the victory, there might remain at least one sprig of their family); then divided his forces into two bodies; one commanded by himself, the other by *Yusef Soltân*, eldest son of *Safian Khân*: these he posted on both sides of the road, and waited with profound silence. The *Bukhârian* army soon appeared, having at their head most of their commanders, with four torches to light them; whom *Dîn Mahamed* let pass, and then fell suddenly on the troops which followed; charging them so briskly, that they were soon broken, and obliged to fly, notwithstanding their great superiority.^b

^b *TOGAY BAHADR*, one of the chiefs of the *Kunkurats*, and the *Soltân's* vassal, killed sixty *An Uzbek* men in the battle with his own hand. *Dîn Mahamed* had advanced so far among the enemy, *champion*. that the bow fell from his side unknown to him; which *Hajim Soltân* (Z), who accompanied him, having recovered, "Brother," said *Dîn Mahamed*; "that which you have done to-day for me, shall be the knot of an everlasting friendship between us." He was then twenty-eight years of age, and *Hajim Soltân* eighteen. This victory was complete; for, besides the soldiers slain and taken, most of the principal officers of the enemy fell into the victor's hands; which enabled him to recover the captive princes of his family, by an exchange of prisoners. For ^{Hej. 949:} this purpose, the persons of distinction were suffered to go, on their parole, into *Great Buk-* ^{A. D. 1542.} *hâria*, accompanied by *Hajim Soltân*; who executed his commission so well, that, in 949, he brought back his father *Akattay Soltân*, *Kalil Soltân*, and the other princes, whom the confederate Khân had some time before carried into that country.

^c AFTER the battle, *Dîn Mahamed* ordered the prisoners to be brought before him; and there being among them *Hafis*, one of the principal lords of *Obeyd Khân's* court, he demanded on what account he had told his master, that the inhabitants of *Urgenjb* were not true believers, but of a different faith from the *Mussulmâns*. The lord, alarmed at this question, fell at his feet, and made answer, "It is at this juncture, that I shall find whether you are true *Mussulmâns*, or whether you be of a different religion." Meaning, that if they were of the same religion with him, they would pardon him. To this answer *Dîn Mahamed Soltân* made no reply; in regard that report, concerning the people of *Urgenjb*, was not ill-grounded, as they had discovered an inclination for the religion of the *Persians*.

2. From the revolution under *Avânish Khân*, till *Karazm* was seized by *Obeyd Khân*, of *Great Bukhâria*.

THE descendants of *Amûnak*, having thus recovered their possessions in *Karazm*, by the 7. *Khân* ^{Kâhl.} valour of *Dîn Mahamed Soltân*, they conferred the dignity of Khân on *Kâbl Soltân*; who fixed his seat at *Urgenjb*. *Akattay Soltân* had *Wazîr*; *Hajim Soltân*, his son, *Bâghabâd*; the descendants of *Soltân Khân* (A), had *Khayuk*; the sons of *Buzzûga Khân*, *Hazârâsb*; and *Dîn Mahamed Soltân*, and his brother, the cities of *Durûn*, *Yawsurdî*, and *Nasay* (or *Nesâ*).

^c *AKATTAY*, who succeeded his brother in the dignity of Khân, gave *Kât* to *Sheykh Mahamed*, and *Shâh Nazer*, two sons of *Kâbl Khân*; *Urgenjb*, with its dependants, to *Ali Soltân*, ^{8. Khân} *Akattay*, the youngest son of *Avânish Khân*; continuing himself to reside at *Wazîr*: but he did not long enjoy the sovereignty; which happened on the following occasion. *Yunus Soltân*, son of *Safian Khân*, a prince of much ambition and courage, who had married the daughter of a *Biyawl* of the *Mankats*, departed one day from *Kayuk*, with forty chosen men; under pretence of going to pay a visit to his father-in-law, who dwelt near *Urgenjb*. Having passed *Kât*, and arrived at *Tûk*, which he knew then to be empty (all the inhabitants, both of the town and country, being gone towards *Urgenjb* and *Wazîr*), he got upon a tower, from whence he could see *Urgenjb*; and expressing a desire to be there, as being his native place, his men told him, they were ready to follow him where-ever he pleased.^a

^f BEING arrived about midnight at the south gate of the city, they put their horses apart, and entered the ditch on foot; where they lay hid, till the guards, with their torches, had passed *Urgenjb* by. Then, by the help of a long pole reared against the wall, they all mounted; and, going directly to the house of *Mahmûd Soltân* (left governor by his brother *Ali*, who went to live at *Nasay*), seized and sent him to *Wazîr*, to the custody of *Akattay Khân*; whose daughter he had married. *Mahmûd*, who was a very wicked man, never ceased to importune the Khân to go

^a *ABU'LGHAZI KHAN*, Hist. Turks, &c. p. 255, & seqq. ^b Ibid. p. 259, & seqq.

(Z) *Jenkinson*, in his voyage to *Bogar*, writes *Azim*.
(A) These were *Yunus* and *Paluânkâli*, the two sons of *Safian Khân* then living. The other three were dead; *Ali Soltân* killed by order of *Soltân Gâzi*, as before re-

lated; *Aghish Soltân* died at *Khojân*, in *Khorassân*; and *Yusef*, the eldest, by loss of blood, after venesection; the vein opening in the night.

and reduce *Urjensh*, till he had consented; especially considering that *Yunus* had only forty a men, and it was not likely the *Uzbeks* of that city would assist him against their sovereign: but being advanced near that place, he found *Yunus* with a good body of troops expecting him; and, coming to a battle, was put to flight.

the Khân
taken;

and cruelly
murdered.

9. Khân
Yunus.

Hejrah 956.
A. D. 1539.

Another revo-
lution.

10. Khân Dîn
Mahamed;

his great reso-
lution;

KASSEM, son of *Yunus*, by the daughter of the Khân, undertook to pursue him, crying out, "Grandfather, whither would you go in this hot weather? You had better rest yourself to-day under some tree, and early to-morrow-morning continue your journey." But *Akattay Khân's* answer was, "Your father has a heart as black as a pot: but if your intentions towards me be good, leave me to continue my road, and do me no harm". *Kassem*, finding that fair means would not do, made use of foul, and forced him to go with him to *Urjensh*. Upon this news, all the *Uzbeks* about *Urjensh*, having assembled tumultuously, acknowledged *Yunus* b for their Khân, without consulting the other princes. A few days after, *Yunus Khân* sent to tell the four sons (B) of *Akattay Khân*, who lived at *Wazîr*, "that, although they had no "desire to take their father, yet they were obliged to convey him home with them, as they "found him quite spent with the cholic; which still violently afflicted him." Presently after, he sent four men to the house, which served for the Khân's prison, with orders to bind his hands and feet, and then impale him alive; taking care that no marks of a violent death should be found on his body. As soon as the fact was perpetrated, he sent the corpse to *Wazîr*, with many compliments of condolence to the Khân's sons; who he supposed would conclude that their father died of the cholic.

As soon as the princes, who were at *Wazîr*, heard the news of their father's murder, they c sent to their elder brothers (C), who resided at *Bâghabâd*, which depended on *Khorassân*, to join with them in revenging such an atrocious crime. The brothers accordingly joined their forces, and went forward towards *Urjensh*: but when *Yunus* was informed, that they had passed the *Amû*, not daring to wait for them, he fled into *Great Bukhâria*, with his brother, and the sons of *Kâhl Khân*. On the road most of his people abandoned him; and his son *Kassem* lost his way, accompanied only by one man; who, under pretence to get victuals for them, went to *Urjensh*, and betrayed him to *Hajim Soltân*. This prince immediately sent persons to fetch him from the pond, from that time called *Khân Zungali* (where he lay hid among the d reeds), and caused him instantly to be put to death. Which revolution happened in the

THE descendants of *Safian Khân* and *Kâhl Khân* having being thus entirely stripped of all they enjoyed in *Karazm*, the children of *Avânish Khân* continued in possession of *Durîn* (+) and *Yawrsurdi*; which depended on *Khorassân*. The sons of *Akattay Khân* held *Urjensh* and *Wazîr*; and *Bûzzûga Khân's* three sons, *Isb*, *Dost*, and *Burum*, became masters of *Kbayuk*, *Hazârasb*, and *Kât*. After which, they conferred the dignity of Khân on *Dîn Mahamed Soltân* i.

THIS prince, who could not sit idle, began to invade *Khorassân*; which obliged *Shâh Tabmasb* to send an army thither; who took from him *Yawrsurdi*. As soon as the *Persian* troops were retired, the Khân posted to *Kazwîn*, where the Shâh resided, and prayed him to restore that city: but *Tabmasb* being deaf to his intreaties, he got the royal seal counterfeited, and c then wrote a letter in the Shâh's name to the governor of *Yawrsurdi*, ordering him to deliver it up to *Dîn Mahamed Khân*, and come himself to court. A few days after, while *Shâh Tabmasb* was hunting, he slipped from the company, with his followers; and, hastening to *Yawrsurdi*, delivered the letter to the governor: who, readily obeying the supposed command, surrendered up the town to him, and departed for *Kazwîn*. As soon as his back was turned, *Dîn Mahamed* ordered the gates to be shut, and all the *Persians* in the place to be put to the sword.

AT this news, *Shâh Tabmasb* set out with a considerable army to take revenge for the deceit: but when he came to the little river *Kara Sû*, near *Masbâd* (D), he was informed that the Khân was arrived in the camp, with a retinue of fifty horse. This account appeared so ridiculous to him, that he would not believe it, till they brought him word, that the prince was at his tent-door. *Dîn Mahamed Khân*, entering at the same time, fell on his knees before the Shâh; who was so surprised at his extraordinary boldness, that, not content with putting his right hand on the Khân's left shoulder, he thrust his left into that prince's bosom, to try if his heart did not beat: but, perceiving no motion there more than what is usual, he could not avoid admiring the intrepidity of his suppliant. On this account, he pardoned him all that was past; and, having feasted him magnificently, sent him home next day, laden with rich presents; conducting him in person to some distance from the camp. f

i ABU'GH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 253, & seqq.

(B) These were *Falât*, *Timâr*, *Alla Kûli*, and *Soleyman*.

(C) *Hajim* and *Mahmûd*.

(D) Written *Daraîn*.

(D) A name given to *Tû*, in *Khorassân*, on account of the sepulchre of *Imâm Riza*, who is reckoned a martyr. The river *Kara Sû* runs to the west of it.

a SOME time after this, *Obeyd Khân*, of *Great Bukhâria*, gave the command of it to *Yulum Bey*, a chief of the *Naymâns*: but the Khân growing jealous of him, through the suggestions of envious people, sent for him to court. As *Yulum Bey* was not over-hasty to obey these orders, *Obeyd Khân*, concluding that he designed to revolt, sent an army of 30,000 men against him. *Yulum Bey*, now put to his last shifts, had recourse for succour to *Dîn Mahamed Khân*; who set forward immediately with his troops: but, as they were only a few, he ordered every man to cut down three small trees; and, fixing one on each side of his horse, tie the third to his tail; which left marks on the soft and marshy ground, as if a great army had passed that way. The *Bukhârian* generals, being informed that the Khân was coming to *Yulum Bey*'s assistance, sent out their spies; who, observing the marks along the road, brought word, that he was advancing with very numerous forces. Upon this the generals, not thinking it safe to wait his coming, retreated as fast as they could, without seeing the enemy: and *Dîn Mahamed Khân*, having taken possession of *Marû*, fixed his residence for life in that city; where he died in the year 960, called, by the *Mungls*, *Sighir*, or the *Cow*, at the age of forty *.

Hej. 960.
A. D. 1552.
Abâl Soltân.

THIS prince, besides the other heroic virtues which he possessed in a high degree, was extremely generous, gracious, and eloquent: he had withal a peculiar brightness of wit. And here it may not be amiss, before we proceed to the next Khân, to relate what became of his sons, and the other descendants of *Avânash Khân*. *Dîn Mahamed Khân* left behind him two sons; the eldest called *Saganda Mahamed*: but, because he was not in his right senses, his brother, *Abâl Soltân*, succeeded in all his father's dominions; and reigned with wisdom for several years. At length he made an irruption, with great forces, into *Khorassân*; and, arriving at *Mashbâd*, detached his only son, with most of his army, to penetrate deeper into the country: but having advanced as far as the river *Kara Sû*, to the west of that city, he was met by a great army of *Persians*; and lost the battle, with his life: ten thousand men being slain besides. The news of this misfortune so grievously afflicted his father, that he fell dangerously ill, beyond the help of physic. On this occasion, a woman of *Marû* produced a boy, four years old, which she said she had by the Soltân; who, having sent for her one night to play on the harp, took a fancy to lie with her. Hereupon one of his physicians, esteemed the most skilful in the country, ordered both the Soltân and the child to be undressed. Then laying the boy on the belly of the dying prince, had a coverlet thrown over them, and began to cry out with all his force, Soltân, *behold a son of yours!* As he continued to do this three times a day, the Soltân, by degrees, recovered his former health; after which he owned the child for his son, and called him *Nûr Mahamed*.

ABU'L SOLTÂN dying, *Nûr Mahamed* succeeded him in all his dominions: but some years after, the princes of the house of *Hajîm Khân* united against him, under pretence that they would not have the son of a strumpet for their brother. *Nûr Mahamed*, finding himself unable to resist them, sued for protection to *Obeyd Khân*, and delivered up his four cities of *Marû*, *Nasay*, *Tawrsurdi*, and *Durûn*; imagining, that the Khân would leave him in possession, and be content with receiving tribute: but, finding himself deceived in his expectation, he quitted *Great Bukhâria* in discontent, and repaired to *Urjensh*; where he was well received by his late enemies, and lived five years with them. At length, *Obeyd Khân* dying, *Nûr Mahamed* set out to recover his four cities; in which expedition having succeeded, he put to the sword all the *Uzbeks* whom he found in those places; settling the *Sarts* and *Turkmâns* in their room. But *Shâh Abbâs Mazi*, of *Persia* (E), willing also to profit by the death of *Obeyd Khân*, came in person to besiege *Marû*, with a powerful army; and took it in forty days, with *Nûr Mahamed*, who had shut himself up there. After this, he took the three other cities, without any trouble, and sent the captive prince to *Shîrâz*; where, with him, ended the posterity of *Dîn Mahamed Khân*, eldest son of *Avânash Khân*.

f THE second son of this last Khân was *Mahmûd*, surnamed *Sâri Mahmûd*; that is, *Yellow Sâri Mahmûd*, from his complexion. For all the other descendants of *Amûnak* were of a fine brown. This prince was addicted to all sorts of vices. He loved liquor so well, that, being one day at a house drinking *Brûga*, and some-body coming to tell him the enemy's troops were near, while all the rest ran to their horses, he, with a great deal of unconcern, took a knife and marked all the pots which had *Brûga* in them, bidding the host take care of them till his return. This shewed, that his excessive debaucheries had impaired his senses; and indeed he died soon after without leaving children¹.

ALI SOLTÂN, the youngest of *Avânash Khân*'s sons, possessed at several times the cities of *Ali Soltân*; *Nasay*, *Tawrsurdi*, *Urjensh*, *Hazârâ*, and *Kât*. He used every spring to cross the *Amû*,

* ABU'GH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 271, & seq.

¹ Ibid. p. 274, & seq.

(E.) This should be *Shah Tamash* the first.

and encamp towards the borders of *Khorassân*: from whence he sent parties to plunder the *Persians* and in autumn returned to *Urjensh*. He mustered all the *Usbeks* in his service every year; and gave each for his pay sixteen sheep, out of those which he received by way of contribution from the *Turkmâns*: and, when they fell short, he supplied the defect by the booty-sheep taken from the *Persians*. Shâh *Tabmâsh*, on complaints made of these ravages, at length sent *Bâdr Khân* (F), with 12,000 men, in quest of *Ali Soltân*. This prince, according to custom, had entered the country of *Astarabâd*, with 3000 men, to oblige the *Turkmân* tribe of *Oklikoklân* to pay him contribution; which *Bâdr Khân* being informed of at *Bastâm*, he turned that way. At first, *Ali Soltân* was a little startled at this news; but, considering that it was dangerous to retreat in the face of an enemy, went and possessed himself of the *Kurgân*. This river was very difficult to pass, being rapid as well as deep, and the banks extremely high; excepting in a few places, where it is fordable. Our author, who had often passed it, found the height of them, in many parts, above two cubits. He caused the horses and cattle to be tied behind; and employed the waggons to cover the front of his troops.

defeats the
Persians;

In this posture he was attacked several times by the *Persians*; but, as they had only cavalry, they could gain no advantage. Hereupon *Aba Beg*, a *Turkmân* chief, impatient to see the fight continue so long, sallied out with 300 men of the tribe of *Okli*, in order to charge the enemy behind, while *Ali Soltân* attacked them in front. When he was gone, some of the principal *Usbek* commanders said it was wrong to let him go; because it was probable he would join the enemy. *Ali Soltân* bad them have patience; saying, "if they are gone to join the *Persians*, I trust that God will deliver us from this danger, and perhaps the enemy may have need of such a reinforcement." But *Aba Beg*, while they were speaking so much to his disadvantage, had already begun the fight: so that, having been vigorously attacked three times by the *Persians*, he must have been oppressed by their numbers, if *Ali Soltân* had not in time issued out of his intrenchment, and charged them in front, with such success, that they fell into disorder, and took to flight, after the greater part of them had been slain. The *Soltân* pursued till far in the night; so that *Bâdr Khân* had much ado to escape, with a few of his men. So great a number of horses were taken, that *Ali Soltân* having made his esquire a present of every ninth, they amounted to 700; not reckoning what fell in division to the officers and soldiers.

death and
character.

Hej. 979.
A. D. 1571.

FIFTEEN years after this, *Ali Soltân*, having in one of his expeditions advanced as far as the *Zengbel*, or *Desart*, to the south of *Kbojân*, fell ill of a contagious ulcer, which broke out between his shoulders. As he would let no body see it, through bashfulness, the chiefs were obliged to use force, and cut the clothes over the part affected, in order to come at it. Yet, for all the care they took to get him cured, he died of that distemper, in the year 979 (G), at the age of forty. *Ali Soltân* was a prince of so much merit, that his cousin *Hajim Khân* often said of him, that he had not his equal among the descendants of *Tadigar Khân*, in bravery and liberality, sincerity, modesty, and, above all, the art of reigning. As in all his life he had never suffered any either to see or touch his naked body, so he would not, when dying, suffer a domestic to feel whether his legs began to grow cold. He did speedy justice to those who demanded it. In one of his expeditions, he hanged a man for taking two Arbuscs (or melons) out of a field. He left two sons; *Iskander*, who died the same year, and *Sanjer*, who, being disturbed in his senses, reigned ten years at *Nasay*, under the conduct of a *Nayman* lord^m. Thus much concerning the family of *Avânash Khân*.

11. Khan
Dost Soltân.

AFTER the death of *Dîn Mahamed Khân*, the *Usbek* princes chose *Dost Soltân*, second son of *Buzzûga Khân*, to succeed him at *Kayuk*, rather than *Isb Soltân*, the eldest brother; because, although courageous and generous, he was neither so wise nor moderate. He was likewise suspected as to his orthodoxy in religion. *Isb*, who took this very ill, applied to his brother for assistance to reduce *Urjensh*: but, arriving with his forces in the territory of *Zilpuk* (or *Jilpuk*), which belongs to the country of *Kumkant*, he found *Hajim Soltân* in the field ready to fight him, with a much superior army. Hereupon, securing his men behind with a small river, and with his chariots in front, *Hajim*, after an attack of eight days continuance, was obliged to come to an accommodation. Some years after, *Isb Soltân*, having formed a new design against *Urjensh*, *Hajim* met him between that city and *Tûk*; where *Isb* covered himself as before, with his chariots; and, having fought eight days against superior forces, marched out of his intrenchments silently in the night, and surprised *Urjensh*, to the great astonishment of *Hajim Soltân*. As soon as he saw himself master of the place, he ordered all the *Vigûrs* and

^m ABU'LGH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 279, & seqq.

(F) The *Persians*, after the extinction of the descendants of *Timûr Bek* in *Persia*, by way of hatred, or con-

tempt, gave the title of Khan to their military officers, and governors of cities.

(G) Called *Sighir*, or the *Cony*, by the *Mungls*.

- a *Naymáns* to retire to *Wazír*, without any of their effects ; but let those of other tribes, who were settled there, remain in peace.

AFTER this, each party having endeavoured to secure *Ali Soltán*, who resided at *Nasay*, in his interest, that prince declared in favour of *Hajím Soltán*, whom he joined, accompanied by *Abú'l Soltán*, son of *Dín Mahamed Khán*, and besieged *Urjensh*. *Ish Soltán* defended himself well at first : but the besiegers at length giving a general assault, while he was riding about from post to post, where his presence was necessary, a *Durmán*, whose sister he had ravished, wounded his horse in the flank with an arrow. The beast hereupon capered, and threw the Soltán so violently, that he broke one of his legs ; and the enemy, who had scaled the walls in the interim, coming up, slew him, and a *Sart*, who was endeavouring to remount him.

- b After this, the confederates took *Kayuk*, and put to death *Dost Khán*, brother of *Ish Soltán*, whose two sons were sent into *Great Bukhária* ; where dying without issue, the race of *Buz-zúga Khán* became wholly extinct. This revolution happened in the year 965, called *Gbilki*, or the horse.

Hej. 965.
A. D. 1557.

THE same year *Hajím Soltán*, being then 35 years of age (H), was declared Khán, and went to reside at *Wazír*. As, of all the posterity of *Amúnak*, there were left only the children of *Avânish Khán* and *Akattay Khán*, they gave the cities of *Urjensh*, *Hazárasb*, and *Kát*, to *Ali Soltán*, youngest son of the former. Of the four remaining sons of *Akattay Khán*, *Mahmúd Soltán* lived with his brother *Hajím Khán* : *Pulád* and *Timúr* had *Khayuk* between them, with two *Usbek* tribes, for their share ^a.

12. Khán Hajím Soltán.

- c THESE two brothers were both weak of understanding : but *Timúr Soltán* knew best how to behave himself of the two ; and joined to a solid conduct, in affairs of government, much bravery on warlike occasions. This prince never went to eat at the house of any person : inso-much that one time, going from *Hazárasb*, where he usually resided, to see his brother *Pulád* at *Khayuk*, he refused the invitation of a *Vigúr* lord, who had the administration of that Soltán's affairs, on account of his indisposition. The reason of his being so reserved was this. One day, when about 15 years of age, while he took a ride for the air, he was invited in by a countryman who killed a sheep to treat him ; and, at his going away, presented him with a gigot of it. At his return, he went to offer it to his father ; but *Akattay Khán*, offended on the occasion, reproved him, saying, " that he was 50 years old, and had never put any one d " to such an expence ; that, if the peasants were obliged to kill sheep to treat him when he was " young, they must kill horses and cows for him when he grew up ; and that, as his vassals " would follow his example, his poor subjects would soon be reduced to beggary." This said, he ordered him to be stripped, and gave him 30 lashes with a rod, laying on so hard, that young *Timúr's* shirt was all bloody. His brother *Hajím*, meeting him as he came forth, approved of what his father had done : but advised him to appear next day in that bloody condition before *Akattay Khán* ; who, repenting of his severity, after exhorting him not to do the like again, made him a present of the *Türkman* tribe of *Ti-u-ázi*, consisting of 6000 families. Here-upon *Timúr Soltán* made an oath never to go to eat with any body whomsoever, nor suffer any of his people to do so. This prince was very pious, and loved virtuous people : he had e withal so excellent a memory, that although he could neither write nor read, yet he kept an exact account of his revenue.

Story of *Timúr Soltán*.

- ON the death of *Ali Soltán*, *Hajím Khán* went to reside at *Urjensh* ; his brother, *Mahmúd Soltán*, continued at *Wazír* ; *Pulád* had *Khayuk* ; and *Timúr*, *Hazárasb* and *Kát*. Some years after, while *Hajím Khán* was invading *Khorassán*, *Abdo'llah*, Khán of *Great Bukhária*, came with an army to besiege *Urjensh* ; but, after losing many soldiers, was obliged to retire into the province of *Tenghi Arik* ; where he waited to secure the places, which he possessed on that side, till more forces arrived : but, hearing that *Hajím Khán* was returned with a great army to fight him, he thought fit to make peace with *Pulád* and *Timúr*, who were at *Khayuk*, and retired to his own dominions. Some time after this, the Soltán Khalifah of *Rúm* (I) sent f an ambassador to *Abdo'llah Khán*, to engage him to attack the empire of *Sheykh Oglí* (K) on one side, while he attacked him vigorously on the other. *Pialasba*, who had spent three years in the voyage, going by way of the *Indies*, was desirous to return through *Karazm*, and cross the sea of *Mazánderán* (L) to *Shírván*, then subject to his master ; that so he might get to

Turkish ex-
posed.

^a ABU'LGH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 267, & seq.

(H) He was born, *Hejrah* 930, A. D. 1523.

(I) That is, the grand signor, or emperor of the *Turks* ; who, since the suppression of the Khalifah of *Egypt*, the last of whom was carried to *Constantinople* by Soltán *Selím*, in 1516, is qualified by the *Mohammedan* princes of the *Senni* sect, with the title of Khalifah, and assumes it himself.

(K) That is, of the sons of the *Sheykh* ; meaning *Ismael Sofi* (founder of the race of *Sháhs*), so called by way of contempt.

(L) So the *Caspian* sea is called from that province, which lies upon it. It is named also from other countries situate along its shore.

Istâmbûl (M) in four months. But when he came to *Urjensh*, *Mahamed* and *Ibrâhîm*, the two youngest sons of *Hajîm Khân*, stripped him of all his equipage, and then sent him to *Mankish-lâk*; where some merchants happening to be on their return to *Shîrwân*, they carried him over in their barks to that province.

and merchants
plundered.

To this first cause of complaint there was joined another. They of *Great Bukhâria*, who performed the pilgrimage to *Mekka*, in times of peace, always passed through *Karazm*, and the dominions of the *Shâh*: but, in time of war, were obliged to go far about by the *Indies*. It happened that some merchants, relying on the peace, took their route through *Karazm*: but, arriving at *Khayuk*, were stripped to their very shirts by *Bâba Soltân*, son of *Pulâd Soltân*, and sent home again on foot. These people, at their return, going to complain to *Abdo'llah Khân*, he told them that he could do nothing in the affair; for that *Bâba Soltân* was as much sovereign at *Khayuk*, as himself could be in *Great Bukhâria*. Hereupon *Hâjî Kutas*, head of the *Karawân*, made answer, "that he would be his accuser before the throne of God, in case he suffered to go unpunished an outrage done to the deity himself, in the persons of those who went to offer up their prayers to him in his holy house."

Abdo'llah
Khân

This bold remonstrance, joined to a desire of revenge for the loss of the four towns taken from *Nûr Mahamed*, which by their means he recovered, determined *Abdo'llah Khân* to renew his design of conquering *Karazm*, and make war on *Hajîm Khân*. The news of his preparations divided the *Uzbeks* of *Karazm* into two parties. One was for making a vigorous defence, the other for submitting so soon as the enemy approached *Urjensh*; on a persuasion that they should be well treated and employed by him, even though he should carry them into *Great Bukhâria*. *Hajîm Khân*, finding by this that he could not depend on his subjects, left his sons, *Mahamed* and *Ibrâhîm*, at *Urjensh*, and returned to *Durûn*, with his eldest son *Siunj Mahamed Soltân*.

invades Ka-
razm;

MEAN time, *Abdo'llah Khân* advancing with his army, *Mahamed*, son of *Timûr Soltân*, marched with his *Uzbeks* from *Hazârâsh* to *Khayuk*; designing to make this place the rendezvous of their troops, as his father had done in the former war, and by that means baffled the designs of *Abdo'llah Khân*. But finding, at his arrival, that *Pulâd Soltân* resolved to quit the town, and retire to *Wazîr*, they all set out together at day-break, with a large train of men and chariots (or waggons); which took up so much time, that at noon, just as the troops passed out of the city on one side, those of *Khojâm Kûli*, one of the enemy's generals, entered at the opposite gate; and next day, pursuing the confederate princes with 3000 horse, on a great trot, overtook them at the borough of *Almatish Khân*; for they had not continued their march till the same morning. At *Khojâm Khân's* approach, they covered themselves with their chariots: but the general, having forced that barricade, after a vigorous resistance, put them to the rout. However, as he lost many men in the action, he did not follow the princes, who went forward in great confusion to *Wazîr*.

insnares the
princes

WHEN they arrived, they resolved to make proposals of peace; and drove from the city *Bâba Soltân*, who had been the occasion of this unfortunate war. Hereupon *Pulâd Soltân*, finding that he could not hinder their design, retired with his two other sons to *Hajîm Khân*, at *Durûn*; while *Mahamed* and *Ibrâhîm*, the *Khân's* sons, repaired to *Wazîr* to join the confederates; where *Ali Soltân*, son of *Mahmûd Soltân*, had the chief command. Mean time, *Abdo'llah Khân*, appearing before that city, besieged it in form: but finding, after two months leaguer, that it would be difficult to come off with honour in the enterprise, he had recourse to craft. He sent to tell the confederate princes, that since they had thrust out *Bâba Soltân*, whom he had chief cause to complain of, they might depend on being received by him as his allies and relations. The princes, deluded by these fair promises, entered into a capitulation to swear in his name, not to meddle with either their persons or effects; and that he had no evil intention against them.

by a treaty:

AFTER the five lords had taken the oath, the common people (who were against the princes trusting to so weak security) desired that they might be arrested, and held in custody, till such time as *Abdo'llah Khân* should raise the siege, and begin his march. But *Ali Soltân*, who had the chief sway in the city, which belonged to the children of *Mahmûd Soltân*, and, though little and crooked, was a great wit, strenuously opposed this motion; alleging, "that, being the *Khân's* near relations, they had nothing to fear from him: that, in case he should carry them into *Great Bukhâria*, he would settle them more advantageously than they were situated in *Karazm*: nay he was persuaded, that *Abdo'llah*, far from any evil intentions against them, would, on the first application, leave them in possession of *Urjensh* and *Wazîr*." These reasons being approved of by all the men of distinction, the people were

• ABU'LG. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 285, & seq.

• Ibid. p. 292, & seq.

(M) That is, *Constantinople*; of which it is a corruption, or contraction.

a obliged to acquiesce; and the *Bukhârian* lords, accompanied with the princes, left the city to return to their master's camp. As soon as they arrived there, *Abdo'llah Khân*, having put them under a guard, and divided their soldiers into troops of ten or twelve men, one of whom was to be responsible for the rest, he sent them all prisoners into *Great Bukhâria*; whither he followed with his army, after he had put governors into all the cities of *Karazm*; which thus fell into his hands.

3. From the invasion of Obeyd Khân to the parricide of Arap Mahamed Khân.

A MONTH after this event, *Hajim Khân*, and the ten princes of his house who were with him at *Durûn*, resolved to retire into *Irâk* to *Shâh Abbâs Mazi*; on which *Pulâd Soltân*, third son of *Akatay Khân*, thinking it would be very unbecoming of him, who was near 70 years old, to seek a sanctuary among people of a different religion, chose rather to repair to *Abdo'llah Khân*, on a presumption that he would pity his condition, and give him a subsistence. But he found himself fatally deceived: for that prince, on his return to *Bukhâria*, caused him, and all the other descendants of *Amûnak*, being twelve in number, who had fallen into his hands, to be put to death the same day, in the town of *Sâgraj*. After this, he laid a yearly tax of a Tanga a head on all the other prisoners above the age of ten; which constrained many to sell their children, in order to raise wherewithal to pay the poll-money. Mean while *Hajim Khân* set out for *Durûn*, with the princes, accompanied by 3000 horse: but they deserted so fast on the road, that he arrived with a train of no more than 150 at the court of *Shâh Abbâs*; who came in person to receive him, and gave him the best treatment imaginable: but *Siunj Mahamed Soltân*, and his son, went forward to the Soltân Khalifah of *Rûm*. This happened in the year called *Yilân*, or the *Serpent*.

Two years after, in that named *Koy*, or the *Sheep*, the same in which a comet appeared (N), *Abdo'llah Khân* sent before him his son *Abdo'l-momîn Soltân*, with part of his army, to besiege *Esfarayn*, in *Khorassân*. As soon as the Shâh received advice of this, he left *Kazwîn*, with his forces, accompanied by *Hajim Khân*, and the other *Usbek* princes; who, having learned when they came to *Bastâm*, that there were no more than 60 of the enemy at *Khayuk*, and 40 at *Urgheñj*, judged this a proper time to recover those places: but as, for the more secrecy, the attempt was to be made without the Shâh's knowledge, *Hajim Khân* and some others declined it, for fear their sudden departure should give offence to that monarch; so that none engaged in the enterprise, excepting *Arap Mahamed*, and *Mahamed Kûli*, two of *Hajim's* sons, and the three sons of *Pulâd Soltân*. These princes took horse late one evening, and, riding all night, arrived at the *Turkmân* tribe of *Amîr*; and from thence by noon at *Astarabâd* (O). Next morning, *Hajim Khân* having acquainted *Abbâs* with their design, the Shâh, who knew the activity of *Abdo'llah Khân*, and the improbability of recovering their possessions, during that prince's life, advised him to ride after them immediately, and bring them back. *Hajim* overtook them at *Astarabâd*: but, instead of bringing them back, they prevailed on him to continue with them, till he saw what success they were likely to have; the *Turkmâns* having promised them a powerful assistance^a.

DEPARTING therefore altogether from *Astarabâd*, they went towards the mountain of *Kurân*; *Hajim Khân* where the tribes of *Tûka* and *Yâmut* lent them 500 men. Then crossing the territory of *Man-kishlik*, whose inhabitants had all removed to the country of *Orda Kutuk* (P), they came to the tribe of *Irsîri*, which granted them five or six hundred men; and thence proceeded towards *Pishga*. The princes separating in this province, *Hajim Khân*, with his two sons, took the road of *Urgenish*; and *Bâba Soltân*, with his two brothers, went to *Khayuk*. On the news of *Hajim Khân's* approach, *Sâri Oglân*, governor of *Urgenish*, retired into the castle: but the Khân having entered by a subterraneous passage, which he ordered to be carried under the wall in the night, he put the governor and his 40 men to death. The *Turkmâns* after this returned home laden with plunder, leaving *Hajim Khân*, and his sons, almost alone at *Urgenish*. *Bâba Soltân* had no less success on the other side: for so soon as he appeared before *Khayuk*, the *Sârts*, who dwelt in the city, opened the gates to him; which entering, he slew the governor, *Menglish Bey*, and his 60 men. When the commanders of *Hazârâsh* and *Kât* were informed of these misfortunes, they quitted those cities, and fled towards *Great Bukhâria*.

TEN days after, *Bâba Soltân*, having dismissed all his *Turkmâns*, excepting fifteen, went with his brother *Pelûnkûli* to *Hazârâsh*; but, it being the vintage season, *Hâmza* staid at *Khayuk* taken;

^a ABU'LGH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 298, & seq.

(N) That is, as we compute, A. D. 1593.

(O) Some read *Estarabâd*; in the translation everywhere *Istarabâd*: others *Astarabâd*.

(P) Because of the quarrels they had with the *Man-kats* (or *Karakalpaks*), on one side; and with the tribe of *Irsîri* on the other.

Kbayuk to drink his fill of wine. Just as *Bába* got into *Hazarásb*, he perceived two officers advancing towards the town on a smart gallop, at the head of 150 horse; and, suspecting them to be enemies, endeavoured to shut the gate: but he had scarce closed one side, before the first came up, and endeavoured with his lance to keep the other side open. However, some of the inhabitants, running thither in the nick of time, shut it also; and with their arrows compelled the enemy to retreat. In their way back, they took a *Sáir*; who having informed them of *Hámza's* stay at *Kbayuk*, they turned on that side, and arrived there next day at noon, while the Soltán was taking the air. But not daring to use force with so few men, they lay concealed till the evening; when, assistance coming to them, they opened a passage into the town, under one of the gates; at which having entered, they put all to the sword: a misfortune that much disconcerted the affairs of *Bába Soltán*.

by *Abdo'llah's*
troops.

To understand who these troops were, the reader must be informed, that *Abdo'llah Khán* having sent *Khojám Kúli* to support his son *Abdo'lmomín Soltán*, while he followed leisurely to take the diversion of catching water-fowl beyond *Zárjui*, in the country of *Gordásb*, that general met on the road the commander of *Hazarásb*; from whom he learned what had passed in that city, and then sent him with the news to *Abdo'llah Khán*. On this advice, the Khán dispatched orders to *Khojám Kúli*, to march in haste towards *Kbayuk*; promising to follow him with his whole army. Hereupon the general turned towards that city: but found, at his arrival, that the work had been already done by his van-guard; which determined him to march for *Urjensh*.

Mahamed
Kúli's bra-
very:

In the interim, *Mahamed Kúli Soltán*, third son of *Hajím Khán*, a prince of much courage, having heard of his cousin *Hámza's* death, kept it very secret; resolving to go from *Urjensh* secretly, and join *Bába Soltán* at *Hazarásb*. He took with him some trusty *Turkmáns*, and *Jagatays* (Q), with 200 *Usbeks*, newly escaped from *Great Bukhária*, with a view to trade. He began his journey by the river of *Urjensh*: but, coming near the little town of *Zilpuk*, found himself on a sudden surrounded by the troops of *Khojám Kúli*; who, believing that the Soltán could not possibly get out of his hands, ordered his officers to take him alive. However, he missed of his aim; for *Mahamed Kúli*, forming one large squadron with his men, rushed violently upon one of the enemy's wings; and, breaking through them, retired into the country of the *Mankáts* (R); where he endeavoured to draw *Kuzuk Khán* into his interest, by proposing to marry his sister: but this prince, fearing *Abdo'llah Khán's* resentment, in case he gave *Mahamed Kúli* any protection, had him arrested, and sent to the *Urús* (or *Russians*); where he died some time after.

Hajím Khán
flies again.

Hajím KHAN, being informed of what had happened by a soldier, who was in the fight, left *Urjensh*, accompanied by his son *Arap Mahamed Soltán*, and some soldiers, designing to retire to *Mankishláak*; but the enemy having overtaken him the third night after his departure, he was obliged to fight them; and, being worsted, he endeavoured to make a retreat. As the enemy continued to follow him, he was forced next morning to stand a new attack; in which he lost more than half of the few men he had with him. So that he was constrained once more to quit *Karazm*, and take refuge at *Astarabád*; from whence he afterwards repaired to the Sháh at *Kazwín*. Mean time *Abdo'llah Khán* went in person to besiege *Hazarásb*; and, having taken it, caused *Bába Soltán*, and his fifteen men, to be put to death. After this he returned into *Great Bukhária*; where he died (S) the last day of the year 1006, called (by the *Mungls*) *Tawk*, or the *Hen*.

Hej. 1006.
A. D. 1597.

After *Abdo'llah's*
death;

UPON the news of *Abdo'llah Khán's* death, Sháh *Abbás Mázi* gathered a great army, and next year encamped near *Bastám*. At this place *Hajím Khán* desired leave of the Sháh to take a journey towards *Great Bukhária*, to try if *Abdo'lmomín*, who had succeeded his father, would restore him one of his cities, that he might there end his days in quiet. *Abbás* having readily consented to his request, he departed, accompanied by *Arap Mahamed Soltán*, and his grandson *Isfándiar Soltán*, with a retinue of fifteen persons; leaving behind *Barandú*, son of *Ibráhím Soltán*. But, having lost his way, during the second day's journey, he found himself at length near the *Turkmáns* of *Táka*, by the mountains of *Kurán*; where he imagined he was not far from *Marú*. As this mistake embarrassed him extremely, he resolved to rest there that night, in order to consider what he had best to do. Going at sun-rise to sit in the shade to say his prayers, because it was *Midsummer*, he saw two *Naymáns* on horseback, coming from towards *Yawrsurdi*. These had formerly been his subjects, and of those who were carried into *Great Bukhária*. As soon as they approached, they wished him long life, and informed him, that

^r *ABU'LGH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 304. & seq.*

(Q) The old *Mongols*, or *Mungls*, who came with *Jagatay Khán* into these parts; which took their name from him.

(R) Or *Karakálpáks*; who possess the west parts of *Turkestan*.

(S) So that *Olearius* must be mistaken, when he says that the Khán, with his brother, and three of his sons, were taken by Sháh *Abbás*, and put to death.

a *Abdo'lmonin Khân*, in his return from *Khorassân* to his own dominions, was slain at *Zâmû* (T), by his own people; and that they had let-out in quest of him to bring him the news.

Hajim Khan, greatly rejoiced at these tidings, made such haste to *Urjensh*, that he arrived there in eight days, and found the city without either a governor or a garrison. For, on the confusion which followed the assassination of their Khân, the enemy withdrew out of *Karazm*. Hajim Khân kept *Urjensh* and *Wazâr*; he assigned *Khayuk* and *Kât* to his son *Arap Mahamed Soltân*, and gave *Isfândiar* his grandson, *Hazâresh*. Soon after the *Uzbeks*, made prisoners by *Abdo'llah Khân*, took the opportunity to return home; as did in the third year *Siunj Mahamed Soltân*, from the country of *Rum* (or *Turky*): at whose arrival his father resigned to him the dignity of Khân; and retired to live at *Khayuk*, with *Arap Mahamed Soltân*.

b SIUNJ MAHAMED KHAN did not long enjoy the sweets of reigning: for he died a year after his return to *Urjensh*; and was succeeded by his son *Abdo'llah Soltân*: but

ABDO'LLAH KHAN lived no more than another twelve-month after his father.

AT length *Hajim Khân* died in the year 1011, called *Bars*, or *the Tiger*, at the age of four-

score-and-one.

ARAP (U) MAHAMED KHAN succeeded on the death of his father *Hajim Khân* to all his dominions; and on his advancement, added *Kât* to his son *Isfândiar*'s portion. Six months after, while he passed the summer, with the lords his vassals, on the banks of the river *Amû*, the *Urûs* (or *Russians* of *Taïk* (X), knowing there were no soldiers at *Urjensh* during that season, came with 1000 men; and, after they had cut the throats of 1000 of the inhabitants, loaded as many waggons with the most valuable goods; and, burning what they could not carry away, marched off with 1000 females. The Khân, being informed of this in time, went to cut off their retreat at a certain defile: which he so well intrenched and palisadoed, though in a hurry, that the enemy could not force him, till after an attack of two days; and after-all, they were obliged to leave their booty behind them. Mean time *Arap Mahamed Khân*, who had no design to let them escape him so cheaply, having gotten the start of them by cross roads, went to wait for them at another pass; which the *Urûs* not being able to force, and water beginning to fail, so that they were constrained to drink the blood of their slain, they made a last effort to break through the barricades: but this attempt succeeded so ill with them, that scarce a hundred of their number escaped. These remains made over to the river *Khesel*; where they built a cabin, a good way beyond *Tûk*, and subsisted by fishing, waiting for an opportunity to get back: but five days after, the Khân, being informed of the place of their retreat, sent soldiers thither, who slew them every man.

Six months after, a thousand *Kalmûks* (Y), passing between the lake *Khoja Kûli*, and the mountain *Sheykh Aziz*, came to surprise some *Uzbeks*, who dwelt along the *Khesel*, towards *Kât*; and, having killed a great number of them, were upon their return home, laden with booty and prisoners: but *Arap Mahamed Khân*, having been informed of their invasion, pursued them so close at the heels, that they had much ado to escape him, after they had been forced to leave what they had taken behind them.

SOME time after, the *Naymâns*, who never relished well the government of this Khân, brought secretly into *Khayuk* one *Khisserân Soltân*, a descendant of *Ilbârs Khân*, with a design to kill *Arap Mahamed*, and set up the other for Khân in his room. But *Arap Mahamed Khân*, having timely notice of the plot from two men, one a *Kerghis*, the other a *Vigûr*, caused the *Soltân* to be seized and put to death. As for *Sâfi Mirza*, the chief conspirator, his own brother *Bâba Mirza* killed him, as a person unworthy to live after such a crime; otherwise the Khân would not have punished him. Two years after, *Sâsh Mirza*, with twenty *Vigûrs*, went from *Urjensh* to *Samarkant*, and brought from thence *Seleb Soltân*, a descendant of *Hassân Kûli Khân*, with design to get him acknowledged Khân in *Urjensh*. Of this *Arap Mahamed Khân* being informed, he hastened to that city, and put the new pretender to death, without enquiring farther after his accomplices; who, he said, might be innocently drawn into the plot: and although he knew *Sâsh Mirza* was the author of the whole, yet he would not put him to death, but left it to the *Vigûrs* to do by him as they judged proper.

TEN years after, the *Kalmûks*, having invaded *Karazm* on the side of *Bakirgan*, plundered many habitations, and returned with a great number of prisoners; notwithstanding all the haste that was made to pursue them.

* ABU'LGH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 308, & seq.

(T) Or *Zâm*, on the river *Amû*.

(U) This is the *Turkish* pronunciation of *Arab*.

(X) These were the *Kossâks*, who dwell on the river *Taïk*, or *Taïk*.

(Y) A nickname given the *Elûth Mungls*, by the *Uzbeks*; from whom the *Russians* have it.

Two of his
sons

ARAP MAHAMED KHAN had now reigned peaceably for fourteen years. When one day, a being gone to *Urjensh*, several young men persuaded two of his sons (Z), *Habâsh* and *Ilbârs* (the one sixteen, the other fourteen), to go with them from *Kbayuk* to *Urjensh*, in order to get them received in quality of successors to their father. With this intention they actually advanced as far as a fountain in the province of *Pishga*, only one day's journey from *Urjensh*, where they stayed ten days; during which time their father sent for them to come to him, and to tell them that he would give them *Wâzîr* for a portion. Their answer was, that they would come as soon as their men were gotten together. *Arap Mahamed Khân* might have quashed this sedition in its birth, if he had only published his orders that none should join the princes: for he was so much feared by his subjects, that, if he had forbidden them to have any commerce with their wives for a whole year together, they would not only have obeyed his orders, but even avoided coming too near their houses, for fear of giving room for suspicion: but neglecting this precaution, though at the same time he knew many went to visit them, the people imagined that what they did was by his own consent.

rise against
him:

THE two princes, judging themselves strong enough, made an irruption into *Khorassân*; from whence they returned to their camp laden with plunder, and sent two *Persians* as a present to their father: after this they dismissed all their troops, excepting fourscore men. Hereupon the Khân sent again a *Vigûr* lord to exhort them to come before him: but the *Uzbeks*, dwelling between the provinces of *Darugan* and *Bakirgan*, who had joined them, answered, "that the princes had no occasion to go to their father, and that they had nothing to do with him." As this language foreboded a rebellion, the Khân, being seized with fear, at the advice of that lord, retired to *Kbayuk*. Upon this news, the two princes went a second time to ravage the *Persian* territories; and, at their return, seizing all their father's granaries, distributed the corn among their troops; which increased them considerably. Wheat was at that time so cheap in *Karazm*, that two hundred weight might have been bought for a Tanga: for nothing but that kind of grain was sown, from the small town of *Modekân*, to this side of *Bakirgan*, and as far as the province of *Kuigan*.

matters accom-
modated:

THE Khân, who possessed a great extent of land on that side, caused the *Khesil* to be cut behind the town of *Tûk*, and by means of that opening, and several canals which proceeded from it, watered his meadows: after which, the gap being closed up, the river resumed its course to the sea of *Mazânderân*. *Arap Mahamed Khân*, finding the mutineers multiply daily, came to an agreement with his sons, giving up to them *Wâzîr*, and all the *Turkmâns* depending on it: after which, the two princes, followed by 4000 men, went to *Kbayuk* to salute their father.

rebel a second
time.

FOUR years after this, *Ilbârs Soltân* assembled troops at *Sayzakuduk* to the north of *Wâzîr*, under pretence of going to besiege *Yawrsurdi*: but, hearing that the Khân his father was on the road to *Urjensh*, he went and took *Kbayuk*. *Arap Mahamed Khân*, being informed of this surprise, turned back by advice of his lords; who were of opinion, that on his approach *Ilbârs* would quit the city. But when he came to *Kbasgan*, a little town near *Kbayuk*, *Ilbârs* sent thither 500 men; who, entering in the night, seized him and all his retinue. From thence they were convoyed to *Kbayuk*: where *Ilbârs* detained them all as his prisoners, and distributed among his troops all the money found in his father's chest, which he had been gathering for many years; as well as the effects of the captive lords. The other brothers, being informed of this detestable action, resolved to make war on *Ilbârs*; even *Habâsh* himself offered to join them in the undertaking: but they were diverted from that resolution by some of their lords, who judged that such a proceeding might bring their aged father's life in danger; while *Ilbârs*, if let alone, would release him of his own accord: as shortly after it fell out.

Abû'lghâzi
Soltân

WHEN the Khân was returned to *Urjensh*, with his son *Isfândiar Soltân*, it was resolved to seize *Ilbârs Soltân*: but he, discovering their design, fled to the desert with only five or six men: however, they ruined his habitations, and removed the greater part of his subjects. At their return from this expedition, *Abû'lghâzi Soltân* proposed to go kill his brothers *Habâsh* and *Ilbârs*, who still carried on a close correspondence, as the only way to secure his father's life. But the Khân would determine nothing till he had consulted *Zîn Hâji*. *Abû'lghâzi Soltân* returned at the time appointed; and, understanding that this lord did not approve of his proposal, put his father in mind how he had been deceived before by the brother of *Zîn Hâji*, magnifying the forces of those princes, to whom he was sent on their first revolt: which act had obliged the Khân to retire to *Kbayuk*, when he might easily have seized them, but

* ABU'LGH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 312, & seq.

(Z) He had in all seven; 1. *Isfândiar Soltân*; 2. *Habâsh Soltân*; 3. *Ilbârs Soltân*; 4. *Abû'lghâzi Bahadr Soltân*; 5. *Sharîf Mahamed Soltân*; 6. *Karazm Khân Sol-**tân*; 7. *Augân Soltân*. The second and third were by one mother, the fifth and sixth by another.

- a for that false representation. He added, "that as every body else, whom the Khán had consulted, approved of his design, excepting *Zín Háji*, it confirmed him in the opinion, which he had all along entertained, that he and his brother *Kurbank* were both traitors; and held a criminal correspondence with *Ilbárs*, by means of their two other brothers, who were the most intimate confidants of that prince." In short, he told his father, that, if he did not follow his counsel, he would repent it when it was too late.
- c For all this, *Arap Mahamed Khán* refused to enter into his measures; nor would *Isfándiar Soltán*, his eldest brother, be concerned in any such design. Mean time, *Habâsh Soltán*, who had his spies every-where, being informed, by one of *Isfándiar Soltán*'s principal domestics, of *Abû'lghâzi*'s proposal to destroy him, never could forgive it him.
- b FIVE months after, *Arap Mahamed Khán*, beginning to repent that he had not followed *Abû'lghâzi Soltán*'s advice, sent orders to *Isfándiar Soltán*, and him, to repair forthwith to *Khayuk*, with their troops. In the interim, he sent to tell *Habâsh* and *Ilbárs Soltán*, that, in case they delivered up to him ten persons, who never ceased giving them evil counsel, he would pardon all which was past; otherwise he would own them no longer for his children. Upon their refusal, the Khán advanced with his troops to *Kandum*, a borough not far from *Khayuk*; where he waited for his two sons. *Abû'lghâzi Soltán*, leaving his men to follow leisurely, rode before (A); and, being come to *Kandum*, would have had his father march along the right side of the river: while he, with 800 men should oblige the *Turkmâns*, who encamped in the desert, and were more than half of them his subjects, to join him; resolving to destroy such as belonged to his rebel brothers, in case they refused: for, without their assistance, those provinces could not raise 400 men: but the Khán could not approve of his advice this time neither. As soon as *Isfándiar Soltán* arrived with his troops, they set forward; and, when they came into the province of *Ikzi Kumâni*, *Abû'lghâzi Soltán* set upon his father once more to make a diversion among the *Turkmâns*: though to as little purpose as before. In short, having advanced by slow marches as far as the little canal, called *Tashli Ghermish*, the two rebel princes, who had time enough given them to assemble all their forces, came and charged their father so vigorously, that his men began presently to fly, and left the unfortunate Khán a second time prisoner in the hands of his unnatural sons.
- c In this battle, which was very bloody, *Abû'lghâzi Soltán*, being hemmed in by forty men, was brought off by six of his own; who came opportunely to his relief. On this occasion he received a shot with an arrow in the mouth; so that he was obliged afterwards to have some little bone taken away on the fractured side. After this he made towards a river: but had scarce gotten his coat of mail off, before the enemy came running after him, and crying kill! Hereupon, plunging into the stream, which was very rapid, he, with difficulty, escaped drowning, by giving the horse his head, and holding fast by the mane. As soon as he had crossed the river, with three of his men, he took the road to *Kât*, where he met with ten more; and with them retired into *Great Bukhâria* to *Imâm Kûli Khán*, successor of *Abdo'l-momîn Khán* at *Samarkant* (B); who received him very kindly.
- d ISFANDIAR SOLTAN, having retreated to *Hazârâsb*, with his brothers *Sbarîf Mahamed* and *Karazm Khán Soltán*, *Ilbárs* and *Habâsh* came and besieged them: but, coming to an accommodation at the end of forty days, *Isfándiar* retired to the Shâh of *Persia*, under pretence of performing the pilgrimage of *Mekka*, and left the city in possession of *Sbarîf Mahamed Soltán*; who, four months after, retired into *Great Bukhâria* to his brother *Abû'lghâzi Soltán*. As *Karazm*, by his departure, fell intirely into the hands of *Ilbárs* and *Habâsh*, they divided it between themselves. The first had *Khayuk* and *Hazârâsb*; the latter *Uryensh* and *Wâzîr*; with their dependencies. They assigned their father the little town of *Kumkâla*, to live there with his three wives and two youngest sons: but twelve months after, *Ilbárs*, sending for his father and two brothers, caused him to be put to death, with *Karazm Khán Soltán*; and sent *Augân Soltán* to *Habâsh*, that he might meet with the same treatment. However, this latter, without whose knowledge all the rest had been done, unwilling to imbrue his hand in his brother's blood, had him sent to the Czar of *Russia*; where he remained till he died. As to the two sons of *Isfándiar Soltán*, who were both infants, *Ilbárs* had them educated at *Khayuk*. *Arap Mahamed Khán* lost his life in 1031, called *It*, or *the Dog*, after having reigned twenty years.

^a ABU'LGH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 316, & seq.

^c Ibid. p. 321, & seq.

(A) He left *Kât* in the morning, and came to *Kandum* late in the evening.

(B) This seems to clash with what is related, p. 333 & 334, of *Abû'lghâzi Khán*'s history; where it is said, that, from *Kât*, he crossed *Mâwara'nâhr* to *Samarkant*,

in order to go to *Imâm Kûli Khán*, in *Great Bukhâria*. From hence also it may be inferred, that *Mâwara'nâhr* is a different country from *Great Bukhâria*; and that *Imâm Kûli Khán* reigned at *Bokhâra*, not at *Samarkant*.

Hej. 1031.
A. D. 1621.

4. From the death of Arap Mahamed Khân to the reign of Abû'lghâzi Khân.

14. Khân
Isfândiar's
attempt;

THE news of the Khân's death having reached the *Persian* court, the Shâh gave *Isfândiar Soltân* 300 chosen men, to see if he could recover his father's dominions. As he was joined on the road by 170 *Turkmâns* of the tribes of *Tâka* and *Yamut*, he advanced directly to the camp of *Habâsh Soltân*, near *Tûk*; but found him not there. That prince was then feasting at the house of one of his lords; when hearing on a sudden the trumpet sound (which is forbidden on any account, except on the approach of an enemy), he instantly took horse, and fled for shelter to *Ilbârs Soltân*. After this, all those who had any regard for the memory of the late Khân, as well as such who were the subjects of his other sons, came and joined *Isfândiar*: whose affairs were taking the best turn imaginable, when the face of them was intirely changed by the artifice of one *Nâsar Khoja*.

defeated by
pious fraud;

As soon as this person, who was descended from a holy man, called *Sâghidâta*, saw the storm rising, he sent to bid *Ilbârs*, who had married his daughter, take courage; and promised to join him in two days, with all the men he could get together. To this end he armed fifty men, and pressing all the people he met on the road, went and seized the ford of the river *Khesil*, in order to hinder any from passing who had a mind to take part with *Isfândiar*. This done, he took the Korân in his hands, and began to curse that prince aloud; giving out that he had embraced the *Persian* sect, and that, where-ever he came, he put to the sword all the men, and made slaves of the women and children. As he supported all this with the solemnest oaths, many of the common people, who could not believe that a man of his birth would violate the most sacred laws purposely to impose on them, instead of repairing to *Isfândiar*, as they at first designed, went over to the two usurpers.

he recovers
Karazm.

ILBARS and *Habâsh*, by this means, quickly found themselves in a condition to march in search of their eldest brother: and the two armies at length meeting, *Isfândiar* was constrained, after a bloody action, to retire towards *Mankishlâk*. However, in that place, being joined by 3000 *Turkmâns*, and a great number of *Uzbeks*, who began to grow weary of the government of the two princes, he turned back again; and his brothers having advanced to meet him with a considerable army, they continued fighting for twenty-two days successively: but at length *Isfândiar* gained the victory; and having taken his brother *Ilbârs* prisoner, caused him to be put to death on the spot. *Habâsh Soltân* took refuge with the *Mankats* (C), who inhabit along the river *Sîr*: but, not thinking himself safe enough with them, he retired to *Shârnîk Mirza*, a lord of the *Mankats*, who dwelt about the banks of the *Yem*; in hopes of meeting with a good reception from the chief of that tribe, in return for having sent back all the *Mankat* prisoners within his dominions, when he reigned at *Urjensh*: but that lord, detesting his heinous actions, caused him to be arrested, and sent him to his brother *Isfândiar*; who had him executed without delay, in the year 1032, called *Tongûz*, or the Hog.

Hej. 1032.
A. D. 1622.
Partition of
the towns.

THE news of this event coming to the ears of *Abû'lghâzi*, and *Sharîf Mahamed*, at *Samar-kant*, they took leave of *Imâm Kûli Khân*, and returned to *Urjensh*. At their arrival, they caused *Isfândiar* to be proclaimed Khân; and divided the dominions of their father among them. The Khân had for his share the cities of *Kbayuk*, *Hazârâsh*, and *Kât*; *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, *Urjensh*, with its dependencies (being then just nineteen years old); and *Sharîf Mahamed Soltân*, *Wâzîr*.

Plot against
the Turk-
mâns.

THE year after, all the principal subjects of *Isfândiar Khân* went in autumn to pay their court to him: but *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, before he set out, invited his brother *Sharîf Mahamed*, with three of his vassal lords, to his house; and, in presence of two of his own vassals, asked him, if there was not some animosity between him and the Khân. On his answering in the negative, he enjoined all the six to secrecy under an oath; and then told them, "that he could not comprehend what his brother meant by keeping the *Turkmâns* about him a whole year: "that possibly his design was to destroy all the *Uzbeks* about *Kbayuk*, for having always favoured *Ilbârs Soltân*; in which case he would be sure to demand help of them on their appearance at *Kbayuk*: that, for this reason, the best course they could take was not to go to that city; since their absence might divert his intention: but that, if they must needs go thither, it was his advice to kill all the *Turkmâns* they should meet on the road; and then present themselves before the Khân, with ropes about their necks, to implore pardon; excusing themselves on account of the usual treachery of that people, and the great occasion of complaint given by them in times past." But *Sharîf Mahamed Soltân*, not approving of killing the *Turkmâns*, proposed assassinating the Khân his brother, and then proclaiming *Abû'lghâzi Soltân* in his room.

Y ABU'LGH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 323, & seq.

(C) Nicknamed *Kârakâlpâks*.

- a THIS propoſal was liked by four of the lords; but the fifth, named *Kurbân Hâji*, a *Vigûr*, ^{Vigûrs and Naymâns ſlain:} and one of *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*'s vaffals, not only rejected it, but declared, that, if he heard any more mention of ſuch a plot againſt the Khân's life, he would impeach them. So blunt a declaration having broken all their meaſures, they went to *Kbayuk*: but four days after, when they were about to return, *Iſfândiar Khân* cauſed *Abû'lghâzi Soltân* to be arreſted, and all the *Vigûrs* and *Naymâns* then in the city, to the number of 500, to be put to the ſword. On this occaſion, 100 *Uzbeks* of other tribes were ſlain, although he had forbidden that any harm ſhould be done to ſuch. In like manner the troops, which were ſent to deſtroy all about *Kbayuk* belonging to thoſe two tribes (whom he was determined to root out), contrary to his orders, ſlew all the *Uzbeks*, who dwelt from *Hazârâſb*, as far as the high ſtone-tower, where the river *Amû* divides in two branches (D); not ſparing the very infants at the breaſt².

- b THE Khân, after this, ſent *Sharîf Mahamed Soltân* to *Urjenſh*, with orders to cauſe the throats of all the *Vigûrs* and *Naymâns*, depending on that city, to be cut. However, on his arrival there, thoſe people gave him to underſtand, that they were reſolved not to ſuffer themſelves to be maſſacred without ſelling their lives very dear: but that they were ready to quit ^{ſtand on their defence;} the country, or receive *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, and *Mahamed Sayn Beg* (one of the Khân's moſt truſty ſervants) to inſpect their conduct. Theſe propoſals appearing reaſonable to *Sharîf Mahamed Soltân*, he ſent them to *Iſfândiar Khân*; who pitched on the laſt expedient. As ſoon as *Abû'lghâzi Soltân* arrived thither, he went and took up his abode by the ſide of the *Kheſil*; which he fortified for his ſecurity. A few days after, *Sharîf Mahamed Soltân* came c thither alſo, with eighty *Turkmâns* in his train; who immediately quitted him, and went to join *Mahamed Sayn Beg*. Mean time thirty of the moſt conſiderable *Uzbeks*, beyond the river, came to welcome *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, and offered him 1000 choice men to be employed in his ſervice againſt *Iſfândiar Khân*. On this occaſion, they propoſed to begin by killing *Mahamed Sayn Beg* and his eighty men, becauſe they conſidered the *Turkmâns* as the only authors of the late maſſacre of their brethren; and then, marching to *Kbayuk*, would put to the ſword all ſuch of that nation as they found in its neighbourhood.

- BUT this project appeared impracticable to *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*; who knew that the eighty ^{new attempt} *Turkmâns* would be ſo much upon their guard, that, on the leaſt motion of the *Uzbeks*, they would take flight: ſo that, before the *Uzbeks* could reach *Kbayuk*, the reſt of them would be d removed with their effects; and, what would be ſtill worſe, the *Kalmûks*, in their abſence, would come and carry off their wives and children. He was therefore of opinion, that they ought to treat *Mahamed Sayn Beg* kindly; and ſend him back laden with civilities, in order to lull *Iſfândiar Khân* aſleep: that after this, *Sharîf Mahamed* ſhould go paſs the winter in the little town of *Kayuk*, near *Urjenſh*; whiſt the *Uzbeks*, beyond the river, began to make an intrenchment, as if for their ſecurity againſt the *Kalmûks*: that they ſhould place guards along the two roads leading to the country of thoſe *Tatars*, as though to obſerve what paſſed; and that, in ſpring, a man ſhould come running from thoſe guards, with news of a *Kalmûk* invaſion: that on this advice they ſhould aſſemble troops, under pretence of going to meet the enemy: but that in the way, joining *Sharîf Mahamed Soltân*, they ſhould turn on a ſudden e towards *Kbayuk*; ſurpriſe that city, when there could not be at ſuch time more than ſixty men about the Khân, and put all the *Turkmâns* to the ſword².

- THE *Uzbeks*, however, had no inclination to depart from their deſign upon *Mahamed Sayn* ^{againſt the} *Beg* and his eighty *Turkmâns*: but theſe latter, ſmelling it out, retired at night-fall, when every body elſe was gone to reſt. The *Uzbeks* arriving ſoon after, *Abû'lghâzi Soltân* told them, that, as the ſhorteſt follies are the beſt, his advice was to ſend to aſſure the Khân, that they knew not the reaſon of *Mahamed*'s ſudden departure, having given him no cauſe to complain; and that, in caſe they had intended him any harm, they might eaſily have prevented it. But this advice was not reliſhed by his brother and the *Uzbeks*, who inſiſted that they had no other meaſures to take, than to march with all their forces to *Kbayuk*. According to this reſolution f of the majority, they ſet forwards; and, arriving in two days at the bridge of *Tâſh Kupruk*, they halted there forty days; in which time they killed ſome *Turkmâns*, the reſt retiring into that city.

MEAN time the *Kalmûks* having ſurpriſed one part of the *Uzbeks* camp, and carried a great ^{the Uzbeks defeated.} number into ſlavery, many of them deſerted the army, beginning to have a bad opinion of their ſucceſs. On the news of this revolt of the *Uzbeks*, the *Turkmâns* who dwelt about the mountain *Abû'lkhân*, and at *Mankiſhlâk*, joining *Iſfândiar Khân* at *Kbayuk*, this prince took

² ABU'LGH. Hiſt. Turks, &c. p. 328, & ſeq.

² Ibid. p. 336, & ſeq.

(D) One of theſe arms, called *Tokay*, paſſes by that tower; the other, which is greater, having quitted its old bed, runs by a large channel into the *Kheſil*, near

Tûk; which had rendered *Urjenſh*, when the author wrote, no better than a deſart.

Abû'lghâzi's
valour.

the field in his turn; and, engaging the *Uzbeks* in the place above-mentioned, intirely defeated a them. *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, seeing the battle lost, retired with some of his men into the intrenchment, which they had raised to cover their baggage; where he found four or five hundred busy at packing up to be gone: but, obliging them to dismount, he made them tie their horses together, to take from them all hopes of saving themselves by flight, and then in a posture of defence waited for the enemy. In the evening, *Isfândiar Khân* drew near: but *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, sallying out at the head of 500 men, gave him so warm a reception, that he durst not make a second attempt; contenting himself to intrench with his troops at a small distance. After they had looked at one another in this manner for six days, without daring to engage; on the seventh, they came to an accommodation, which the Khan had set on foot only with a view to draw *Abû'lghâzi Soltân* into the open field; where he proposed to have put him and b all his followers to the sword. But he missed of his aim by an accident: for the *Turkmâns* had gone to pillage the borough of *Khânaka*, inhabited by *Sârts*, just at the time his brother passed out of his intrenchment: however, at their return, the Khân did not fail to pursue him with 5000 men. *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, who had in all but 540 men, suspecting his design when he perceived him advance, formed in haste an inclosure with his chariots; and defended himself so well, that the Khân was obliged to come to a second treaty, after having had 80 killed and 2000 wounded in the action: whereas of *Abû'lghâzi's* soldiers no more than 20 were slain, and 100 wounded. After this *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, and his brother *Sharîf Mahamed Soltân*, fixing their abode at *Urjensh*, all the *Uzbeks*, who dwelt before on both sides of the *Amû*, went and settled about that city ^b.

Karazm de-
serted.

SOME time after, a comet having appeared in the sky, the common people, who were persuaded, considering the extraordinary animosities which reigned among their princes, that it portended some very great calamities, departed by troops, which they call *Top, Top*, and went into their countries. Nor was it in the power of *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, by any means, to restrain their flight: for while he sent after a party which went off on one side, two or three others withdrew another way: some with design to seek shelter in *Great Bukhâria*, others in *Turkestân*, among the *Kasats* (D) and *Mankâts*. So that having, in one month's time, lost three considerable troops of his subjects, he was constrained to retire elsewhere, to avoid lying at the mercy of *Isfândiar Khân*. Accordingly he bent his course towards the *Kasâchia Orda*, and visited *Isâm Khân* of *Turkestân*: while *Sharîf Mahamed Soltân*, who was in the same case, went d into *Great Bukhâria*.

Retires to
Turkestân;

THREE months after, *Isâm Khân*, going to *Tâshkant*, to pay his respects to *Tursum Khân*, the reigning prince of those provinces presented *Abû'lghâzi Soltân* to him, and at the same time mentioned the obligations which they both owed to his house, on account of the protection given to many of their relations, who had fled for refuge to *Karazm*. Hereupon *Tursum Khân* received him at his court, and treated him with much distinction: but, two years after, *Isâm Khân*, having assassinated *Tursum Khân*, and massacred all those of the *Kataguns* who were his antient subjects; *Abû'lghâzi*, who saw there was no less discord between their families than there was in his own, went into *Great Bukhâria*. On his arrival there, he found a very cool reception from *Imâm Kûli Khân*; because he had applied himself first to *Tursum Khân*, who was his enemy.

thence to Sa-
markant:

FOR this reason he told the *Uzbeks*, who had retired thither before him, that he should be obliged to hearken to the *Turkmâns*, who promised to espouse his interest, to the utmost of their power, provided he would forget what was past. Upon this declaration the *Uzbeks* assured him, that although they had left the country at the appearance of the comet, yet he might always depend on their zeal for his service: that, on the other hand, they flattered themselves, that he would continue his protection to them; of which, they said, they had the more need, as they daily perceived they could not depend on the promises of his brother *Sharîf Mahamed Soltân*, who was naturally inconstant, and might, one time or other, side with the *Turkmâns* against them. In the last place, they counselled him to go over to the *Turkmâns* on the first invitation, and promised to repair to him in proper time. e

returns to Ka-
razm.

SHORTLY after, there came a new deputy from the *Turkmâns*, to let him know, that *Isfândiar Khân*, being informed they had invited him to their quarters, had retired to *Hazarâsh*, fearing a surprise. Upon this advice *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, followed only by five or six persons, went away directly to *Khayuk*, where he was immediately joined by numbers of people, who flocked to him from all parts. Two months after, he learned, that his brother *Sharîf Mahamed Soltân*, being reconciled with *Isfândiar Khân*, was arrived at *Hazarâsh*; and that they both intended to turn all their forces against him. On this information he took the f

^b ABU'LGH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 340, & seq.

(D) These are the *Kasâchia*, or *Kasâchia Orda*, mentioned below, who possess the east part of *Turkestân*, as the *Mankâts*, or *Karakalpâks* do the west part.

a field with what troops he had; and the two armies coming to an engagement, that of *Abû'l-ghâzi Soltân* had the better; which obliged his two brothers to sign a treaty of peace. Yet, six months after, when least expected, they came again, and besieged *Khayuk*, with above 15,000 men, having been joined by all the *Turkmâns* thereabout. But, although *Abû'l-ghâzi Soltân* had no more than 600 with him, he defended himself so vigorously, that he obliged them, at length, to return with loss: the consequence of which was a new treaty.

SOME time after, 3000 families of those *Uzbeks*, who, three years before, had fled from *Uzbeks mas-* about *Khayuk* to the *Kassâts* and *Mankâts*, to avoid the fury of *Isfândiar Khân*, returned *sacred*. and went to settle on the sea-coast, about the mouth of the river *Amûl*. On this news 800 others set forward, on their return from *Great Bukhâria*, with design to settle in the province of *Arâl*: but the *Khân*, who looked on the *Vigûrs* and *Naymûns* as the authors of all the misfortunes which had befallen his family, being informed thereof, came upon them by surprise, with some troops, on the banks of the *Khesîl*, towards *Kât*, and put them all to the sword, man, woman, and child.

ISFANDIAR KHAN, taking this occasion to invite his two brothers to court, under pretence *Abû'lghâzi Soltân ar-* of regulating with them what concerned the affairs of the *Uzbeks*, persuaded *Sharîf Mahamed* *rested:* *Soltân* to repair to the province of *Arâl*, among those people, as it were of his own accord, and unknown to the *Khân*. Next morning early, some of the principal *Turkmâns* coming to visit him on that occasion, he solemnly protested, that *Sharîf Mahamed* had undertaken the journey without his privity; and, to incense them against *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, insinuated that it was done by his advice. He went still farther, and told them, that it was this last who had recalled the *Uzbeks* to settle in the province of *Arâl*, with a design to employ them against the *Turkmâns*; and that he had sent his brother thither, to prepare them for the enterprise. He concluded, by saying, that, as from thence it appeared he was contriving some dangerous plot against them, their only course was to prevent him by seizing his person.

THIS counsel having been approved of by the assembly, he commanded the gates of the *sent into Persia* castle to be shut, and sent to arrest *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, who was still fast asleep. After this the *Khân*, carrying him to *Yawrsurdi*, ordered the governor to send him under a strong guard into *Persia*: but that officer thought fit, for better security, to conduct him in person to *Hamadân*, where *Shâh Sefi* (E), the successor of *Abbâs*, then was. This prince had him conveyed to *Ispahân*, where he assigned him a house, and 10,000 *Tanga* (F) per year, for his maintenance (G): but, at the same time, caused him to be strictly watched, that he might not escape.

ISFANDIAR KHAN died in the first day of the year 1044, called *Ghilkî*, or *the Horse*, after 15. *Khân*; having reigned twelve years, and left two sons, *Yushan* and *Asbrâf*. He was succeeded by *Sharîf Mahamed* *med.* his brother *Sharîf Mahamed Soltân*; who fixed his residence at *Urjensh*. This *Khân* was much *A. D. 1634.* at variance with the *Kalmûks* (or *Elûths*); who, in his time, came and seized a great part of *A. D. 1642.* *Karazm*. He died in the year 1052, leaving, as it should seem, the throne vacant for two years.

5. The reign of Abû'lghâzi Khân.

ABUL'GHAZI SOLTAN succeeded his brother *Sharîf Mahamed* in quality of *Khân*. This prince *16. Khân* was born at *Urjensh*, in the year 1015, called *Tauskhân*, or *the Hare*, on *Monday*, in the month *Abû'lghâzi* of *Asfet*, at sun-rise, forty-eight days after the defeat of the *Kossaks*, before-mentioned ^d. These *Bahadr* *Kossaks* having, near the river *Taïk*, met with ten merchants of *Urjensh*, trading to *Russia*, *A. D. 1605.* slew eight, and reserved the other two for guides in their expedition. On this occasion his father *Arap Mahamed Khân* said, "that child will be happy, because his enemies were defeated before he was born (H):" and, in regard his mother was descended from *Soltân Gâzi*, son of *Ilbârs Khân*, he gave him the name of *Abû'lghâzi Babâdr*; and, when he was sixteen years old, married him: at which time he made him a present of one half of *Urjensh*; assigning the other half to *Habâsh Soltân*. The year following (I), upon some difference, which happened between the two brothers, his father gave him the city of *Kât*, for his portion; and, not long after, the unfortunate battle was fought, wherein the *Khân* was taken prisoner, and put to death by his unnatural sons.

^c ABU'LGH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 343, & seq. ^d Before, 735. ^e ABU'LGH. ubi supra, p. 328, & seq. also 347, & seq.

(E) He ascended the throne in 1629, at the age of 16.

(F) A silver coin, the fourth part of a crown. See before, p. 721.

(G) This happened about the year 1630: for it was thirteen years before he was proclaimed *Khân*.

(H) The *Tatars* are full of such superstitious whimsies.

(I) This was in *Hijrah* 1031, *A. D.* 1621.

escapes from
Ispahân ;

WHAT passed from that time till *Abû'lghâzi Soltân* was sent into *Persia*, has been already a related. After this prince had remained in that country, in the condition of a prisoner, the space of ten years, he formed the design to make his escape. This having been approved of by three of his domestics, whom he acquainted with it, he called the person who had the guard of him, and ordered him to take to the butcher's a horse, which had been sent for his kitchen. This done, he gave him a thousand *Tanga*, bidding him go buy a pretty slave ; and gave him leave to pass the night with her. His ward being gone, full of joy at this present, *Abû'lghâzi Soltân* and his men went to a neighbouring stable, and took out eight horses. After this, ordering them to shave their beards close, when every body was at rest, he made one of them, who could speak both *Turkish* and *Persian*, to put on his best clothes, because he was to represent the master. The second domestic was dressed also like a gentle- b man ; the third wore the garb of a valet, and himself passed for a groom.

suspected at
Bastâm ;

IN this equipage they led the horses very softly out of the house, and mounting at midnight, when they beat the drum, they arrived at the gate of the city the very instant it was opened : then, continuing their journey, they got safe to *Bastâm* (K), and passed through the town in the evening, without any accident ; but three of their horses failing a little beyond that city, they were obliged to stop at the village of *Boyish*, inhabited by *Sagbits*. He who passed for the master, being seated on a carpet at the gate, with one of the valets standing behind him, while the other held the horses, *Abû'lghâzi Soltân* entered into the place, to exchange the tired cattle. He presently got off two of them. But having asked one among the croud, who flocked about him, which was the way to the village of *Maghi* ? an old man c of seventy grew suspicious of him, telling his neighbours, that as scarce one in ten of themselves knew the way to *Maghi*, he believed this must be the Soltân of the *Uzbeks*, who was making his escape. He added, that as, in case it was so, there would be couriers after him within a day or two, therefore it would be best to seize and carry him to *Bastâm* ; or, at least, not to exchange horses with him, in regard they who did would suffer for it. On this occasion the counterfeit groom, who spoke the language of the country perfectly well, by way of answer, told the old man a very formal story : that, as his mother had laid her commands on him to go see a person who lived at *Maghi*, he had prevailed on the lord his master, who sat on the carpet, to take that road. This invention gained the people on his side ; but the old man, being still of his first opinion, went to the servant of the overseer of the village, d and bade him haste to acquaint his master, that there were deserters in the place, and that he would do well to have them seized. On this, the valet rode up to *Abû'lghâzi Soltân* ; and, calling him robber, asked him, where he was going ? But the pretended groom so awed the valet with the name of his counterfeit lord, and the danger he said he was in of losing his nose, in case his lord should hear what he had uttered, that the valet begged his pardon, and pretended he spoke only by way of jest. After this the groom found no difficulty to exchange his third horse, and get sufficient information of the road f.

avoids the
danger :

gets out of
Persia.

HAVING made great expedition to pass the borders of *Khorassân*, he at length arrived in the neighbourhood of *Karakum* (L), at a place where the road dividing, one led to *Mankishlâk*, the other to the mountain of *Kurân*. Resolving now to keep the fields no longer (as till then e he had done, to avoid meeting much people), he struck into the latter, and came to a village which belonged to the *Turkmâns*. At the same time, seeing a boy near the road, he asked him, what kind of people they were ? The youth replied, we are *Kisilafaks*. He then demanded, how they came to be there, since they belonged to *Mankishlâk* ? and was answered, that the *Kalmûks* had driven them out of their habitations three years before ; and named some families of the tribe of *Irsûri*, known to *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, who dwelt not far off.

received by the
Turkmâns :

THE Soltân, joyful to find himself out of the *Persian* dominions, went to the village, where he was received with extreme joy by the inhabitants ; at whose invitation he staid there the whole winter, but in spring repaired to the *Turkmâns* of the tribe of *Tûka*, who dwelt near the river *Amû*, at the foot of the mountain *Kurân*. With these he staid two years, and then went f to *Mankishlâk* ; where he found no more than 700 families, who were reduced under the dominion of the *Kalmûks* (or *Elûth Mungls*). The Khân of the *Kalmûks*, being informed of *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*'s arrival in his dominions, sent one of his principal officers to invite him to court (M). *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, accepting of the invitation, was treated with great distinction all the while he staid there, which was a whole year. After which, having taken a

is proclaimed
Khân :

f ABU'LGH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 349, & seq.

(K) A city in the province of *Komes*, or *Kumes*, on the borders of *Affarabâd*.

(L) *Karakum* signifies *black sand*. A black sandy diart, on the borders of *Karazm*.

(M) The author does not mention where the Khân

kept his court, or whether any part of *Karazm* was then under his dominion. It was at this time that the author learned the *Megol* (or *Mungl*) language, in which he wrote his history. See *Abû'lghâzi Khân's* Hist. Turks, &c. p. 31.

a resolution of going to *Urjenſh*, the Khán ſuffered him to depart, and ſhewed him many marks of friendſhip. He arrived at that city in the year 1053, called *Ghílan*, or *the ſerpent*; and, Hej. 1053. ſix months after, the *Turkmáns* proclaimed him Khán, in the province of *Arál*, towards the A. D. 1043. entrance of the river *Amú* into the ſea of *Mazánderán*. This was in 1054, two years after, the death of *Sharíf Máhamed Khán*. *Tuſhan* and *Aſbráf*, the two ſons of *Iſfándiar Khán*, his predecessor, being in poſſeſſion of *Kbayuk* and *Hazáráſh*, the *Turkmáns*, within their juřiſdiction, reſuſed to ſubmit to *Abú'lgbázi Khán*; and put themſelves under the protection of *Nadíř* *Máhamed Khán*, of *Great Bukhária*, after ſending *Aſbráf Soltán* to the *Perſian* court, to be brought up there.

Upon this, *Abú'lgbázi Khán*, having ſent twice to pillage the habitations of the ſubjects of *attacks* *Kbayuk*, the Khán of *Great Bukhária* placed commanders and ſtrong garrisons in that city and *Kbayuk*. *Hazáráſh*; and ſent the widow of *Iſfándiar Khán* to dwell in the country of *Kanſki*. Having afterwards conferred the government of thoſe two places on his grandſon *Káſſim Soltán*, ſon of *Khifferán Soltán*, *Abú'lgbázi Khán* reſolved to pay him a viſit. With this deſign he embarked his infantry in the province of *Arál*, to aſcend the river *Kbeſil*, as far as the bridge of *Taſh Kapruk*, and followed by land with his cavalry. Being arrived at the place of rendezvous, he marched, with ſome of his foot, to the village of *Kondúm*; and, paſſing a brook which lay between him and the city, concealed one hundred and eighty of his men in a valley: then, with ſixty bowmen and twenty muſketteers, advanced up to the place, ordering them not to fire till they ſaw him fire.

c THE enemy, perceiving them coming on, made a ſally with a thouſand men, of whom ſeven hundred had coats of mail; whereas not above five of the Khán's were ſo accoutred. But that prince, without being diſmayed at their numbers, drew dexterouſly to the place where he deſigned, and then, marching up, gave them ſo rude a ſalute with arrows and bullets, at twenty paces diſtance, as allayed much of their firſt ardour; whiſt they who lay concealed advancing at the ſame time to charge them in flank, the enemy fell into confuſion, and fled towards *Kbayuk*. The Khán, who was not able to purſue them, for want of horſe, returned, and ſent his troops into quarters (N).

SOMETIME after this, *Nadíř Máhamed*, Khán of *Great Bukhária*, recalled his grandſon *Káſſim Soltán* from *Kbayuk*, and ſent *Yakúb*, one of his lords, to *Hazáráſh*, to govern what he afterwards poſſeſſed in *Karazm*: but having in the interim been dethroned by his vaſſals, for his harſh treatment of them, they ſet up his ſon *Abdo'lazíz Soltán*. On the news of this revolution, *Abú'lgbázi Khán*, marching to *Kbayuk*, in the year 1056, called *Tauk*, or *the Hen*, found no difficulty to poſſeſs himſelf of that city. After which he cauſed proclamation to be made, that all the *Turkmáns* who had quitted their habitations, on account of their late troubles, might freely return home, on his promiſe never to call to mind their paſt offences. Hej. 1056. A. D. 1046.

On theſe aſſurances, they who dwelt beyond *Hazáráſh* ſent deputies to the Khán; who ordered, that they ſhould all repair to his camp before that city, which he was going to take poſſeſſion of, and there tender him their faith and homage. The *Turkmáns* being aſſembled, purſuant to his commands, he, by a meſſenger, deſired them to provide his kitchen with milk and cattle, for that he intended to make a great entertainment the day following. This having been performed to the Khán's ſatisfaction, he treated them in a very ſplendid manner; but, towards evening, cauſed all his gueſts to be killed, to the number of 2000 perſons; and then ſent to plunder their habitations.

NEXT year, being that called *It*, or *the Dog*, in the month of *Jomado'lawal*, he marched into the province of *Tarkhán*, in queſt of the *Turkmáns*, who had quitted *Kbayuk*, after *Káſſim Soltán's* departure; and put to the ſword all thoſe whom he met with: but the greater part of them fled into the province of *Bamuburinak*, whither he went to diſlodge them, in the year *Zizkán*, or *the Mouſe* (O). They who knew not where elſe to retire, ſent their wives and children into the province of *Arál*, and intrenched themſelves under the ruins of ſome old walls. The Khán, finding them in this ſituation, made them ſome ſpecious propoſals of accommodation: but, as they durſt not truſt him, they marched out on foot, and threw themſelves deſperately on his troops: however, they were ſo well received, that not one of them eſcaped the ſword. The day after, *Abú'lgbázi Khán* detached ſome of his men towards the province of *Arál*, in purſuit of the wives and children of the *Turkmáns*, who had loſt their lives on this occaſion, and returned himſelf to *Kbayuk*. In ſhort, being reſolved to reduce the *Turkmáns* A. D. 1648.

* ABU'LGH. Hiſt. Turks, &c. p. 354, & ſeq.

(N) Here *Abú'lgbázi Khán* breaks off his hiſtory; having been hindered from finiſhing it by a grievous ſickneſs, of which he died. What follows of it was

added by his ſon and ſucceſſor *Anúſha Máhamed Babáđ* Khán.

(O) The firſt of the duodenary cycle of the *Mungls*.

so low, that they should not be able to raise disturbances for the future, he made several expeditions against them, in which he severely chastised them^b (P).

Kalmûks invasion.

A. D. 1649.

IN the year *Sagbîr*, or *the Cow*, a *Kalmûk* lord, of the tribe of *Kurlaüt*, advancing with some troops as far as *Kât*, caused many people to be killed, and others carried into slavery.

A. D. 1649.

Soon after, another, called *Boyan*, of the *Torgaüt* tribe, coming into *Karazm* to traffick, the Khân suffered him and his followers to finish their business; and then, pursuing them, defeated their rear, in the province of *Yuguruk-bâsh*: after which, overtaking the body of their troops, they were constrained to fly, and leave their effects behind them. Three years after, in that

A. D. 1652.

called *Lu*, or *the Crocodile*, *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, having been informed that the *Kalmûks* hovered upon the frontiers both of *Great Bukhâria* and *Karazm*, with strong parties, and made terrible havock where-ever they came, sent *Abdo'lazîz* notice to be on his guard. Mean time, the lords of the *Torgaüts* invaded the lands of *Hazârâsh*, where they destroyed the village *Tezdus*, and took many people and cattle out of another called *Danugân*.

Repulsed by the Khân.

UPON this advice, *Abû'lghâzi Khân* took horse immediately, to pursue them, contrary to the request of his officers: and, although they had gotten ten days march before him, yet, by riding day and night, he at length came up with their rear, near the mountain *Irder*, and defeated them. Then, pursuing the rest, he overtook them in the province of *Segheri Rabat*; where they had so well intrenched themselves that it was impossible to force them: but, on the other hand, as they durst not venture out to continue their journey, they sent all the plunder which they had taken, with their bows and arrows to the Khân, and intreated pardon for the offence; pretending, in excuse, that they did not know the above-mentioned village belonged to him; and promising never to invade his dominions for the future, or suffer any of their nation to do it. Hereupon *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, considering that none of that tribe of *Kalmûks* had ever incommoded his subjects before, he sent them their release, and let them return home in peace.

He invades Great Bukhâria:

A. D. 1655.

AFTER this, *Subhân Kûli*, Khân of *Bâlk*, who had married his brother *Sharîf Mahamed Khân*'s daughter, sent to intreat his aid against *Abdo'lazîz Khân*, who had taken the field, with an intention to deprive him of his dominions (Q). *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, though he had designed to pass the rest of his days in repose, yet willing to assist his near relation, and revenge the injuries done his house by *Abdo'llah Khân*, advanced, in the year called *Koy*, or *the Sheep*, into the province of *Kogbertlik*, bordering on *Great Bukhâria*; and sent a body of 10,000 men to plunder the city of *Karakûl*, whilst he went in person against that of *Siunjbâla*, which he destroyed, with thirty or forty neighbouring villages. After this, he returned for a while to *Khayuk*; and then, in a second expedition, made the same year, plundered *Karakûl* in person. Then passing on to the province of *Gordîsh*, he defeated an army of 15,000 men, sent by *Abdo'lazîz Khân* from *Kârshî*, of whom scarce 1000 escaped. A great part of these 1000 threw themselves into *Karakûl*; but the Khân, following them, took prisoners all who escaped the sword, and burned the few houses which remained in that townⁱ.

makes great ravages:

IN the year *Bîzin*, or *the Ape*, he took the town of *Zârjûi*; which he intirely destroyed, and plundered the circumjacent country. Next year, he went and ravaged the province of *Yayzi*; which extends from the city of *Karakûl* to that of *Nersem*; and, having taken much booty, was gone back to his own frontiers, at the same time that *Abdo'lazîz Khân*, accompanied by *Kasîm Soltân*, was on the march, with a numerous army, to make a diversion in the province of *Kogbertlik*: but as soon as he heard of *Abû'lghâzi Khân*'s return to *Karazm*, he retreated with so much precipitation, that many of his men killed their horses with haste to get off, although no one had any thoughts of pursuing them. *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, who in the mean time had taken a turn to *Khayuk*, made another invasion the same year, with 25,000 men, into *Great Bukhâria*; and, having taken the city of *Karmîna*, gave it to be pillaged, returning with considerable booty, and many prisoners.

Attacked in retreating,

IN his retreat, after he had passed a river over a bridge, he caused his tents to be set up there; and, believing himself very secure in that place, ordered that the baggage should begin to march at midnight, and that the army should follow at day-break, keeping about his person no more than his usual guard of one hundred men. Next morning, some hours after the army had decamped, one of his principal officers entered his tent; and, finding him still fast asleep, cried to him, "Rise, Sir; is this a time to sleep here?" But the Khân made answer, "Who is it you would have me be afraid of; since we have not heard of any enemy's troops in all this province?" At the same time one came to inform *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, that troops appeared

^b ABU'LGH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 357, & seq.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 361, seq.

(P) Particularly the *Bayratzs*, *Ghemergem illi*, and *Sarik*.

(Q) It is of the embassy of these two Khâns to *Aureng*

Zib, the *Great Mogol*, that *Bernier* seems to speak, tom. ii. p. 1, & seq.

a on the other side of the river. And in reality it was *Abdo'lazíz Khán* himself, at the head of 60,000 men; who, having been informed, by a beggar, that the Khán of *Karazm*, from whom he had received an alms on the road, was going to besiege *Karmína*, set forward immediately, with all his forces.

ABU'LGHASI KHAN, on the enemy's approach, retired leisurely towards his troops; which *by great forces.* being about to pass a little marshy brook, he sent orders for them to halt on this side. Mean time 1000 horsemen, in coats of mail, began to press him at the heels: on which the Khán, having gained a pass, made his hundred men alight (as he did himself), the better to make use of their muskets; and sent orders for his army to return. After this, he detached *Yadigar Atalik* (lately made the first lord of his court), with thirty men, to attack the 1000 horse, at the entrance b of the defile, while he stood ready to support him with the rest. *Yadigar* executed his orders with so much conduct, that, having first stunned the enemy by a successful fire made on them near at hand, afterwards managed his small force so well, by retiring or advancing, as occasion required, that he disputed the pass, till *Anúsha Mahamed Bahádr Soltán* (the Khán's son, then no more than fourteen years of age) came to his father's assistance at the head of 600 horsemen, with 300 foot soldiers behind them^k.

ABU'LGHASI KHAN, having received this reinforcement, found himself in a condition to *His brave de-* march out of the defile to attack those 1000 men: but as in the interim the enemy's army had *fence.* time to approach, they were quickly supported by a great body of troops: which, having surrounded the Khán of *Karazm* on all sides, would infallibly have handled him severely, if he had not ordered his son *Anúsha Mahamed*, with 400 men, to fall vigorously on the right of a large squadron, which blocked up the road to their army, while he attacked the rest with the c remaining 600. This scheme was executed with so good success, that, having forced the enemy's troops on both sides, they made their way through them, and rejoined their own; which advanced in haste to rescue their Khán from the danger he was in.

As soon as he had put himself at the head of his army, he caused it to march, under the *Defeats the* command of *Anúsha Mahamed Bahádr Soltán*, to attack the enemy's forces, which began to *enemy.* appear; and when the rest of his troops arrived, he made them advance to the right and left of his son, in order to support him. In this disposition they began the battle, which soon became general; and both armies fought a long time with equal fortune: but, at length, the juvenile courage of the prince prevailing (although it was the first time he had ever been at such an entertainment), the forces of *Abdo'lazíz Khán* were defeated, notwithstanding their d great superiority, and pursued as far as the above-mentioned river. The rout was so signal, that a great number of the enemy, who could not gain the bridge, were drowned in the stream; and their Khán himself, though much wounded, was obliged to swim over, to avoid being taken.

ABU'LGHASI KHAN, returning to *Khayuk*, with a great number of prisoners, gave a splen- *Invades them* did feast to all his lords and great officers; and, after he had in public extolled the valour of *anew.* his son, resigned to him the city of *Hazárásh*, with subjects for its defence. Next year, called *It, or the Dog*, the Khán again entered *Great Bukhária*, and took the city of *Wardansí*, which *A. D. 1658.* he ordered to be sacked, and returned laden with plunder and captives. Four years after, in *A. D. 1662.* the year called *Bárs*, or *the Tiger*, he made another expedition thither; and, advancing to the very walls of *Bokhára*, capital of the whole country, caused all the villages within its jurisdic- e tion to be destroyed. After this, he encamped before the gate *Namasga*, with a design to take the city by force. But, considering there was no glory in such an exploit, at a time when the Khán was absent at *Samarkant*, and that there were none but women and *Tajiks*, or burghers, in the place; he laid aside the design till another opportunity, and returned into his own dominions, with much booty and many prisoners.

ABU'LGHASI KHAN, being by this time arrived at the age of sixty years, began to consider *Resigns the* that there was blood enough spilt to revenge the murders committed by *Abdo'llah Khán* on the *crown:* princes of his family; and that it would be acting against the dictates of conscience, to persist any longer in giving disturbance to a prince who was of the same religion with himself, while f he could more usefully employ his army against the *Kalmúks* and *Persians*. Guided by these sentiments, he dispatched ambassadors to *Abdo'lazíz Khán*, with proposals of peace; which having been accepted of, he recalled his troops from the borders of *Great Bukhária*, and sent them towards the country of *Khorassán*. After this, he resigned the throne to *Anúsha Mahamed Bahádr Soltán*, with a design to spend the rest of his days in serving God: but he died not *Hej. 1074.* long after, in the month of *Ramadán*, 1074, called *Táushán*, or *the Hare*; when he had *A. D. 1663.* reigned twenty years^l.

^k ABU'LG. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 367, & seq.

^l Ibid. p. 370, & seq.

Death and
character.

CHARDIN, who calls this prince *Abûl Kâzi*, gives him a very advantageous character. He a says, that he knew so well how to disguise the natural barbarity of the *Tatars*, that you would have taken him for a *Persian*. He behaved with a grace and affability on all occasions. So that *Shâh Safi*, for distinction-sake called *Mâzi* (*), that is, *the past reign*, observing him to be endowed with so many rare qualities, admitted him into his *Méjels*, or royal assemblies, where he ranked him on an equality with the grandees of his kingdom. The same author informs us, that, on his being brought to *Ispâbân* (R), *Safi* looked on him not as a robber, but a prisoner of war, and paid him all the honours due to a person of royal birth; assigned him a revenue of 1500 Tomâns, amounting to 6000 pounds; and gave him a stately palace, richly furnished, with a suitable number of officers and retinue to attend him, during the ten years he continued in his capital. After his return (S) to *Karazm*, he proved a constant friend to *Persia*; keeping b *Subbân Kûli Khân* (T), and *Abdo'lazîz Khân*, of *Bokhâra*, in such awe, that as soon as either of them entered *Persia*, he was in the bowels of their territories.

Honoured in
Persia.

17. Khân,
Anûtha Ma-
hamed

BUT, after his death, the crown descending to his son *Enûsh* (or *Anûsha*) *Khân*, *Abbâs II.* withdrew his pension, which, in kindness, he had given his father. But the son, who looked on it as a kind of tribute, paid by the *Persian* monarch to the king of *Karazm*, or *Orkenj* (U), to restrain him from plundering his dominions, judged the surest way to recover it, or at least to make himself amends for the loss, would be, to ravage the frontier provinces. To this end, he entered into a league with the two other Khâns, against *Persia*; espousing the sister of the prince of *Bâlk*, and giving his own in marriage to him of *Bokhâra*.

leagues against
Persia;

A. D. 1665.

HOWEVER, *Abûlghâzi Khân* having been of the *Shiyah* sect, which the *Persians* follow, and c not of the *Sunni* persuasion, such as the *Uzbeks* (X) profess, *Enûsh Khân* made profession of the latter: but his allies, as a proof of his sincerity, required that he should begin the war first, promising to assist him the next year with all their forces. Hereupon the prince of *Orkenj* entered *Persia* in the year 1665; but met with a very powerful resistance: for *Shâh Abbâs*, having been informed of the conspiracy of these petty kings, marched with a great army, resolving to conquer their territories, and annex *Bâlk* to his own dominions. The *Uzbeks*, terrified at his approach, thought it best to desist; and, the year following, sent to beg a peace.

makes great
ravages.

UPON the death of *Abbâs II.* which happened not long after, the *Tatars* taking heart again, the prince of *Orkenj*, in 1667, entered *Merve Sava* (Y) with his *Uzbeks*; who, finding no d resistance, made strange havock. Nor could the governors have prevented it, if they had force enough, considering with what swiftness those people invade a country, and retire. *Persia* then being governed by a young unexperienced prince, preparations to repel the enemy went on very slowly. At length two great lords set out, with 4000 men, to join the forces which were already in *Khorassân*. Six weeks after, money was sent to pay the troops in that province, under a convoy of 200 men. But the *Uzbeks*, getting intelligence of it, sent out a body of 3000 horse; who took their measures so well, that they carried off the treasure, in spite of the troops which were detached to overtake them^m.

Hâji Maha-
med Khân.

FROM this time to the present we find very little in authors, relating to the affairs of *Karazm*, till 1714; when, according to *Bentink*, *Hâji Mahamed Babâdr Khân*, grandson of e *Abûlghâzi Khân*, sent a messenger to *Petersburgh*, to treat of an alliance with the court of *Russia*ⁿ. *Webber* mentions this prince; but calls him only the Khân of *Usbek*: and says, the design of the embassy was to prevail on *Peter I.* to oblige *Ayûka Khân*, his vassal, not to join with the princes his neighbours, or stir them up against him. On this condition he offered to assist the *Tsar* with 50,000 horse at any time, and allow his karawâns a passage through his dominions to *China*: which journey might be performed in four months, the road being good; whereas that through *Siberia* was very long and troublesome (Z). He proposed likewise to enter into a treaty of commerce with *Russia*, which would be very advantageous to it.

^m CHARDIN'S Coronation of Soleyman, p. 116, & seq.

ⁿ ABU'LG. Hist. Turks, p. 373.

(*) *Abûlghâzi Khân* ascribes this title to *Shâh Abbâs I.* See before, p. 729.

(R) According to *Chardin*, he was made prisoner after a battle, wherein the *Uzbeks* lost 12 or 18,000 men.

(S) The circumstances of his escape are told by *Chardin* in a different manner from what he relates himself.

(T) That is, *the prince, the slave of the Praise-worthy*; meaning God.

(U) That is, *Karazm*, or *Urjensh*. *Orkenj* being the *Persian* name.

(X) *Chardin*, and several others, write *Uzbeks*; which, according to the *Persians*, signifies *one hundred lords*: to shew, that they are governed by many princes. He adds, that the *Uzbeks* reject this etymology, as false and inju-

rious; saying, the word is compounded of *Yus*, *he*, and *bek*, *lord*; as who should say, *He the lord*, or *He is the lord*: as if these were the only people on earth who are truly lords. *Coronation of Soleyman III.* p. 115. But, in all likelihood, this must be a mistake; since, according to the *Uzbek* history, they take their name from *Uzbek Khân*, conformable to a custom among the *Tatars* in general.

(Y) This must be the territory of *Marû*, written also *Maravo*, and *Marave*, so often mentioned before; and, for a time, belonging to *Karazm*.

(Z) But, should that road be deserted, it would hinder the peopling of *Siberia*.

- a THE ambassador was *Acher Bey*, about fifty years old, of a lively and venerable aspect, wearing a long beard, and an ostrich feather on his turban, which is worn by none but the principal lords. He said, his Khân was turned of twenty; and that, the year before, he had married the king of *Persia*'s eldest daughter: that his country was called *Usbek* (A); and place of residence *Khiva*, which consisted only of tents and huts; but never fixed to any certain spot (B): that the Khân is a sovereign prince; but his authority limited by a kind of senate: that he was able to raise 200,000 cavalry; in which number were included, in the *Tsar*'s judgment, all his male subjects, old and young: lastly, that the country of *Usbek* bordered on *China*, *Hindûstân*, and *Persia*. Among other things relating to this embassy, it is mentioned, that the *Tsar* liked the ambassador's music well enough^o. On which occasion it may be observed, that the inhabitants of *Karazm* were formerly very famous for their proficiency in that art^p.
- BENTINK informs us, that, between 1714 and 1724, when he wrote, there happened a revolution in that country; of which he knew not the particulars^q. Probably it may be the same with that mentioned by the missionaries of *Syria*, who acquaint us, that some years before they wrote (C), they saw the prince of the *Usbeks* pass through *Aleppo*, in his way to *Mohammed*'s tomb, with an intention to live there a private life. His son had rebelled; and, having seized him, caused his eyes to be put out, that he might have no longer hopes of ascending the throne. He marched on horseback with his eyes bound up, conducted by fifty guards. But, since that time, we understand, continues our author, that the son died miserably, and his father was restored^r. It may be presumed, that *Hâji Mahamed* was the unnatural child; although the title of *Hâji*, or pilgrim, better suits the blind prince: but *Mahamed* seems too young to have had such an enterprising son. However that be, in 1719, the *Usbeks* of *Karazm* ought to have had a Khân of an enterprising genius, and who could see well, to command in person the expedition against *Beckowitz*, sent by the *Tsar* in that year, to discover the river *Daria*^s.

^o Present State of Russia, vol. i. p. 20. & seq.

ubi sup. p. 373.

and trav. vol. iv. p. 477 and 514.

^p LA CROIX Hist. Gengh. p. 240.

^q ABU'LGHA.

^s See new collect. of voya.

(A) The author mistook the name of the people for that of the country; which has also been so miscalled by geographers.

(B) This must be understood of his summer camp (for he dwells under tents in that season); which is not

fixed: but his winter residence is *Urjensh*, or some other city.

(C) The author wrote between 1720 and 1724, when his memoirs were printed in *Memoirs des missions en Syrie & en Egypt*. Tom vi. p. 198.